CURRENT HISTORY

MILITARY OBJECTIVE!

TIME was when the only part children were allowed to play in war was to give up certain food their little bodies needed so that the troops could have it.

That was in the unenlightened days before airplanes and delayed-fuse bombs.

Now the kiddies are permitted to die just like their daddies. *Today* they are *military objectives* to be blown to bits by bombs, to be buried in the ruins of their schools, to be raked by machine-gun fire as they cling to their mothers' skirts.

Thus, the world progresses. Thus, the science of mass-production murder becomes more proficient. Thus, war loses its last vestige of so-called "glamour."

With slaughter of these innocents an admitted part of military strategy, war can no longer be condoned by any sane and decent person. Yet many people still shake their heads hopelessly and say: "What can I do? How can I prevent war?"

Next time you tuck your youngster into his crib look at him and see if your heart will accept such a defeatist attitude. Rather, accept this truth—that if enough people say: "There must be no more war!", there *will* be no more war!

World Peaceways is a non-profit, non-crank organization that has made definite progress in maintaining peace and is determined to do more. We need help—*your* help. Why not sit down right now and drop us a line?

WRITE TO

WORLD PEACEWAYS

103 Park Ave., New York City

The World Today in Books

NORMAN COUSINS

SHORTLY before Christmas 1934, a tall, fair-haired young man walked into the New York offices of a prominent publisher. He announced himself as John Gunther, London correspondent of *The Chicago Daily News*, and said he had come in response to an invitation from the president of the firm. A few minutes later, Cass Canfield, president of Harper & Brothers, and John Gunther were on their way to lunch.

Out of that meeting grew a book that has influenced publishing concepts of books dealing with world affairs. It was called *Inside Europe*. Those who read it came away with the feeling they had seen Europe fluoroscoped.

John Gunther's *Inside Europe* made—indeed, continues to make—publishing history. No other book dealing with current affairs has ever approached its record. It has sold both here and abroad approximately 500,000 copies—about three hundred times the average book of its kind—and has grossed close to $1,750,000. At the moment, and probably for a long time to come, John Gunther is and will be the most valuable non-fiction property in the world.

Inside Europe has been translated into French, Spanish, Dutch, German, Norwegian, Swedish, Hungarian and Finnish, has been published in fourteen countries, banned by three—Germany, Italy, Yugoslavia—and "pirated" by one—Chile, which simply published the book without authorization, arrangement, or even acknowledgement. It has provoked controversy and debate everywhere.

As a personality, John Gunther is even more interesting, perhaps, than many of the colorful people who parade through his writings. Unlike most newspapermen, he actually looks the part. A movie executive told me that Gunther is Hollywood's idea of the perfect type for a foreign correspondent—interesting features, witty, clever, with a proper balance between sophistication and boyishness. He is strictly a Chicago product—was born, grew up, and was educated there. He is thirty-eight.

Gunther is an indefatigable worker. *Inside Europe* was written after working hours, on week-ends, and even during what foreign correspondents call their "holiday"—a vacation period in which they usually visit their native lands and stretch their busy fingers. Though Gunther has become a free-lance writer and no longer follows so arduous a routine, he continues to spend twelve to fifteen hours a day on his work. After he left *The Chicago Daily News* as a regular work-a-day correspondent, he set up a home in Connecticut, where he did most of his writing. But he felt he was "losing touch with

Books Reviewed in This Issue

BOOK	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	PRICE
Inside Asia	John Gunther	Harpers	$3.50
Bombs Bursting in Air	George F. Eliot	Reynal & Hitchcock	1.75
Who Are These Americans?	Paul B. Sears	Macmillan (People's Library)	.60
The March of Mind: A Short History of Science	F. Sherwood Taylor	Macmillan	$3.00
Night Over England	Eugene and Arlene Löhrke	Harrison-Hilton	2.00

things," and several months ago moved to New York, where he now lives with his family in an apartment facing Central Park. Gunther does little or no work at home. His research and writing he does in an office which he rented in the midtown section of New York—close to Radio City—and he has hired a secretary, though he answers phone calls himself.

He has an active collaborator in all his work, Frances Gunther, his wife, a talented writer and an authority on world affairs in her own right, who acts as his editor and who carries a large share of the research and writing. Frances Gunther's epigrams were the sparkle of Viennese café society; she is perhaps the most consistently quoted person in her husband's writings. "Remove liberty from Germany," she remarked, "and you unite the country; remove liberty from France, and you have a revolution." Again: "No Austrian can be trusted to be a Nazi twenty-four hours a day. It takes too much energy." Once she posed the question, in referring to Madame Chiang Kai-shek: "Was this the face that launched a thousand airships?" About Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, a devout Christian, she quipped: "There is Methodism in his madness."

It is not generally known that John Gunther wrote three novels—all of them now out of print—before he tried his hand at history-in-the-making. His first novel, called *The Red Pavilion*, was published in 1927 and evoked somewhat of a minor storm in Chicago, locale of the story, among groups which felt Gunther was "too daring" in discussing the romantic affairs of a young couple. The other two novels were *Eden for One* and *Golden Fleece*.

All this is by way of introducing a new book by Gunther—the second of what may eventually be an "inside" series. It is called *Inside Asia*, though—as Gunther explains in a note—it might more properly be called *Outside Asia* since he was "outside, looking in," unlike his experience in Europe, where he worked within the coils and springs of the Continent for so many years. Precisely the same superlatives which greeted *Inside Europe*—and which, in all likelihood, have been used on few books since—should now greet its twin, *Inside Asia*. For Asia has been Guntherized, with all the trimmings, and a great many people who all along never bothered to read news dispatches under Vladivostok, Manila, Delhi, Teheran, Chungking, Mukden and even Shanghai or Tokyo datelines will suddenly become aware that a continent—and an important one at that—exists on the other side of the Pacific Ocean, that much of what happens there concerns us as vitally as do events on the other side of the Atlantic.

As in *Inside Europe*, John Gunther has constructed his story with personalities as the center, politics as the radii and events as the circumference. In giving so much attention to individuals, Gunther is, of course, broadening the appeal of his book. For most people are more interested in the personalities who do things than in the things they do. Yet even though a number of critics are certain to deplore what they may describe as an attempt to write for a large audience at the expense of a proper balance between events and event-makers, there is a strong case in favor of the Gunther ratio.

I asked John Gunther recently whether his emphasis on personalities grew out of a belief that, by and large, individuals helped shape events more than events helped shape them. He replied that he was no historian or philosopher—"just a newspaper reporter"—that he had never studied history in that particular light, that his sole interest was in getting the story, if a story was to be gotten. "But I will say this," he added, "I wrote *Inside Europe* out of the conviction that Europe was the prisoner of three men. I wanted people to know who these men were, how they lived, what they did, how they had managed to dominate Europe, what Europe thought of them and what they thought of each other. In so doing, it was necessary to broaden the picture and include other personalities and other events."

Inside Asia follows a similar pattern. Perhaps even more than Europe is the world's largest continent a prisoner. Asia has been fair game for all whose muscles were large enough to carry off her treasures. Fair game long before Japan decided that she, too, had the right to hoist a flag of imperialism in the Far East. "The history of modern Asia," says Gunther, "has been that of predatory western powers struggling among

themselves for the rich and prostrate body of the eastern continent. Geographically, Europe is an appendage of Asia. The appendage has wagged —and perhaps poisoned—the main body."

To carry out the "prisoner" theme still further, Gunther says that Japan is shackled to Shinto, India to the Brahmans. In these two countries, he adds, the religious attitude leads to mysticism, while in China it leads to resignation; in India, Iraq, Syria and the Near East, to an intense sectarian struggle; and in Palestine, to murder.

From one end of the continent to the other Gunther ranges, finding drama and color, interviewing leading personalities, piecing together threads of events, reporting, analyzing, interpreting. His obvious aim was to dig into the essential, interesting things about a country, a people and its leaders, and describe them so as to make them as impressive, as alive, to his readers as they were to him. That he has managed to succeed is as much a tribute to his insatiable curiosity and desire to carve down to the real meat of matters as it is to his ability to write so colorfully.

Gunther finds that personalities in Asia are almost as important as in Europe. Almost every country, he points out, is dominated by a man. "What would contemporary China be without Chiang Kai-shek, India without Gandhi, the Philippines without Quezon, Arabia without Ibn Saud?"

His personality sketches—quite aside from their importance as current history—are really literary accomplishments. Impressions are clear, forceful, dramatic. Manuel Quezon is "elastic, electric"; Chiang Kai-shek is "shrewd, suspicious, calculating. . . . This delicately featured Chinese soldier is a bulldog." Madame Chiang Kai-shek is "alert, amusing, smoothly polished, full of graceful small talk, and enormously efficient"; Mohandas Gandhi is "an ncredible combination of Jesus Christ, Tammany Hall, and your 'ather"; India's next most important personality, Jawaharlal Nehru, Nationalist leader, is an "Indian who ecame a westerner—an aristocrat vho became a Socialist—an individualist who became a great mass eader . . . hardly a dozen men alive vrite English as well as Nehru"; Reza Shah Pahlevi of Persia is capricious and lacks sense of bal-

bylines

We would caution Americans against propaganda, oral or written, which seeks to turn any class or race or religious group against another—*Statement of the National Conference of Christians and Jews (See page 54).*

President Roosevelt's order to buy Argentine beef was in effect that of a carpenter ordering a half-dozen nails from a wholesale hardware house—*Carleton Beals (See page 28).*

Already the dangerous idea is gaining credence that we [Republican Party] can elect anyone we nominate —*Alfred M. Landon.*

The colleges and universities must confess that their offerings are such as to drive their students to seek mental stimulation in gladiatorial combats, college life and the consumption of live fish—*President Robert Hutchins.*

No industry has experienced the same amount of pirating and skullduggery which have accompanied isolated cases of railroad development—*Charles W. Hurd (See page 24).*

Despite the ballyhoo, Garner, as a presidential candidate, is merely Landon with a sombrero—*Tom Meany in* The New York World Telegram.

No Austrian could be a Nazi twenty-four hours a day; it takes too much energy—*Mrs. John Gunther (See page 2).*

The human race is a collection of the most marvelous, ingenious and engaging idiots that ever got possession of a noble planet—*Walter Lippmann (See page 50).*

Complete independence for the Philippines now probably would mean servitude. They are unable to stand alone amidst the violent forces now loosed in the Far East. If the United States flag descends the result will be a bloody struggle for control—*Paul V. McNutt.*

Nobody in France wants war but everybody is ready to go if need be. Everyone is calm about it. That's the most remarkable thing about the situation. Everyone is completely adjusted to going serenely if he has to—*Ambassador William C. Bullitt.*

It is not too much to say that if Jefferson were President today he would consent to run for a third term in order to defeat economic royalism or fascism—*Harold L. Ickes.*

CURRENT HISTORY

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ARTICLES

DEPARTMENTS

COVER PHOTOGRAPH FROM HARRIS & EWING

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"Can Germany afford a gamble in which she throws on the gaming boards all that her present rulers have gained, all the fruits of years of effort, in the hope of winning a military victory which even if won may prove but fleeting and illusory in its benefits? . . . The masters of Germany are not fools. Why should they take the risks of war, and undergo the strains which it will impose upon their none-too-assured economic and social structure, while they have a better and safer method of achieving their objectives?" Thus the threat of war—or international blackmail — may dominate, or attempt to dominate, the world.

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Pennies For Wings

The voice of a friend. Reassuring words from father, mother, son or daughter. A hurried call for aid in the night. You cannot set a price on such things as these.

Yet this is true—telephone service is cheap in this country. No other people get so much service, and such good and courteous service, at such low cost.

BELL TELEPHONE SYSTEM

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"Garner for President"

"Cactus Jack" Garner, though he carries his years lightly, is already older than any president of the United States has been at inauguration. Should he be nominated and elected, he would be the first Vice-President since Martin Van Buren (sent to the White House in 1836) to attain the presidency except by filling a dead man's shoes. Nevertheless, Garner's friends want him to be the 1940 Democratic nominee for president, and he hasn't said "No." There has been talk of "Garner for President" for months. Now there is action. Garner Clubs are springing up, particularly in Texas. Pamphlets fly around. Public opinion polls place the Vice-President high in public popularity.

When "Cactus Jack"—he had been speaker of the House—started to preside over the Senate in 1933, he was expected to be another Throttlebottom. He didn't like to make speeches. He disliked social life. But the red faced, white haired politician from Uvalde, Texas, soon made himself felt. First he commanded for the White House. Later he showed himself a lukewarm New Dealer. Then many conservatives within and without the Democratic party decided he was probably their man.

On matters of finance, on sit-down strikes and other labor problems, he pleased the right-wingers. Appealing stories began to be told about him, stressing his plainness, his folksy qualities, his taciturnity. Such was the one told after the recent state dinner in Washington for Britain's George and Elizabeth. The Vice-President, wearing the white tie and tails he is supposed to detest, was asked if he had enjoyed the evening. "Well," he said, "I'm here." It was long past his nine o'clock bedtime.

To many New Dealers John N. Garner seems to sympathize with the Roosevelt Administration no more than Vice-President John C. Calhoun sympathized with Andrew Jackson. The drive to make Garner the party candidate worries them, since, to preserve and extend the New Deal, they feel that Franklin D. Roosevelt, tossing precedent overboard, must seek a third term. Aware that the Garner movement might be destined less to nominate the Texan than to block a New Dealer, they have redoubled their efforts to get Mr. Roosevelt in the 1940 race. Only he, they argue, could head off a conservative. But the President has kept his thoughts to himself. And many neutrals point to the anti-third-term tradition as an almost insurmountable obstacle, an obstacle that if dynamited might blow the Democratic party to bits.

Democrats Divided

The very fact that a Garner boom could be started pointed to the party split that since the New Deal began has divided Democrats into liberals and conservatives. That division made Alfred E. Smith plumb for the Republican candidate in 1936, led to the attempted "purge" of anti-Roosevelt Democrats in 1938. It has been behind recent Administration defeats—the relief appropriations bill, the attack on the undistributed profits tax and, to look back a bit further, the reorganization fight of last year. Attacks on such New Deal legislation as the Wagner Labor Act and the National Health Bill stem from the same division.

Divided parties do not win elections. That rule raises a question whether the delegates in 1940 will not want a compromise candidate who can win the aid and support of both New Dealers and Garnerites. Desire and realization, however, seem far apart, for the name of a possible middle-of-the-roader who would suit has yet to be found. There has been talk about Postmaster General Farley, he of the famous green-ink signature, about Secretary of State Hull and Secretary of Agriculture Wallace, but none has stirred deafening applause.

Secretary Wallace, incidentally, started a poll that backfired. In his newspaper, *Wallace's Farmer*, he asked young Iowans to state their choice for President. First place in the poll was won by Thomas E. Dewey, whose wide popularity continues to amaze political observers.

Republicans Also

Doubt, uncertainty and division among Democrats has been duplicated among their Republican opponents, who after years in the wilderness have settled upon neither a leader nor a program. Within their ranks has been division between conservatives and liberals that has resulted in a running criticism of New Deal measures, but has brought forward few popular alternatives. Nor has a Republican standard-bearer certain to rally the country been located.

Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg of Michigan recently said he is willin', and some shrewd political observers are ready to lay money that he will be the Republican nominee. His colleague from Ohio, Robert A. Taft, has been selected by many crystal-gazers. New York's District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey has an important following. How successful any of these would be against a Democrat is any man's guess. An important question is: What Democrat? Here President Roosevelt needed to be consulted; the President was silent.

Liberal Supreme Court

The Supreme Court of the United States ended its "October Term 1938" on June 5, and the black-robed justices quit their leather-backed chairs in the pillared courtroom until next October. Ill-health kept Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes from the last session, and Washingtonians wondered if the time were near when the seventy-seven-year-old jurist would retire.

Should he so decide, he would make way for the fifth Roosevelt appointment to the bench of nine. Until the resignation of Justice Van Devanter in 1937, President Roosevelt went without a single nomination for the Supreme Court, a record unparalleled for a full-term president since the time of James Monroe. The court's conservative attitude toward the New Deal made the situation hard to bear, explaining in part the ill-fated attempt to revamp the court in 1937.

When Justice Van Devanter resigned, the average age of "the nine old men" was 71.88 years. (Mr. Van Devanter was seventy-eight.) Since then there have been two other resignations and one death. The four Roosevelt appointees have brought the average age down to 62.22 years. All the Roosevelt justices are relatively young. William O. Douglas, named this spring, is only forty.

The court's past session, unlike some of its recent ones, lacked drama, but trends of the past two years were continued. Liberalism now rules the Supreme Bench, in marked contrast to the first Roosevelt Administration when several New Deal measures were thrown out as unconstitutional. The liberalism takes two forms: (1) approval of New Deal laws that once might have been overthrown; for instance, the favorable ruling last April on the A.A.A. of 1938; (2) readiness to uphold decisions favoring civil liberties.

On this second note the 1938 session ended, the court holding unconstitutional a Jersey City ordinance that allowed the denial of permits for public meetings. The ban had been invoked particularly against the C.I.O., which, during an organization drive in the bailiwick of Mayor Frank Hague, tried to hold rallies and meetings in public halls and parks. Mayor Hague promised to obey the court's order.

Duffy—The Baltimore Sun   Fitzpatrick—St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Two of the country's best cartoonists view the recent decision of the Supreme Court rebuking Jersey City's Hague.

Social Security Sooner

If any one word sums up the ambitions of America's millions it is—*security*. Particularly security for old age. That ambition is not new, but the depression that broke in 1929 heightened it and turned popular attention from security obtained by individual effort to security guaranteed by society—*social security*.

Doctor Townsend sold his $200 a month for the elderly up and down the country, and people took to it far more eagerly than they had ever taken to his pills and powders. In last year's elections voters heard, in California, about the "$30-every-Thursday" plan, or, in Texas, about $30 every month for the old folk. The argument has been and is that society owes something to the aged who, often through no fault of their own, cannot support themselves. For generations that obligation has been recognized, but the idea that it should be met through old-age pensions has still some novelty in this country.

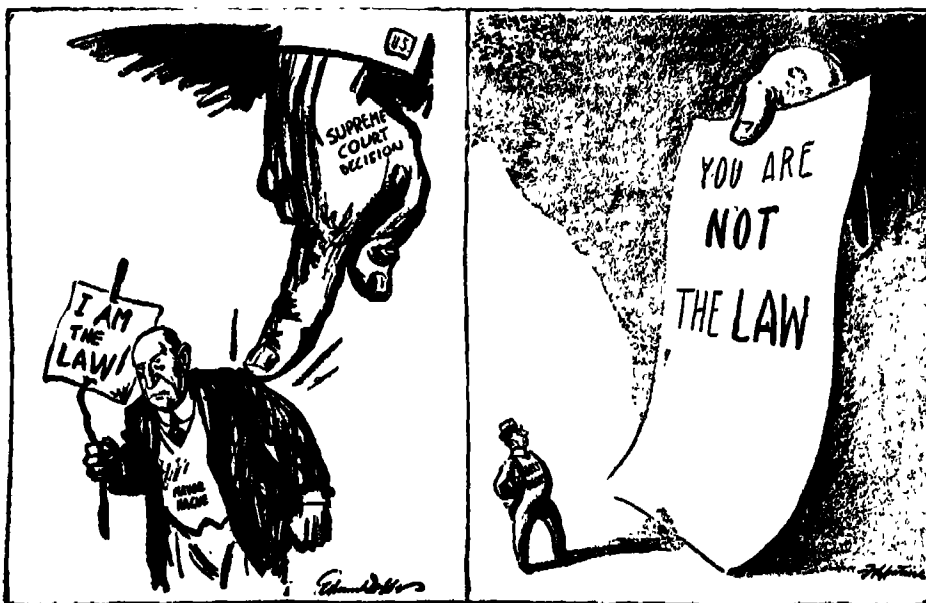
Social security schemes were taken up early by the New Deal, and a national act was passed in 1935. (The Supreme Court O.K.'d it two years later.) The long and complicated act, covering federal aid for state unemployment insurance systems, for child and maternal welfare, for aid to the blind and for public-health work, set up federal old-age pensions starting with 1942. Both employees and employers anted a pot for pensions, benefits starting with a minimum of $10 a month—at age sixty-five. Under some circumstances benefits might mount to a maximum of $85 a month. Domestic servants, seamen and some others were the forgotten men of the act.

Experience with the law brought criticism, chiefly of old-age pension clauses. Last December the Advisory Council on Social Security suggested changes. One change would speed up payments; benefits would start in 1940 instead of 1942. The Council's recommendations were followed by the framers of amendments to the Social Security Act that have been on the Congressional docket. Two aims were in view: (1) to liberalize benefits; (2) decrease taxes for the system's support.

The House decided that henceforth seamen, bank employees and employed persons over sixty-five should be covered by the act, that all eligible for old-age pensions should have them to spend by next January 1, two years earlier than originally planned. Old-age insurance taxes were stabilized at 1 per cent; they were to have advanced next year to 1½ per cent. Under the amended law pensions would follow such a sample schedule as this:

Average Monthly Salary for Three Years, 1937-39 Inclusive	*Single Persons*	*Married Couples*
$ 50	$20.60	$30.90
100	25.75	38.63
150	30.90	46.35
250	41.20	61.80

Only two dissenting votes were registered in the House, and Senate approval was prophesied by Wash-

ington observers. For, though a Townsend plan for $60-a-month pensions was defeated at this congressional session, the Townsend movement and other old-age-pension schemes have so stirred the country that to vote against *social security* comes close to voting for political death.

New Chief of Staff

Tall, sandy haired, clean-shaven George Catlett Marshall, Brigadier General U.S.A., will become Chief of Staff when General Malin Craig retires at the end of August, and thus for the second time in Army history a non-West Pointer will head the service. The other exception was General Leonard Wood, whose background was Harvard. General Marshall is a graduate of Stonewall Jackson's old school, Virginia Military Institute.

General Marshall—he is fifty-eight and twice-married—has seen service from Texas to the Philippines to France. He fought at St. Mihiel and in the Argonne. He has been in China. For service and valor he has been many times decorated with medals and ribbons that include: Distinguished Service Medal, Victory Medal with five bars, Croix de Guerre with Palm, Legion of Honor, the Italian Order of Saints Maurice and Lazarus, and the Italian Order of the Crown.

The Chief of Staff-designate had a chance to wear some of his decorations in May and June when he paid a Good Neighbor visit to Brazil. He had been sent on a military-diplomatic mission designed to bring Brazil into closer relations with the United States, and to head off a proposed visit by the Brazilian Chief of Staff, General Monteiro, to Berlin. The Brazilian had a German invitation, but had to decline with thanks, staying home to entertain his American visitor. The entertainment was first class, including a brilliant military procession through the streets of Rio.

The Brazilians found their guest not uncongenial. In army circles General Marshall has long had the reputation for being a strict disciplinarian, but his courtesy is traditional, and those who know him insist that, in his soft spoken way, he is the best story teller in the army. When he returned to the United States on June 20, he brought General Monteiro back with him for a return visit.

Hungerford—The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

"Snow White Garner."

When he takes over, General Marshall will head an expanding military force that is in the midst of its greatest rearmament program in peacetime history. Much of that expansion is in the field of motorization and in the air corps. While the new Chief of Staff admits the tremendous importance of an air force, while he insists on the need for motorization and improved material, he pins his faith on the historic infantryman. As the General puts it: 'By himself he can do very little, but collectively he wins a war."

Revamping W.P.A.

As part of his job, a congressman keeps his ear to the ground. So acute does his ear become that often he can detect movements at the very grass roots, among the folk back home. The folk have been grumbling for a good while about the W.P.A.

"Loafers," that is the word most often heard, but other charges against the W P.A. have been legion. It has been accused of waste and extravagance, of political activity, of competition with private business. Radicalism has been laid at the door of the art projects—the writing, theater and other white-collar efforts. The Workers Alliance, organization of those on relief, has been linked to Communist leadership Congressmen have heard all these things many times, and some of them echoed in the recent House hearings on next year's relief appropriation. The majority was ready to tackle these alleged W.P.A. evils, and with a strong suspicion that the folk back home would applaud.

The House had its chance with the introduction of a relief bill carrying the W.P.A.'s $1,477,000,000 requested by President Roosevelt for the fiscal year starting July 1. That sum, though huge, was a third less than the $2,250,000,000 spent in 1938-39. In four years of W.P.A. history all

Elderman—The Washington Post

Hallelujah, I'm a bum!

figures have been astronomical. Nearly $7,000,000,000 has been spent on this one relief agency with its multitudinous projects. W.P.A. workers have fluctuated from a low of 1,451,112 in September, 1937, to a high of 3,253,623 in October, 1938. The President has estimated that two million will be the 1939-40 average.

The House bill rang down the curtain on the Federal Theater Project of the W.P.A. By requiring all who have been on the rolls eighteen months, come October 1, to be dropped for at least two months, a move was made against those who might be seeking a career on relief. The size of projects was strictly limited. The arts projects—boondoggling they have seemed to some eyes—were abandoned unless sponsored by localities. Penalties for political use of W.P.A. jobs were heightened. Efforts were made to knock out any possible Communist influence in the W.P.A.

There were only twenty-one votes against the proposals for remodeling the W.P.A. when the bill came up in the House, but there was a great outcry in certain public sectors. The move against the federal theater stirred many protests from individuals, but towns and cities also began to assert themselves against the nature of the revamped W.P.A., New York declaring that the new set-up would cut the W.P.A. rolls drastically and increase home relief to an almost impossible point. In the midst of the agitation only one thing stood forth in bold outline: Whatever had been done in Congress to meet alleged weaknesses in the W.P.A., nothing had been done to tackle the fundamental problem of unemployment, the crux of the whole relief controversy.

Future of Philippines

En route to Washington from Manila, Paul V. McNutt, High Commissioner to the Philippines, recently declared that complete independence for the Philippines "probably would mean servitude," that "they are unable to stand alone amidst the violent forces now loosed in the Far East."

"We have given them political independence but economic dependence," he said. "They should not now be abandoned." The statement attracted wide attention, not only because of Mr. McNutt's high position in the Philippines, but because on June 18 he announced that he would be a candidate for the Democratic nomination for President if Mr. Roosevelt did not choose to run again.

Under the Tydings-McDuffie Act, the Philippine Islands will achieve full sovereignty on July 4, 1946. But Senator Tydings and President Roosevelt are reported in agreement on the reshuffling of our commercial relations with the Islands provided for in a bill sponsored by the Senator and passed by the Senate last May 31. Congress also is considering a proposal that a joint congressional committee sit with a group to be appointed by the President in 1944, and consider the economic plight of the Philippines and the future relationships between the Islands and the United States.

Thus, the picture has changed since a year ago, when Philippine nationalists were wildly demanding complete independence immediately. The fact is that the Philippines have long been declared a goal for Japanese expansionists, and many of the Filipinos also fear lest they come under the influence of Great Britain as a stepping stone across the Pacific to Australia and New Zealand.

In an interview in Manila prior to his departure for Japan, where he is at work on his memoirs, General Emilio Aguinaldo, famous revolutionary hero of the Philippines, who led the American Army a merry chase during the early years of occupation, declared that the Filipinos "must aspire to freedom but never forget America. An independent Philippines means a grateful Philippines." He further declared, however, that the Sino-Japanese conflict should have nothing to do with the grant of independence to the Islands. "If Japan is a danger to the Philippines, as some people think," he said, "it will always be thus, as Japan will not disappear from the map nor become so weakened it will not be able to do active military work."

The fact that the United States takes almost 85 per cent of all Philippine exports and supplies more than 60 per cent of the Islands' imports appears to be tending toward an American determination to hold on to the Islands, to give the United States a voice in Far Eastern affairs if nothing else. Despite pressure on Congress by American sugar, oil and other commercial interests to free the Philippines in order to preserve the American market for American pro-

ducers, Congress has become increasingly concerned over the Islands. When 1946 rolls around, it is doubtful that Washington will keep its promise to set them loose.

Buy Dutch West Indies

Declaring that, of the hundreds of millions of dollars that the United States is spending on army and navy equipment, "a substantial part will be obsolete in the course of a few years," Senator Ernest Lundeen, Minnesota Farmer-Laborite, recently suggested that the United States "purchase the Dutch West Indies and Dutch Guiana as a permanent improvement to our national defense in a vulnerable portion of our armor."

Curacao, largest of the Dutch West Indian Islands, is located strategically in the path of Trinidad-Panama shipping and athwart New York-Venezuela lines of communication. Willemstad, the port of Curacao, is one of the most thriving in the world and is the center of the oil-refining industry from the wells at Maracaibo, on the Venezuelan coast. Adjacent to Curacao are Aruba and Bonaire, about fifty miles off Venezuela. The three islands, plus several smaller ones, have a total area of about four thousand square miles, while Dutch Guiana is about the size of Iowa. Senator Lundeen pointed out that one-fifth of the world's aluminum is found in Dutch and British Guiana and that, moreover, that area would provide a haven for European refugees whose immigration is not now encouraged by the United States. In this era of rapid expansion in air power, he said, it is interesting to note that Dutch Guiana is on the main transport routes from Florida and South America via the West Indies.

Inasmuch as the Virgin Islands were purchased from Denmark without difficulty, Senator Lundeen saw no reason why the Netherlands would not be willing to sell Curacao and Guiana. The changing of flags, he argued, apparently has little significance so far as the great body of the population of these areas is concerned. He illustrated his point with the following statement:

"The Island of Curacao was settled by the Spanish in 1527; captured by the Dutch in 1634; captured by the English in 1800; shortly thereafter recaptured by the Dutch; recaptured by the English in 1807; and finally restored to the Dutch in 1816. Dutch Guiana was settled in 1630 by the English, and in 1644 was largely taken over by Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish Jews. The Dutch military occupied Guiana in 1666, and in 1667 the English gave up their claim to it in exchange for New Amsterdam, later New York. It was again taken over by the English in 1799 and held by them until 1816 when it was finally recovered by the Dutch. In none of these transfers and retransfers was the native population consulted by the conquering nations.

"We hear a great deal said on the floor of the Senate about the possibility that some foreign power may come and take possession of some of these islands," he said. "Very well; let us acquire them now by negotiation and purchase, and perhaps we might save for America some of the neighboring territory lying just off our coast."

Amadee—The St. Louis Post Dispatch

"I'll get that killer!"

Czech Resistance

The Nazi protectorate of Moravia and Bohemia, and its ostensibly "independent" neighbor Slovakia, suffered throughout the first half of June from an ailment now common in Europe and familiarly known to most chancelleries as "Munich nerves." Evidently because this affliction can only be relieved by positive action, and also because the Czechs and Slovaks are not a supine people, their resistance to their German masters moved at last from a passive to an active stage.

By the beginning of the month, sabotage was almost openly practiced, both by industrial workers (literally throwing monkey-wrenches into the works of various plants) and by farmers who began to secrete their summer crops. In open defiance of German uniformed police, of Reichswehr detachments and of Gestapo operatives, citizens of partitioned Bohemia and Moravia bellowed the ancient songs forbidden them, and hooted at regulations specifically proscribing their folk arias. Under the increasing tension, German and Czech police repeatedly clashed. A

Nazi policeman was shot and killed at Kladno; his Czech equivalent was killed at Nachod.

But that was not all. Hitler seemed relatively indifferent to the sultry atmosphere of the protectorate, which is altogether helpless, but Slovakia—whose independence the Fuehrer has "guaranteed"—was something else again. Here, it plainly appeared to him, he was being intolerably provoked. He moved quickly to reinforce Reichswehr garrisons in Slovakia, and massed other troops in the northeast corner of Moravia, a convenient springboard for a leap into Slovakia and the pronouncement of another protectorate.

Throughout the month Czechs and Slovaks raced by the thousands across the Polish frontier, among them, incidentally, the sixty-two-year-old Volta Benes, brother of the former President, with whom he had recently conferred in the United States. Their intention was a repetition of their hair-raising tactics during the World War: the organization of a rigidly disciplined and fatalistic foreign legion. The last reports were that at Cracow eighteen thousand of them had found a leader in General Prchala, a figure who appears made-to-order as a future national hero. It was the doughty Prchala who last autumn fought a last-ditch (but unsuccessful) action against the Hungarians when they demanded a share of the spoils of Munich.

Other Czechs and Slovaks fled to France in the course of the month, hoping to form ranks there in a second foreign legion. In an effort to check this illegal exodus, Protector Baron Konstantin von Neurath banished thousands of skilled Czech workers to Germany, to be retained as hostages, i.e., as a warning to their families to stay in the protectorate and work for the Fuehrer. But the reckless flight continued.

The asylum given these Czech "legionnaires" in June by Poland did nothing, manifestly, to make Berlin-Warsaw relations more cordial. Those relations were already perilously near the breaking point over the issue of Danzig.

Tension at Tientsin

For Great Britain, June was a month fraught with tension. London's negotiations with Moscow over a Franco-British-Russian pact against aggression struck one snag after another. The Polish-German embroglio menaced a precarious peace on the continent. And in the Far East Japan forced a showdown on the existence of foreign settlements in China, with Great Britain an unwilling participant.

Very bluntly Tokyo declared that Britain had long been giving roundabout aid to Chiang Kai-shek, and was, in fact, trying to preserve China as its own exclusive property, even to the extent of involving the United States in the China affair as a cat's-paw to pull British chestnuts out of the Oriental flame. Citing the fact that, when the United States asked for British moral support during the Manchurian trouble seven years ago Washington was coldly snubbed, Tokyo declared: "Now that it is London's interests that are at stake, Britain is doing its utmost to provoke ill feeling between Japan and the United States."

The incident at Tientsin in North China brought matters to a head. The dispute there arose originally over the asylum given by the British in Tientsin to four Chinese whom the Japanese charged with terrorizing the municipal official under their domination. The Japanese demanded the persons of the alleged terrorists. Britain refused to accede, and Tokyo followed with a number of specific as well as general demands. The former included the relinquishment of the four men, and British support of Japanese currency; the latter asked an end to oblique British aid to Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, and consent to the extension of municipal jurisdiction to the Chinese puppets over the concessions throughout China—including the enormously wealthy and vital International Settlement of Shanghai. A persistent *obbligato* to these demands was the assertion by various Japanese spokesmen, at Tientsin, Shanghai and Tokyo, that the day of special privileges for the occidental powers in China had ended. Thus the issue became one far more sweeping than the British surrender of four Chinese agitators.

As predicted by Japan, Great Britain began immediate overtures to the United States for aid. In Washington our State Department was more than ordinarily taciturn, but Secretary Hull's office went so far as to deny that definite proposals of forthright joint action had been entertained from London or from France, whose concession at Tientsin was blockaded by the Japanese along with the British concession. Nevertheless, it did become known that the State Department, via American Consul-General J. K. Caldwell, in the besieged concession, was steadily and monotonously relaying notes and protests to Tokyo over the inconveniences suffered by American exporters, importers and bankers. At the same time London was scrupulously careful to see that the State Department was informed of every move in the critical situation, and the Chamberlain government also took elaborate pains to see that Tokyo was made cognizant of the information it was forwarding to Washington. As the month advanced an unofficial international consensus was that Britain probably would not be provoked to military action this summer.

Another Singapore

Sydney, New South Wales, has been selected by the Australian and British governments for a "second Singapore," according to plans and estimates announced in London by Sir Leopold Saville, prominent British dock and harbor engineer. The base, which would be able to accommodate the five 35,000 ton battleships now being built by Great Britain, would have a strategic value to any English or allied fleets operating in the Pacific.

Proposed plans now being studied by naval experts call for an almost exact duplicate of the Singapore base in the Straits Settlements, including the 1,000-foot long George VI graving dock, which, with its 135-foot width and 35-foot low water depth, is capable of accommodating the biggest capital ship afloat or building.

The proposed Australian naval base would afford a particularly wide striking range for the British fleet in the Pacific, in waters now plowed by three major fleets—the Royal Australian Navy which, consisting of several cruisers, destroyers and escort vessels, operates with the British fleet, the American Pacific fleet, which now includes a large part of the normal Atlantic squadron, and the Japanese Fleet.

In Search of Peace

Great Britain's Prime Minister explains recent historic changes in England's foreign policies

NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN

WHATEVER may be the ultimate verdict on the events through which we passed in the last year, and which have left their mark on some of us--whatever may be the verdict on the part which has been played by the British government, we can be sure that the period will stand out as one that is memorable in the history of the British people.

We ourselves have been through the whole gamut of the emotions—anxiety deepening until it became acute, then intense relief, varied by renewed doubts and fears until now the people have settled down into a mood of firm and fixed resolve, confident in our strength, clear in our conscience that we have done and are doing all that men can do to preserve peace. Convinced of the rightness and the unselfishness of our aims, we are as ready as ever to listen to the views of others, but determined not to submit to dictation. And whatever differences there may be among us as to the methods, I feel satisfied that throughout our country there is fundamental union on the principles of the policy which we are following.

I seem in these days to be the target for a lot of rotten eggs, but I can assure you that does not keep me awake. The British people have watched the old umbrella going round—they have, I believe, approved our efforts, strenuous, and up to now successful, to keep Europe out of war.

Nothing would induce us to enter upon a war unless we are absolutely convinced that it could not be avoided without sacrificing our own liberties and our own good name. I am confident that the British people will be behind us in any measures we may think it necessary to take in order to deter others, if others there be, who would seek to substitute methods of force for the methods of discussion which we ourselves employ in settling our own disputes at home.

ONE of the most important of new books is *In Search of Peace*, by Neville Chamberlain, Prime Minister of Great Britain. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, it is Mr. Chamberlain's own record of his history-making administration. Consisting of public papers, speeches and letters, the book tells the full story of recent English diplomacy, from early "appeasement" to late attempts at guaranteeing the security of several nations in Central and Eastern Europe.

By special arrangement with the publishers, CURRENT HISTORY prints the accompanying material from the book, feeling that it clearly indicates the official position of the Chamberlain government on conscription, taxation and Anglo-German relations, and that this position has historical importance.

Recent developments in our policy have been forced upon us and have led us to undertake new commitments in Europe leading inevitably to fresh increases in the armed power of the nation. It has never been part of our policy to be meddlesome busybodies interfering in other people's concerns. We have long had certain alliances and engagements on the Continent and, of course, we have a general interest in the maintenance of peace; but so long as these things were not threatened we had no desire to go farther.

And as for Germany's actions, we were not necessarily concerned with them so long as they were confined within the limits which Germany laid down and sought only to promote the interests of Germany without threatening the independence of non-German countries. But, when Bohemia and Moravia, countries inhabited by a population the great majority of which was not German—when those countries were annexed to the Reich, well, then other countries began at once to ask where is this process going to stop. Indeed the natural result was that every neighbor of Germany felt its security threatened, and a suspicion, a widespread suspicion, was created that we were only watching the first step in a policy which might contemplate the swallowing of state after state with the intention ultimately of dominating the world.

It may be that the Nazi leaders have no such ambitions. They themselves say that there is nothing farther from their minds than to use these gigantic forces which they have accumulated for the purpose of aggression against others or of attempting the economic, political and military domination of smaller states.

If that be so, then I say that Germany has nothing to fear from British policy. I am told that there are people in Germany who do not understand our policy and think that we have some intention of encircling their country. I can understand that people who suffered after the war from the consequences of severe privation have a dread of being stifled or restricted by the deliberate policy of some foreign power. Well, let me say now, as I have said before, that never has it entered our thoughts to isolate Germany or to stand in the way of the natural and legitimate expansion of her trade in Central and South Eastern Europe; still less to plan some combination against her with the idea of making war upon her. Any suggestion of the kind is simply fantastic and, if it is repeated for the purpose of propaganda, well, it will not be believed anywhere outside of Germany.

On the other hand, I want to make it equally plain that we are not prepared to sit by and see the independence of one country after another successively destroyed. Such at-

Neville Chamberlain

tempts in peace time have always encountered our resistance, and it is because there can be no rest, no security in Europe until the nations are convinced that no such attempt is contemplated, that we have given those assurances to Poland, to Rumania and to Greece which have been so warmly welcomed by them.

It is with the same purpose of calming and stabilizing the situation that we have entered upon conversations with other countries, particularly with Russia and Turkey.

In his recent speech Herr Hitler, referring to the Anglo-German Naval Treaty, said that it was based upon one condition—namely, the will and conviction that war between England and Germany should never again be possible. He added that that will and conviction were alive in him still today, but he suggested that his conviction was no longer shared in London. In any conflict, he said, Great Britain would always have to take her stand against Germany, and therefore war against Germany was taken for granted here, and accordingly, he said, the basis for the treaty had been removed.

Well, now, this is a very serious matter, and I want now to make a firm and definite assertion that so far as we are concerned the basis of the treaty has not been removed. On the contrary, I hold now, as I have always held, that the Anglo-German Naval Treaty could properly be regarded as symbolic of the desire that our two peoples never go to war with one another again. I believe that desire to be as firm as ever among both peoples, and I am convinced that both peoples expect their governments so to arrange their relations with one another and so to conduct their affairs that no question of war between us shall arise.

As I have explained, there is nothing in the assurances that I have mentioned which is in any way inconsistent with what I have just said. Herr Hitler went on to say that he hoped we might avoid an armaments race between Germany and England, and he added that he was ready to negotiate with us on the naval question with a view to coming to a clear and straightforward understanding. That is a statement to which His Majesty's government will give most careful consideration and in due course we shall send our reply to the German government.

Let me say here and now that neither in armaments nor in economics do we desire to enter into unbridled competition with Germany. We have already made an Anglo-German payments agreement which has proved, I think, of mutual benefit, and which has resulted in a fair volume of reciprocal trade in spite of the great differences in the economic systems of the two countries. And, moreover, we would not refuse to enter into a discussion upon measures for the increase of our mutual trade or for the improvement of our economic condition; but of course only if unmistakable signs can be given to us of a desire to restore that confidence which has been so shaken.

It must be apparent that these assurances to European countries have added greatly to our responsibilities, and, therefore, the necessity that we should put ourselves in a position to fulfil them. War in these days is no longer preceded by those preliminary stages which in old days gave ample warning of its approach. Today it is carefully prepared surprise and the lightning blow which give the first notification, and we must take our precautions accordingly. Other countries, which have land frontiers, fortify those frontiers, and their fortifications are manned by defenders night and day. Our fortifications here are our anti-aircraft defenses, which are entrusted to the Territorial Army.

We could not put them in more competent hands, but we cannot ask the Territorial Army to give up its normal occupation and to man these anti-aircraft defenses night and day except for short periods and in times of special emergency, and it is necessary, therefore, that we should supplement our present arrangements by utilizing the services of men who will be undergoing training for considerable periods of time in order that they may relieve the Territorial Army when there is no emergency.

You know that we have decided to bring in a measure of compulsory military training. If war should ever come—which God forbid—the brunt of the fighting will have to be borne by the younger men. In the last war the lives of some of the finest of our young men were sacrificed because they never had a full opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the use of the weapons of war. We must not take the responsibility of letting that happen again. In our bill we shall call up 200,000 men in the first year; in the second and third years the number of men between the ages of twenty and twenty-one will be rather larger. And so at the end of the third year we shall have 800,000 men who will have had an intensive training for six months in the use of weapons and the equipment that they would have to use in time of war. That is an immense addition to the strength and the safety of themselves and of the country.

Winston Churchill, who had criticized Britain's former policy of "appeasement" toward the dictators, is now one of Chamberlain's strongest supporters.

There is another reason still of the first importance for bringing in this measure of compulsory military training. In the course of the discussions which we have been carrying on with these European countries it became clear to us that doubts existed as to the seriousness of our intentions. In particular, our friends all over the Continent, who themselves have long practiced compulsory military service, could not understand how, if we meant business, we would entrust our defenses to volunteers, to men whose time was taken up in their ordinary occupations, and who, until actual war occurred, would never get that intensive training which all continental armies go through.

This feeling we found so strong that it was actually jeopardizing the success of the policy we were pursuing of trying to build up a peace front, and we could not resist the conviction that there was no single step which we could take which would so encourage our friends and so impress any who were not our friends as that we should introduce compulsory military training into this country.

I had the opportunity recently of exchanging a few words with M. Blum, the French Socialist leader and former Prime Minister, and he said to me that in his view, and in the view of all the Socialist friends with whom he had talked, there was only one danger of war in Europe, and that was a very real one: it was that the impression should get about that Great Britain and France were not in earnest and that they could not be relied upon to carry out their promises. No greater, no more deadly mistake could be made—and it would be a frightful thing if Europe were to be plunged into war on account of a misunderstanding.

In many minds the danger spot in Europe today is Danzig. While our assurances to Poland are clear and precise, and although we should be glad to see the differences between Poland and Germany amicably settled by discussions, and although we think that they could and should be so settled, if any attempt were made to change the situation by force in such a way as to threaten Polish independence, that would inevitably start a general conflagration in which this country would be involved.

I do not want you to think that all this points to the imminence of war. On the contrary, the stronger we are, the better able we are to resist attack and, if necessary, to strike the attacker, the less likely it is that peace will be disturbed. So I am very glad to tell you that in all three of our services we are increasing our strength both in men and in equipment, in ships, in guns, in aircraft, in munitions at a rate which reflects the highest credit on all concerned.

All these measures that we are taking are adding enormously to our national expenditure; sometimes I am thankful I am no longer Chancellor of the Exchequer—and that the responsibility is no longer primarily upon my shoulders of finding the means of financing them. But my colleague, Sir John Simon, has been so successful in his budget, both in deciding how much of the expenditure should come out of borrowing and how much out of taxation, and in the pains that he has taken to allot his new taxes fairly among all classes of the community, that I do not remember any budget in recent times—certainly none of my own—that has been subjected to so little criticism.

I am afraid that when we look forward into the future we cannot see much prospect of any reduction in taxation; we shall have to watch every penny of expenditure, and we certainly cannot afford in these days to indulge in any schemes which would make a considerable addition to the cost of our present services. But if only we could get a little relief from this international tension, this anxiety abroad, there are many indications that we might see a great expansion of trade which would be of benefit to every people in the world.

In our country the latest figures that have been issued by the Ministry of Labor show a further substantial decrease in unemployment, and the number of insured persons now in employment exceeds anything that has ever been recorded.

If I had the time I could mention other signs which are by no means unhopeful for the future. I have read of a great district in South Africa which, over long periods in the year while the dry season lasts, is nothing but a barren desert; but the time comes when the drought breaks, rains descend, and in a few hours the brown earth is carpeted with green and becomes a veritable garden of flowers. And so, too, we are waiting for the return of that vivifying confidence which, when it comes, would make our desert blossom like the South African Karoo.

The power to create that confidence does not rest in our hands alone, but so long as I am where I am I shall continue to hope and to spare no effort to bring it back. In the meantime, every one of us can contribute toward bringing it back by keeping up our faith. Depend upon it, however strong material forces may seem, they can never dominate the spirit.

Let me conclude by repeating to you from a great American poet:

Our fathers sleep but men remain
As brave, as wise, as true as they.
Why count the loss and not the gain?
The best is that we have today.

Balkanizing America

Trade wars among the states threaten to transform us into an economic counterpart of Central Europe

BLAIR BOLLES
Staff Writer, "The Washington Star"

OUTSIDE his own simple sphere, Leo Jubb, trucker, probably has been long forgotten. Jubb, a quiet citizen who lived with no thought of becoming a historic symbol, had his base of operations in Mamaroneck, New York, near the Connecticut line. One day he took his loaded truck to Maine. When he crossed the Salmon Falls River, the authorities asked $75 for Maine license tags before permitting him to proceed.

Leo paid the tax. When he returned from Maine he told the story to local officials. Indignant, the Mamaroneck police, who liked Leo, retaliated. They halted two Maine truck drivers entering New York along the Boston Post Road and forced them to get New York plates. The flow of interstate commerce in our "free" land was rudely interrupted. And out the window went the constitutional clause which prohibits the erection of unnecessary domestic trade barriers.

The affair Jubb, which took place in 1933, is one of the earliest examples of the border battling which in this summer of 1939 is turning our forty-eight states into vindictive, opportunistic entities. In the six years since Leo Jubb brought his truck home from Maine, interstate trade barriers have continued to rise all over the country. The situation has become so menacing that Secretary of State Hull recently warned the nation's governors that unless the barriers are torn down the United States may soon become an American counterpart of the Balkans, where trade wars and border feuds have brought economic chaos.

That many of the governors recognize the danger was apparent at the National Conference on Interstate Trade Barriers held in Chicago some weeks ago under the auspices of the Council of State Governments, an organization devoted to state and interstate welfare. Attended by governors or their representatives from most of the states, the conference sounded the opening gun of what the Council hopes will be a victorious campaign on the part of the states themselves to remove existing trade walls.

The New York Times
Secretary of State Hull has warned the states against trade barriers.

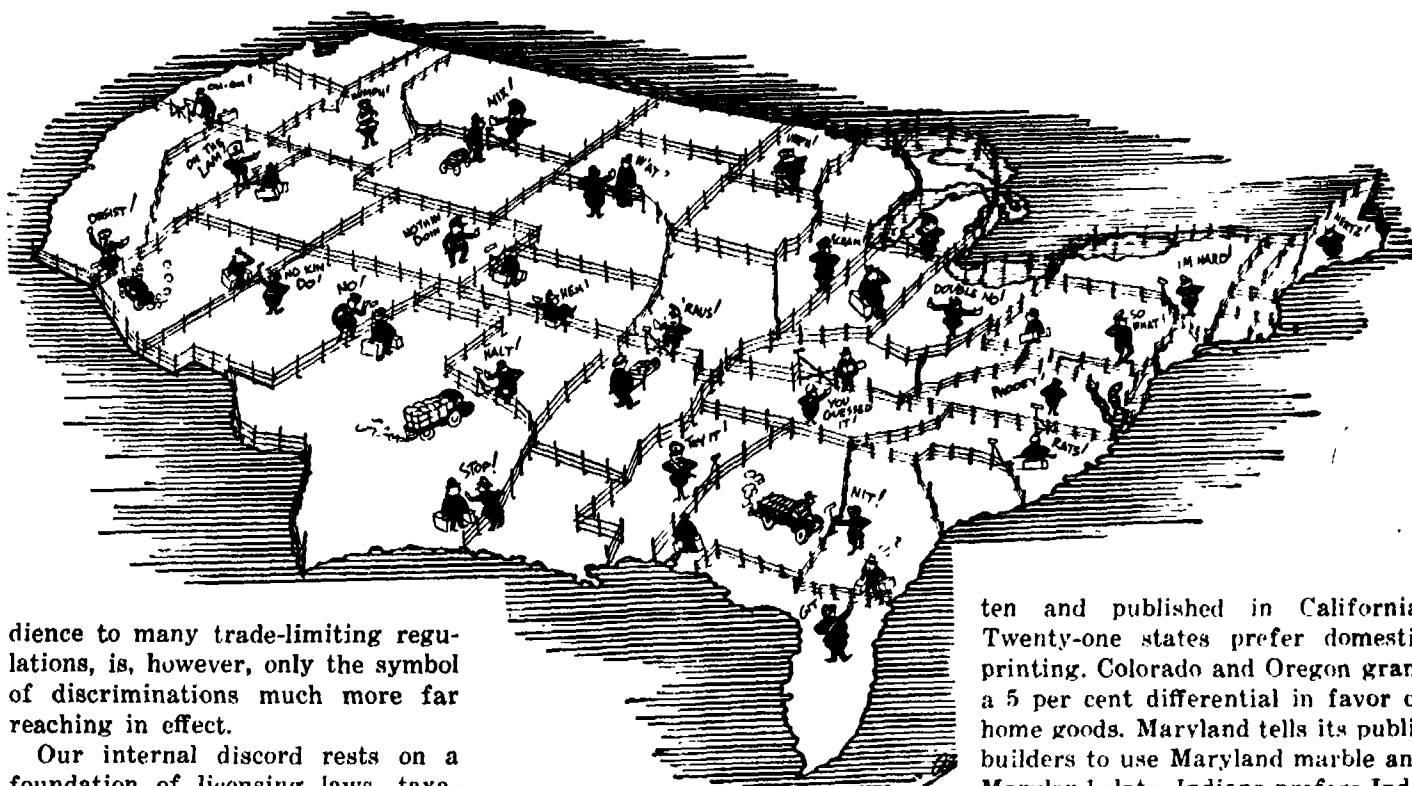
It will be interesting to see how far the states themselves will go towards giving positive meaning to the "domestic tranquillity" called for in the preamble of the Constitution. Thus far, internal customs laws seem to have changed that term to "domestic hostility." It is a strange paradox that, even as we exhorted foreign nations to level commercial barriers and improve trade relations, we ourselves moved in the directly opposite direction. Kansas has sixty-six ports-of-entry. Arizona's Highway Department, without benefit of statute, has set up eight of these casual customs stations, which, so far as motor vehicle traffic is concerned, are as formidable as anything found in Europe. Salesmen cannot enter California by car without taking out new plates.

Abroad, commercial war leads to armament races and then to martial conflicts. Here it leads to lowered return on American investments and to interstate wrangles. Nebraska is bitter at Kansas. A Kansan, in turn, has grumbled that "the rules and regulations of Oklahoma and Missouri almost make it prohibitive for Kansas farm trucks to cross the line." Tennessee resents South Carolina's taxation of peach cargoes. Chicago newspapers discourage Illinois residents from visiting Tennessee because of that State's truck and bus levies.

"We cannot say we have free trade between the states," wrote Secretary of Agriculture Wallace recently. According to Mr. Wallace's Department, the trade restrictions "add hundreds of millions of dollars to the annual food bill of consumers and make it increasingly difficult for persons in the lower income brackets to obtain necessary foods."

The country needs to be de-Balkanized. It cries for internal *anschluss.*

FOR the port-of-entry the country is indebted to Kansas. The Jayhawk State, which sells its oil and wheat and cattle in every section of the Republic, invented the American customs house in 1933 to collect gasoline taxes from incoming automobiles, whose drivers, the Kansans suspected, might have filled their tanks in Nebraska, Colorado, Missouri or Oklahoma.

The port-of-entry is certainly the most spectacular and irksome barrier yet devised by the states as a blocker of commerce. Fourteen states, mostly in the West, have followed Kansas' lead. The port, as the bottleneck where authorities can check on obe-

Barron's, The National Financial Weekly

Will it come to this?

dience to many trade-limiting regulations, is, however, only the symbol of discriminations much more far reaching in effect.

Our internal discord rests on a foundation of licensing laws, taxation, and extraordinary invocations of the police power. These counter-constitutional legislative acts often pretend to have a non-economic purpose. But the philosophy of "Buy Podunk" (successor to "Buy American") animates them all. Let us examine some existing imposts:

1. Licensing of gypsy-truckers and non-resident canvassers.

In this era of good roads the highways are crowded with men known, in the terse jargon of commerce, as "gyps." This label is no reflection on their honesty. It is merely a shortening of "gypsy," in turn whittled down from "gypsy-trucker." The gyp usually fills his truck with goods at a farm and travels off to the most likely market, which may be in the next state or the next county or two counties away. There he may peddle his goods from door to door or park his truck and wait for customers to come to him. His overhead is low; his service to the farmer is great: he sells cheaply and still profits. But legislation, extolled as protecting the consumer from fraud, hedges him with restrictions; restrictions from which local merchants, who conceivably could be just as fraudulent as the invaders, are exempt.

The gypsy-trucker who performs a useful task is beset in many jurisdictions by "Green River" ordinances which prohibit solicitation of private residences by pedlers. The trucker pays motor license fees for crossing state lines. He also pays for vendors' licenses; the price is $300 a year in Washington and Idaho, States which also require him to deposit $500 as a surety with the county treasurer. A vendor's license in Fort Wayne, Indiana, costs $300; in Louisville $250; in Denver, Omaha, Pittsburgh, Mobile, Baltimore, Cleveland and St. Louis $200.

This sort of discrimination against the one-truck trucker tends to favor large transportation companies. In the end, of course, the consumer pays, and state becomes irritated at state. Certain Georgia interests, for instance, seek establishment of a gyp-license because Georgia is now almost the only Southern State in which selling by itinerant truckers from beyond the State is practically free.

2. Public purchase preference laws.

An ingenious device for sweating the taxpayer is the law providing that state purchasing agencies give preference to certain articles produced in the state, no matter whether or not they can be obtained more cheaply elsewhere. Thirty states have preferences of this sort regarding the purchase of general supplies and building materials. California, one of the pioneers in discriminatory legislation, prefers that its children in public schools study textbooks written and published in California. Twenty-one states prefer domestic printing. Colorado and Oregon grant a 5 per cent differential in favor of home goods. Maryland tells its public builders to use Maryland marble and Maryland slate. Indiana prefers Indiana coal to heat the State House at Indianapolis. Florida wants Florida architects to design Florida official buildings. Inmates of Nebraska jails and other public institutions spread their bread with butter churned in Nebraska creameries from milk produced by Nebraska cows. Seven states forbid public officials to spend money for public supplies produced in states which discriminate in public purchases.

3. Margarine laws.

Butter and oil interests have done their share in erecting interstate trade barriers. Butter states enact laws which make it virtually impossible for dealers to sell margarine which does not feature oil of that particular state. Both laws set up excise taxes supplemented by license requirements. The Wisconsin milk producer does not want his butter market limited by whatever taste for margarine his fellow-Wisconsinites might develop. So the State places an excise tax on margarine of 15 cents a pound and sets six license fees: $1,000 for manufacturers of margarine, $500 for wholesalers, $25 for retailers, $25 for restaurants, $250 for hotels, and $5 for boarding houses. What the Wisconsin cow man forgets is that margarine eaters rarely can afford butter and that they turn from margarine to such products as lard, peanut butter and similar low price fat-containing products.

Texas, which is at once a cow State, a corn State, and a cotton

State, puts an excise tax of 10 cents a pound on margarine made with oil which is not oleo oil, oleo stock, oleo stearine, neutral lard, corn oil, cottonseed oil, peanut oil, soybean oil, or milk fat. But in Wyoming, Nebraska and Minnesota, where the cow is king, margarine made of cottonseed oil is penalized. Since the United States imports more cottonseed oil, anti-cottonseed legislation becomes in effect a tariff on goods from abroad. This is a neat invasion of a prerogative of the federal government.

4. Discriminatory liquor taxes.

The legislature at Des Moines, with the welfare of its farmers at heart, has passed a law requiring that all beer sold in Iowa be made 66.6 per cent from barley. Iowa also puts a special tax of 4 cents a gallon on beer brought in from the wilds beyond Iowa. Connecticut's beer tariff is even larger, $3 a barrel, and Idaho levies a duty of $3.10 on each barrel.

So far as liquor is concerned, we are indeed a nation of many nations. The twenty-first amendment of the Constitution is at fault. It contains a paragraph built along the lines of the old pre-prohibition Webb-Kenyon Act and designed to protect the dry states; the wet states have used it to promote the drinking of home products. The paragraph says: "The transportation or importation into any state, territory or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited."

The advantage taken of this paragraph illustrates the short-sightedness which is responsible for all the laws destroying internal free trade in the United States. The country's 650 breweries are located in 39 states. To make beer, every brewery uses hops, rice or barley. Only six states produce hops and rice; only seven produce enough beer to amount to anything. So small brewers who lobby for trade restrictions on "foreign" beer depend on free trade in hops, rice and barley.

Wine, too, enters the picture. Alabama has a $75 license fee for sellers of wine which is made 75 per cent from Alabama grapes. The fee to sellers of non-Alabama wines is $1,000. Georgia and Arkansas even have export taxes on alcoholic beverages shipped out of the State after being brought into the State. Only citizens and residents of Massachusetts can solicit orders in Massachusetts for firms which "import" liquor from those outlandish places outside Massachusetts.

In all, there are liquor-trade restriction laws in more than thirty states. These laws not only seek to protect a state's manufacturers, wholesalers and farmers; they serve to express a state's indignation at discriminations its products suffer in other states. Michigan embargoes beer from Ohio. Missouri prohibits the importation of all alcoholic beverages from states which place Missouri liquor at a disadvantage. Florida, Ohio and Rhode Island impose the same discriminatory fees as are levied against their products by other discriminating states.

Temple in The Times-Picayune

We want no colossus of roads!

5. Quarantines against the plant or animal products of competing areas, on purely economic grounds.

One of this country's chronic problems in international relations is the Argentine question. We need Argentina's assistance in the development of our "Good Neighbor" program and in restraining the influence of the totalitarian states in Latin America. But a standing ban on cattle from the Argentine interferes with our gaining that assistance. The ostensible reason for the ban is that Argentine cattle might infect our cattle with hoof-and-mouth disease. The real reason is that our cattle raisers wish to avoid the competition of Argentine beeves.

New York State has adopted the same attitude, directing its restrictions not against Argentina, but against Wisconsin and other states. New York hid its economic provincialism behind the shield of Bang's disease. On October 1, 1932, the New York Commissioner of Agriculture and Markets forbade shipment into the Empire State of all cattle—even if free from Bang's disease—unless they came from herds "that had been certified as being completely free from the disease after three successive negative tests within a year previous to their arrival in New York."

The effect, says Dr. F. E. Melder, Clark University economist who studied interstate trade barriers for the Council of State Governments, was to force milk producers to rely on upstate New York herds for their milk cows, even though such cattle might be inferior or more costly than Western cows. Wisconsin used to ship about 7,500 cows a year to New York milk producers. The number fell to 516 in 1933, and in 1938, when the qualified herds in Wisconsin had risen to 23,971, Wisconsin sold only 1,073 cows in New York. And no steps are taken to insure that clean cattle are placed in clean herds in New York.

The automobile traveler knows all about Japanese beetle stations, cornborer inspection and other quarantine interruptions to the flow of automobile traffic. A good deal of this quarantine inspection work, which had a legitimate origin about forty years ago, is necessary to prevent the spread of disease. But many quarantines are phonies lacking a sound biological basis.

6. Limitation on the area from which fluid milk and cream may be supplied, by refusal to furnish health inspectors and by arbitrary changes in sanitary requirements.

The Health Officer in Washington, D. C., likes to boast about the purity of the milk which citizens of the Capital drink and of the cream they stir in their coffee. There the standards for herds supplying milk and cream and for the barns in which they are milked are the highest in the land. As a consequence, Washington pays a high price for bottled milk. And production is a sort of monopoly, because inspectors do not go beyond the "Washington milk shed," Virginia and Maryland. Michigan, Indiana and other Western milk states complain because their milk is barred from the nation's capital.

7. Taxing foreign trucks at excessive rates and regulating the dimensions, weights and equipment of

trucks and buses so as to discourage the use of the highways by the carriers of neighboring states.

In Wyoming the foreign truck pays fees to the county as well as to the State. On top of taxation is disconcerting lack of uniformity in truck sizes and weights which states permit on their glorious roads. Connecticut bars trucks weighing more than 20 tons. The limit in neighboring Rhode Island is 60 tons. Wyoming allows 24 ton trucks but next door in Montana the top is 42.4. An 85 foot truck which may traverse Georgia is outlawed in Alabama, where the limit is 40 feet.

And what if the truck in Alabama from Georgia is only 40 feet long? Its driver nevertheless will have his troubles. As soon as he crosses the Alabama line he must head for the county seat. There he looks up the judge of probate, who can be hard to find. From the judge he gets a permit to run his truck in Alabama. If he is trucking his own goods, he pays $1.50 for a five-day permit. If he is carrying goods for another, he pays $5.50. If he plans to take the load out of Alabama it's another $5.50. Finally, he pays a mileage tax 50 per cent higher than that levied on trucks regularly registered in Alabama.

8. Use taxes.

The master of a farm near the Scioto River, which drains the center of Ohio, is John Smith. Mr. Smith is a devotee of Sears Roebuck, and he gives the mail-order catalog a good thumbing over whenever it appears. When he goes to Chillicothe and buys a pair of shoes, he expects to pay a sales tax. The levy is a nuisance though its settlement is simple. But when he orders by mail from Sears Roebuck in Chicago, across two state lines, either he or the mail-order house pays to Ohio a use tax of 3 per cent. Similarly, when he happens to be in, say, Indianapolis, Indiana, and buys shoes, he must acquaint the sovereign State of Ohio of the transaction and turn over to its treasury 3 per cent because of the use tax.

This use tax is a compensating levy invoked by nineteen states as a supplement to the general sales tax, to prevent evasion by residents who might buy goods outside the state. It is imposed on the privilege of "using, storing or consuming" tangible property. The nuisance involved in the settlement of the use tax tends to discourage interstate trade. And it can burden interstate trade directly. If John Smith buys an automobile in Kentucky he pays a 3 per cent sales tax, and when he returns to Ohio he pays a 3 per cent use tax. Thus it is more expensive for him to buy a car in Kentucky than in his own State of Ohio. The use tax here is a tariff.

There are many more of these imposts which are Balkanizing our country. A half dozen of them can be listed quickly:

9. Premium taxes on insurance companies which do business within the state but do not have a certain proportion of their assets invested in the state.

10. Special taxes and license fees required of "foreign" corporations for the right to do business within the state.

11. Restrictions on the movement of labor across political boundaries; requirement of monetary proof of migrants' ability to remain self-supporting.

12. Limitations on the exportation of natural resources.

13. Establishment of state grades, standards and labels which do not conform to federal specifications or other states' specifications.

14. "Buy at home" advertising campaigns.

It might be interesting to ask the legislators enacting these trade-restriction laws whether they are familiar with Article 1, Section 10, of the Constitution:

"No state shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws, and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress."

The cost to the nation is heavy. As Secretary of State Hull recently said, "The welfare of our own people can be circumscribed not only by international trade barriers but by barriers erected by our several states." Governor Stark of Missouri recalls that "the constitutional provisions under which interstate commerce is placed beyond state control were the

(Continued on page 64)

Herblock, NEA

Somebody started something.

Power Politics Over Palestine

The Holy Land has been the tragic chessboard for Great Britain's game of opportunism and duplicity

JOHAN J. SMERTENKO

NICELY timing its action to utilize the good-will and friendship aroused by the royal visit to America, the British Cabinet on May 17 made public the latest White Paper on Palestine. "His Majesty's government," states this important document, "now declare unequivocally that it is not part of their policy that Palestine should become a Jewish state."

Instead, the White Paper proposes the creation within ten years of an "independent" state in which Arabs will constitute a two-thirds majority. To achieve this it virtually prohibits further sale of land to the Jews and interdicts Jewish immigration after the next five years. During the intervening five-year period, Jewish, but not Arab, immigration is restricted to a quota of ten thousand a year, "if economic absorptive capacity permits," and, in addition, "as a contribution towards the solution of the Jewish refugee problem," twenty-five thousand refugee children and dependents will be admitted at the discretion of the High Commissioner.

Coming at a time when ships filled with refugees ply the high seas in search of a haven, and when more than two million Jews in Central and Eastern Europe must find a new homeland or perish, the publication of these proposals evoked a world-wide protest. The White Paper was denounced as a betrayal by both Jews and Christians here and abroad. In Congress a majority of the House Foreign Affairs committee called upon the State Department "to advise the British government that the contemplated action, if carried out, will be . . . viewed with disfavor by the American people." Dorothy Thompson voiced the general editorial opinion when she wrote in her syndicated newspaper column: "For a piece of disingenuous argument the latest British government White Paper deserves to rank with the late Runciman report . . . With a lot of weasel words the government abandons any hope of ever making a real national home for the Jews in Palestine."

Equally harsh were the characterizations of the liberal British press. "There is no adequate reason why the government should have plunged into this headlong repudiation of our pledges and truckled so far to the Arabs as to endanger, if not destroy, a great constructive work," states *The Manchester Guardian.* Similarly, *The Daily Herald,* official organ of the Labor Party, declared: "The effect of such proposals is not merely to deliver a stunning blow at Jewry, but also to inflict grievous injury upon the good name of this country."

But it was in Parliament that the voice of the British people was heard most clearly in opposition to the government's decision. Led by the survivors of the statesmen who more than twenty years ago had issued the Balfour Declaration and assumed the Mandate "to reconstitute Palestine as the national home of the Jews," representatives of all parties criticized the Cabinet for "a plain breach of a solemn obligation." The Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Snell, the Earl of Lytton, Sir Archibald Sinclair and other outstanding members of both Houses supported this attack on what they termed "an act of national perfidy which will bring dishonor to the British name."

Lloyd George reviled the Chamberlain government. He contradicted the argument of Colonial Secretary Malcolm MacDonald that the terms of the mandate could be interpreted to stop Jewish immigration, declaring that the notion that Jewish immigration would ever be restricted "never entered into the minds of those who had framed the mandate" and would have been regarded "as unjust and as a fraud on the people to whom we were pledged."

Speaking as a Conservative in the House of Commons, Colonel Leopold Amery, former Colonial Minister, said: "This White Paper, from beginning to end, is a confession of failure, a direct negation of the principles on which our administration in Palestine has been based, and a repudiation of the pledges on the strength of which the government of Palestine was entrusted to our hands."

Winston Churchill echoed these sentiments: "As one intimately and responsibly concerned in the earlier states of our Palestine policy, I could not stand by and see solemn engagements into which Britain has entered before the world set aside for reasons of administrative convenience or—and it will be a vain hope—for the sake of a quiet life."

At the same time the Liberal and Labor parties came out officially against the proposals. More important, as a climax to the attack on the new policy, Herbert Morrison, leader of His Majesty's Opposition, served notice that, if the Labor party came into power, it would not consider itself obligated to carry out the proposals. "I think it ought to be known by the House that this breach of faith, which we regret, this breach of British honor, with its policy, with which we have no sympathy, is such that the least that can be said is that the government must not expect that this is going to be automatically binding upon their successors."

But the most striking commentary on the White Paper was the speech of that militant and independent Liberal, Colonel Josiah C. Wedgwood. The astounded House of Commons heard his appeal to the Jews to rebel against the proposed laws at any sacrifice. This speech may become as sacred to Jewry as that of Burke has been to America.

"If they will resist now—and with their backs to the wall they must resist unless they are to lie down forever—they will realize that the sympathy and respect of the entire Anglo-Saxon world goes out to those who stand up for justice, stand up for equal treatment, and who will not continue indefinitely petitioning for justice and whining for mercy. . . .

"Unofficially I hear all sorts of excellent ideas about blowing up the pipeline, blowing up bridges, bombing . . . But that is not good enough. Your self-sacrifice must be for something that you believe in more than that. In the first place, the Jew has a human right of access to his home. Whatever the law may be about keeping out immigrants, every Jew will feel justified in doing everything he can to break that law. And, of course, it is easy to break. As long as there is unity nothing can withstand them. An immigrant ship can land immigrants at Tel Aviv as long as there are 150,000 Jews in Tel Aviv who want it. . . . Very often Jews feel that they must be respectable at all costs and the idea of doing anything illegal sounds to them disreputable. They have to get over that feeling and to realize that the really great thing is to make the sacrifice of their respectability and even of their lives in order to secure justice. . . .

"There is a Jewish majority in Jerusalem and the government insists upon the mayoralty and administration being in the hands of the Arabs. That is something which nobody can justify. There, too, the Jews will have the right and the duty to break down that form of government. They have already refused to take any part in it. Much the best way to smash that local administration is to refuse taxes and to see that taxes are not paid. In that way you can break down any government."

Alarmed by the widespread denunciation of its policy, the Chamberlain Cabinet took strong measures to force its adoption by Parliament. It refused the request to permit a vote independent of party lines, sent out "a three line whip" to muster its greatest strength and announced that the vote would be regarded as a vote of confidence. The House of Commons adopted the motion—268 to 179. Of the 431 government members, twenty followed Churchill into the Opposition lobby and 140 abstained from voting. The anti-government vote was one of the highest recorded since the present Parliament was elected in 1935.

The momentous decision embodied in the White Paper is only superficially a victory of the Arab over the Jew. If it prevails, it will be seen eventually that the Arabs have not gained a particle of what the Jews have lost. For, more basically, it marks still another victory of power politics over international law and treaty obligations, which means specifically that Great Britain, having received temporary control of Palestine in legally assuming the mandate, now retains permanent control by illegally destroying the mandate. The history of the last twenty years in Palestine indicates clearly that this victory has been the fixed goal of those protagonists of British imperialism, the permanent Colonial and War Office personnel. That they did not achieve it earlier can be attributed as much to the fight put up by champions of British honor in Parliament as to the remarkable struggle which the Jews of Palestine have carried on against overwhelming odds. The ultimate result still rests on these two forces.

Almost overnight, a new city has sprung up in Palestine. Tel Aviv has modern business and residential buildings, spacious streets and recreational areas.

The beginnings of this conflict date back to November 2, 1917, when Lord Balfour, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the War Cabinet, issued the famous letter to Lord Rothschild which read as follows:

I have much pleasure in conveying to you on behalf of His Majesty's government the following declaration of sympathy with the Jewish Zionist aspirations, which has been submitted to and approved by the Cabinet.

His Majesty's government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

Some years ago Lloyd George explained the reasons for this act in Parliament. "The Balfour Declaration was made at one of the darkest times in the war. The French army had mutinied; the Italian army was on the verge of collapse; America had hardly started to come in. There was nothing left but for Great Britain to confront the most powerful military combinations the world had ever seen and we were in desperate straits. We came to the conclusion it was vital we should have the sympathy and cooperation of that most remarkable community—the Jews—in all parts

of the world. We proposed this to the Allies. France, Italy, the United States and all the others accepted. I bear testimony that the Jews responded nobly to the appeal which was made."

Now, though the meaning of this Declaration was perfectly clear to those who knew that "the Jewish Zionist aspirations" consisted of nothing more or less than the reestablishment of Palestine as a legally secured and recognized Jewish state, the statement was deliberately ambiguous and its various parts have been so construed as to cancel each other. The tragic irony of the situation lies in the fact that it was at the instance of the Jews themselves—and not because of sly reservations by the British Cabinet or special consideration for the Arabs—that the authors weakened the scope of the promise and infected it with ambiguity. The War Cabinet was willing to make—and did make—a definite and unqualified pledge concerning Palestine. On March 13, 1916, in a memorandum to Czarist Russia, whose presence among the Allies was responsible for Jewish lack of sympathy with their cause, it urged "an offer of agreement concerning Palestine which would completely satisfy the aspiration of the Jews." By June, 1917, consultation with the Zionist representatives brought forth a formula of agreement that was approved by President Wilson and the other Allies. On the basis of this formula the British Cabinet submitted to Wilson on September 19, 1917, what it called the final draft of its declaration. It stated:

> (1) His Majesty's government accept the principle that Palestine should be reconstituted as the national home of the Jewish people.
> (2) His Majesty's government will use their best endeavors to secure the achievement of this object and will discuss the necessary methods and means with the Zionist organization.

Wilson accepted this text and the French and Italian governments were informed that, if there were no objections, it would be made public immediately. There was no objection.

Nevertheless, on October 10, 1917, a new version was cabled to Washington. It was the text eventually issued over Balfour's signature. Voicing the opinion of Justice Brandeis as well as his own, Wilson objected to this version. He was assured, however, that the changes were merely verbal, made as a concession to the wealthy and influential Jewish assimilationists who feared that the existence of a Jewish state, in which they were not interested, would jeopardize their status as citizens of other countries. The phrase concerning the civil and religious rights of non-Jews, it was pointed out, was inserted at the request of the Zionist leaders who wished to avow that in their day of power they would not impose upon other minorities the disabilities which their people had endured for two thousand years. Under the circumstances Wilson could not insist on the earlier text. The Balfour Declaration was issued. And the struggle for Palestine began.

That the Declaration was being honestly interpreted by the British Cabinet and the Allies as a commitment to establish the Jewish state was soon apparent. On every possible occasion the leaders of British opinion echoed the statement of Lloyd George: "Great Britain extended its mighty hand in friendship to the Jewish people to help it regain its ancient national home and to realize its age-long aspirations." The other powers, including the United States, officially endorsed the Declaration in similar terms. Lord Robert Cecil specifically eliminated Palestine from Arab countries in presenting the Allied intentions for territorial distribution: "Our wish is that Arabian countries shall be for Arabs, Armenia for the Armenians and Judea for the Jews." In the monumental work, *The Rape of Palestine*, by William Ziff, a score of such utterances may be found from those who directed the policy of the British Empire.

But, in view of present developments, the most pertinent quotations were brought out in the recent parliamentary debate. They include the statements made by Prime Minister Chamberlain, whose government has just declared "that it is not part of their policy that Palestine should become a Jewish state." Speaking in 1918, Chamberlain recalled that fifteen years previously his father was anxious that a national home for the Jews be constituted within the British Empire. "Today the opportunity has come," he continued. "If the new Jewish state which is to be established in Palestine is to be merely another isolated separate nation, then I think it is inevitable it must be the prey of political intrigues as have other small nations in the past. But if, as I rather hope, while preserving its own nationhood intact this new state should be associated with some great progressive people, such as those of the American commonwealth or the British Empire, then in such a case these fears would be groundless." Two years later Chamberlain, as well as four other members of his present Cabinet, signed the Conservative party's memorial welcoming the Balfour Declaration.

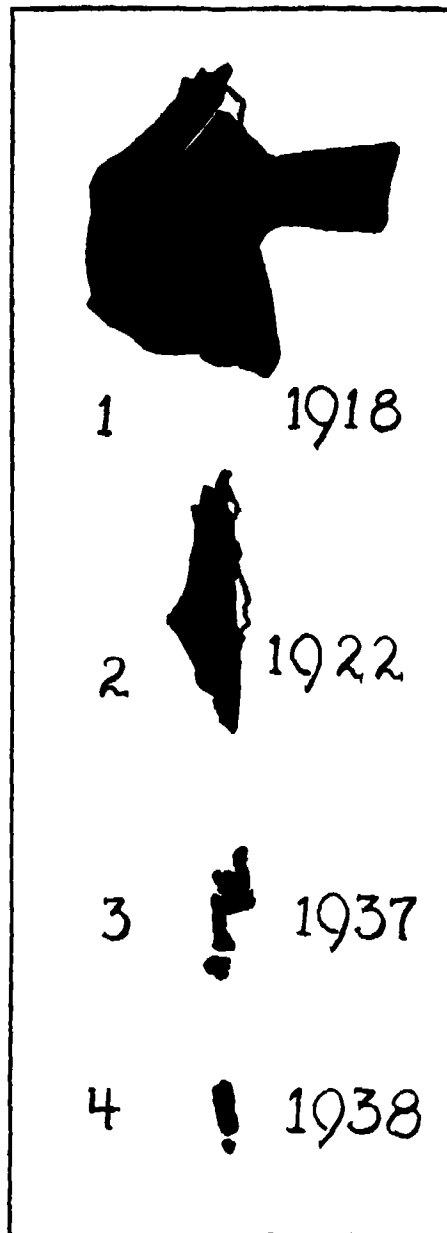
The powers of the Mandate working under the aegis of Wilson and Lloyd George naturally made explicit what was inplicit in the Balfour Declaration. "The primary purpose of the Mandate as expressed in its preamble and its articles, is to promote the establishment of a Jewish national home," stated the British Royal Commission in 1937. The mandate made provisions for this achievement by imposing on Great Britain certain distinct obligations. These terms were largely based on a report presented by an American commission appointed by Wilson from among the outstanding academic authorities on the Near East. It recommended: (1) That there be established a separate state of Palestine. (2) That this state be placed under Great Britain as a mandatory of the League of Nations. (3) That the Jews be invited to return to Palestine and settle there, being assured by the Conference of all proper assistance in so doing . . . and being further assured that it will be the policy of the League of Nations to recognize Palestine as a Jewish state as soon as it is a Jewish state in fact.

The final stamp of approval of the Jewish state came from the Arabs themselves. In a formal document, dated February 3, 1919, the Zionist Organization submitted to the Peace Conference its program for effecting the Balfour Declaration. This was accepted by the representatives of the Conference including the Arab delegation headed by Emir Feisal, who wrote: "Our deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist Organization to the Peace Conference, and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best,

in so far as we are concerned, to help them through; we will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home. . . ." With the advice of Colonel Lawrence, Feisal then signed a Treaty of Friendship with the Zionist Organization.

Great Britain willingly assumed the obligations of the mandate—while France and Italy looked on with envy. Palestine, although a despoiled and desolate country at the time, was in a very literal way the Land of Promise. The development of commercial flying and of trans-desert motor traffic, the awakening of the Near East from seven hundred years of Turkish misrule, and the economic rehabilitation of Palestine itself through the money, energy and initiative contributed by the Jews restored to her her historic position of center and *entrepôt* of the world's trade routes. Again the Land of Israel was the crossroads of the main arteries of the eastern hemisphere. Precisely those factors which made it possible to establish an autonomous national home for the persecuted millions of Europe also made it profitable to retain administrative control over life and industry and taxes.

Even greater in importance to the life of the Empire is the strategic character of Palestine. What began merely as a protection for the east side of the Suez Canal has now become, through the growth of the Italian menace in the Mediterranean and in Africa, the keystone of Britain's defense for her "lifeline to India." The harbor of Haifa has supplanted Alexandria and Malta as the most vital naval base in the Mediterranean and, with the growing independence of Egypt, Palestine remains the only possible strategic base for the British army and air force. It is easy to see, therefore, how the military and colonial imperialists, who had just finished the World War for control of the East, would regard any situation in Palestine which again jeopardized that control. Their conclusion was a simple one: if the development of a Jewish state meant the abandonment of the mandate and withdrawal of Great Britain from Palestine, then there must be no such development. This conclusion called for power politics and for the traditional British colonial tactics—divide and rule.

The first Administration after the conquest of Palestine was military, under General Sir Arthur Money who regarded the Balfour Declaration as

The Jewish Herald, South Africa

The progressive diminution of the Jewish Holy Land from the Balfour Declaration in 1918 to the proposed partition of Palestine twenty years later. The Palestine of the mandate is shown opposite 1922, while the Peel Plan for a Jewish State is represented opposite 1937.

"damn nonsense." Its first step was to teach the Arabs, who had welcomed the arrival of the Jews and the resulting improvement in their own condition, that their interest lay in opposing the development of the Jewish national home.

On January 22, 1919, Vladimir Jabotinsky, founder and officer of the Jewish Legion which formed a vital part of Allenby's conquering army, wrote to Dr. Chaim Weizmann, president of the Zionist Organization, demanding a firmer stand in London to meet this situation.

"Not a day passes but some inciting speech is heard in Ramleh, concluding with a call to the Arab sword [he reported]. The action of the government proclaim openly and clearly that the Declaration need not be fulfilled. . . . The attitude of the government has taken on the appearance of an attack, organized by the subordinate officials who are free to do as they please. Forgive the bitterness in my letter; but I did not participate, in my youth, in self-defense organizations in order that I might now sit quietly and complacently watching while the Arabs have it drummed into their ears that it is possible to get rid of us if they will only give us a hard enough blow."

The first blow fell in April 1920. With the cry, "*Al daula Maana*" (the government is with us), agitators led a mob to the "Old City" in Jerusalem, where all Jewish policemen had previously been relieved from duty, and invited it to loot, rape and murder. Jabotinsky, who organized some of his ex-legionnaires into a self-defense group, was arrested and kept in the common jail while Arab leaders of the riot were accommodated in a room of the government quarters. Later he was sentenced to fifteen years at hard labor and served a year before the sentence was quashed.

At the same time the first partition of Palestine took place. The Peace Conference had plotted a Palestine of some 60,000 square miles bounded on the north by Syria, on the east by Iraq, on the south by Saudi and the Hefaz, on the west by the sea and Egypt. Now the government suddenly turned over to Syria some 16,000 square miles of territory, including some of the most necessary land for industrial and agricultural development. President Wilson, sick and impotent, cabled his protest to the British.

It was in vain. A year later riots throughout Palestine were followed by the immediate suspension of immigration, which had been instilled into the Arab mobs as one of their "demands." The Haycraft commission's inquiry whitewashed the guilty and gave a specious form of legal justification for the further concessions in 1922 and the loss of 34,000 square miles of territory in the separation of Transjordan from western Palestine.

In the years that followed Communist Russia, turning to the east to

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Railroads in the Red

Among all the pet theories for aiding railroads no one has yet suggested killing them

CHARLES W. HURD

Washington Correspondent of "The New York Times"

No child of the New Deal, the railroad dilemma is a mature problem which has been agitating the country since the days of Grover Cleveland. For years the problem has been filled from top to bottom with politics. Now grim necessity has started to shake the politics out of it.

Today railroads and their rates are in the news again. When several of the great systems serving the northern United States announced they would institute "zones" for basic passenger traffic, attention was once more directed to Washington where railroad legislation is still on the "must" list facing Congress during its closing weeks. A perennial orphan, the railroad problem, always acute in the past ten years, has been intensified both by the business slump since 1937 and the rapid growth of competition.

The fact that legislation is on the "must" list does not mean a definite plan will be forthcoming. A step, however, was taken late in May when the Senate passed, seventy to six, a voluminous bill designed primarily to enlarge the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission to include all form of interstate commerce. It would give the railroads opportunity for improvement equal to that now enjoyed by their chief competitors—trucks, buses and barges—and would subject all to equal supervision. In addition it would provide for a special court to handle bankruptcies. Another measure, the Chandler bill, to facilitate reorganization and to reduce swollen capital structures awaits the President's signature.

The Senate bill proposes a long-range program, as contrasted with Reconstruction Finance Corporation stop-gap loans which for seven years have been applied like poultices to the sorest spots on corporate anatomies.

The problem is acute because the railroads are indispensable. Collectively speaking they are starving to death, but it is unthinkable that they should cease operations. Although they suffer from every improvement in twentieth century transportation, nothing can take their place. Agriculture and industry depend on them more than on any other form of transportation and the public economy demands that the trains run, regardless of profit and loss.

Only the railroads can handle heavy freight in quantity. Only the railroads can handle the commuting problem of the largest cities. At the present stage of development, their passenger services are indispensable. Yet, with a few exceptions, the railroads are running at a loss and too often under trusteeships, a condition similar to that of a private business being operated by bondholders hopeful of salvaging something.

With the exception of half a dozen larger roads, none can make ends meet in the $60,000,000,000 economy which is supposed to be the gauge of current business in the United States, and even the raising of business to an $80,000,000,000 level would help them little.

Railroads have too much money invested in them. With current operating revenues yielding virtually no profit, they must try to carry capital securities estimated by competent authorities to be $22,000,000,000 of which $12,000,000,000 represents bonds, debentures and trust certificates requiring fixed interest payments, and the remainder, preferred and common stocks. About one-fourth of the total is against insolvent roads. Consequently in 1937, a relatively prosperous year and the last one for which there are figures, the railroads paid dividends on only $3,890,000,000 worth of the $10,000,000,000 stock outstanding.

In that year, the last of record, and concededly a better one than 1938 or the early part of 1939, the railroads took in a little more than $4,000,000,000 and spent on direct operation a little more than $3,000,000,000, or about 75 per cent of their income. At the same time, according to reliable reports, they paid out 30 per cent of their income on fixed charges in addition to operating expenses—i.e., 8 per cent for taxes, 12 per cent for upkeep and maintenance of rights-of-way, and 10 per cent in interest. These figures account for 105 per cent of operating revenue, leaving less than nothing for interest in default, amortization, replacement of equipment and the thousand and one other items which keep a transportation system up-to-date.

Of course, certain railroads have never been solvent. No industry can show a perfect record, and probably no industry has experienced the same amount of pirating and skullduggery which have accompanied isolated cases of railroad development. Thirty years ago the railroad picture was quite different than it is today.

Just one generation ago, the railroads generally were efficient, prosperous and arrogant, aware of the country's need for them and proud of the monopoly they exercised. In 1910 crack passenger trains and "red ball" freights roared through the country, giving service, paying profits—and making enemies. They owned much

A Railroad Man Looks at the Railroads

AT the recent General Session of the National Industrial Conference Board, in New York, J. J. Pelley, President of the Association of American Railroads, presented a seven-point analysis of the railroad problem and a five-point basis for its solution.

Current railroad troubles, said Mr. Pelley "are not caused" by:

1. *Failure of railroad service.* Passenger train mileage at sixty miles an hour or better in 1938 totaled more than 40,000 miles a day, against about 1,000 miles in 1929.

2. *Nor by increasing cost per unit of transportation service.* Despite the drop in business and tonnage during the depression the operating costs declined by 1937 to $6.41 for moving a ton of freight 1,000 miles—a saving of $1,500,000,000 over costs for the same tonnage at the 1921 level.

3. *Nor by excessive railroad rates.* For comparable service, American railroad rates are lower than those of any other form of general transportation anywhere.

4. *Nor by excessive capitalization.* Railroad securities of all sorts outstanding in hands of the public come to less than 19 billion dollars, compared with present valuation, allowing for depreciation, of about 21 billions, and total investment in railroad property of about 26 billions.

J. J. Pelley.

5. *Nor by increasing railroad debt.* Last year the railroads owed only $439 per thousand dollars invested in their property, against $6,000 per thousand thirty years ago.

6. *Nor by over-expansion of mileage.* Useless mileage is being continually abandoned, the total since the World War being 20,000 miles of line.

The trouble with the railroads today, said Mr. Pelley, is that they "do not take in enough money." The solution, he added, will come only when every form of transportation is treated alike in matters of taxation, regulation, subsidy and public policy generally—"in short, *when there is a square deal in transportation.*"

Such a square deal, according to Mr. Pelley, would involve:

1. Requiring highway and waterway carriers to pay their proper share of the cost of maintaining the ways they use, and a fair contribution to the support and operations of government.

2. Equal regulation to all forms of transportation, to be administered by the same public body or bodies.

3. Retirement of the Government from the transportation business through its operation of the Federal Barge Lines, in competition with its own taxpaying citizens.

4. Relieving railroads of the requirement to construct or reconstruct bridges made necessary by navigation projects, and of the cost of eliminating grade-crossings beyond that represented by direct benefit to the railroads.

5. Repeal of the land-grant statutes, under which the government enjoys preferential rates on its traffic in return for grants of lands made many years ago to encourage the building of railroads into the wilderness.

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of the best land, set their own rates within the limits of sketchy regulation, and to a large extent acted as over-lords of American economy. Their securities were gilt-edge, issued and re-issued in pyramids to avid investors—among them, insurance companies, trusts, widows and orphans.

During this era intercity bus and truck operation hardly existed. The railroads had a net capitalization of $14,375,000,000, received a net operating revenue of $2,812,000,000 and had operating expenses of only $1,881,000,000. Interest was met on almost all fixed obligations and dividends were paid on stock with an aggregate value of $5,412,000,000.

Ten years later when the railroads were recovering from the shock of government operation in wartime and operating on radically new and higher income and cost levels, they were nevertheless holding their own, showing a profit on volume, although a small one. Net capital had been increased by $2,600,000,000 in a decade, but dividends were paid in 1920 on more than $5,000,000,000 worth of stock. Operating revenue soared to $6,310,000,000, with operating costs winging up to $5,954,000,000. The condition was unhealthy, but the country was optimistic and buses and trucks still were subject to broken axles, engine failures and uncertain schedules.

WITH the rest of the industry, the railroads rode the boom through 1929, with a further increase in net capital, only to be caught in 1930 with an operating revenue of only $5,356,000,000, compared with an outstanding paper value of $19,065,000,000.

Although railroad depression was on with a vengeance in 1930, the roads scraped from reserves to pay dividends on stock worth $7,702,000,000. Freight had dropped off very little between 1920 and 1930, operating revenue on this score sagging only from $4,420,000,000 in 1920 to $4,145,000,000 in 1930, but in the same decade passenger revenue on the railroads fell from $1,304,000,000 to $730,000,000.

The end of 1937 found the railroads already suffering from accumulated ills which hindsight shows were developing long ago. While their capital structure held almost at the 1930 level, operating revenue fell back to $4,250,000,000 and operating expenses remained about $3,000,000,000. Meanwhile all their taxes were higher and deterioration was more and more serious. Freight revenue in that year fell to $3,428,000,000—it is lower today—and it is notable that the 1937 freight revenue just about hit an average between the

incomes for 1910 and 1920. On the passenger side it dropped to a thirty-year low of $443,000,000.

Much of that shrinkage was due to the depression, but a very large part was due to competition. Bus and truck statistics are still almost nonexistent, although any motorist can form his own picture of the size of the business. Total truck traffic cannot be estimated accurately until the I.C.C. completes its statistical program.

As for buses, there is one little figure available which tells a great deal. It shows that in 1937 buses operating on intercity routes--the buses which compete directly with railroads—enjoyed a revenue of $298,000,000. This figure reveals that people--aside from persons who drove their own cars—paid more for public motor transportation in 1937 than they paid for railroad tickets in 1930. (But they paid three-sevenths of the 1937 expenditures for bus tickets.)

In 1926 railroads handled 75 per cent of the nation's passenger traffic. By 1937 the percentage had dwindled to 52 per cent.

ALTHOUGH what truck competition actually amounts to is as yet unknown, the fact that trucks have not only captured much basic freight but frequently "skimmed the cream from the milk" is serious.

Because all tons of freight do not pay the same rate the phrase means a ton of coal or iron ore pays considerably less per mile than a ton of manufactured automobile or fruit. In many cases now the railroads still haul the coal but the fruit goes by [illegible]

[illegible] is the as yet negligible [illegible] factor of water competi[illegible] which affects primarily heavy freight for which speed is no object. Here the government is competing with the railroads by building up an intercoastal fleet, with the aid of subsidies, and then subsidizing operations of the vessels so built.

If the railroad industry alone were involved, the situation would be serious enough from the investor's standpoint. The problem, however, is national in scope because more than investors in railroad securities are involved. In addition to the primary problem of maintaining the backbone of transportation, there are several millions of persons who have a definite although indirect stake in the railroads to the tune of $4,000,000,000.

These investors are not individuals who speculated in railroad securities in the hope of making capital profits, but are participants in trusteeships. They include holders of policies in life insurance companies with $3,000,000,000 invested in railroad securities, and depositors in savings banks which own $1,000,000,000 worth of them.

Such investments, of course, include the best of railroad securities, but lacking a reconstruction program soon there will be no more "best" securities. It must be remembered that of all the railroad paper outstanding, 25 per cent is against insolvent roads.

Philip A. Benson, president of the American Bankers Association, in a recent speech in New York City, asked for a "fair chance" for the railroads, and went on to say that $3,000,000,000 worth of railroad bonds already have been stricken from the list of securities acceptable for investment by savings banks and that $2,000,000,000 more probably would be in the near future. Mr. Benson is not a sensationalist. He is extremely conservative, a banker.

In the absence of miracles, and faced with taxes, wages and similar charges that will probably remain above pre-depression levels for some time to come, the roads appear to face three alternatives, all of them distasteful. These are:

1. Government ownership.
2. Continued operation with the assistance of government loans.
3. Going "through the wringer" by the bankruptcy route with huge direct and indirect loss to investors. If this procedure were drastic enough, most railroads could operate at a profit with current business and current revenues, although the profit would be a small one.

GOVERNMENT ownership is urged by a sizable but not a controlling group. For instance, William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, looking to maintenance of wage scales estimated as being 5 to 7 per cent above pre-depression rates, has termed it "the only solution."

Federal operation would save the railroads considerable taxes and would cut costs by removing competitive regulations now strictly enforced by the I.C.C. But few people think these advantages outweigh obvious disadvantages. There is no guarantee that the government would maintain wages. The saving in taxes would be fictitious for the government would have to make up this revenue elsewhere, as would every county which now collects real estate taxes from the roads. Finally, politics undoubtedly would enter into railroad operation and, as a last argument against government operation, the experience of every country which has nationalized its roads shows that government operation is no more economical than private operation.

Private operation is favored by most conservative opinion, such as that voiced by Jesse Jones, who as chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, has carried responsibility for government loans to railroads.

However, he, with the rest, concedes that R.F.C. loans do not offer a permanent solution, for it does no organization any good to continue operations under a procedure that

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McCormick of the "Times"

For 20 years her name has been outstanding on a newspaper known as a "man's preserve"

L. C. GRAY

Anne O'Hare McCormick

IF anyone except the most erudite geographer had been asked before last winter to locate the own of Huszt, he probably would iave been stumped. In early March, iowever, Huszt made world-wide ieadlines as almost the comic-opera apital of an independent Carpatho-Jkraine. Czecho-Slovakia was in the leath throes. At Huszt men had 'isions of Ukrainian independence; hey declared that independence and ought the Czechs to maintain it.

An American newspaper correspondent was in the dilapidated town vhile history was being made. The orrespondent, a woman, cabled home vhat she had seen—of the bullets hat whistled through the streets of Huszt, of the arrival of Hungarian roops, of the Ukrainian hopes and iow they were blasted. She was Anne)'Hare McCormick of *The New York Times*, and she was writing another iews story of world-wide significance.

For Mrs. McCormick, Huszt was iut an interlude in the round of reiorting Europe. A few weeks ago her eporting brought its own reward.)n June 12 Smith College conferred ipon her the honorary Doctorate of Laws. A week earlier, a jury of six irofessional women representing the New York Career Tours committee, tself the child of many American vomen's organizations, decided that Mrs. McCormick should be named 'The Woman of 1939." The citation, emphasizing "accuracy and briliancy," contained this praise: "When 'ou state a fact it comes as close to .hat elusive quality—the truth—as ionest human endeavor can make it. And always you make that fact vitally interesting."

For two decades Mrs. McCormick, now in her fifties, has been questing after truth in Europe. If the quest has not led her to truth in the abstract, it has surely given her greater knowledge of post-war Europe than almost any other woman possesses. She knew Rome in the pre-Mussolini days of parliamentary confusion. She saw the Ruhr in the unhappy days of French occupation. She has been buzzing up and down the Continent, year after year, observing, questioning, talking, writing.

There is hardly an important figure in a European Chancellery who has not seen this energetic little woman enter his office, vivacious, sparkling, dressed not smartly but with taste and a sense of style, ready to put her question to him in her deep contralto voice. Sometimes it has been Mussolini in the famous great office at the Palazza Venezia—though of late Il Duce has been less accessible. Or the Pope; both Pius XI and Pius XII have given Mrs. McCormick, herself a Catholic, audiences. She has talked with Reichsfuehrer Hitler and only last winter saw Polish Foreign Minister Josef Beck in his dimly lighted Warsaw office with its horoscope-decorated ceiling.

In preparation for her first formal interview with Mussolini she read—even though her Italian was none too good—the then new *Law of Corporations*, a thick, legal tome. The preparation proved most fortunate, for Mussolini began by asking: "What in Italy interests you most?" "The new law for the corporate state," was the reply. "Have you read it?" he asked. The affirmative answer brought him, smiling, from his seat, hand outstretched. "Congratulations, you and I are the only ones who have!" After that for many years there was no difficulty in getting to see Il Duce.

Treat an official personage as though he were a human being, is one McCormick rule for interviewing. Don't take notes, for they may distract, is another. By and large interviews add little information about a man's views -he usually reserves an important statement for a public speech—but there is value in the opportunity to study personality, to detect mannerisms that may be clues to conduct, to obtain a sense of first-hand acquaintance with a man whose every act may be of wide significance.

The datelines of Mrs. McCormick's dispatches in the first four months of this year bear witness to her energy and activity. Though some dates have been omitted, her schedule was approximately this: January 1, Cairo; January 6, Jerusalem; January 13, Rome; February 3, Budapest; February 10, Belgrade; February 12, Vienna; February 17, Berlin; March 5, Warsaw; March 10, Lwow; March 16, Budapest; March 23, Bucharest; March 31, London; April 9, Paris.

The results of years of activity, of all these train trips and auto journeys, conversations and interviews are embalmed in nine fat envelopes in the morgue of *The New York Times*. How many words Mrs. McCormick has written she probably has no idea, but her articles have been features of *The Times Sunday Magazine* for twenty years. She has sent European news dispatches to the daily *Times*, and for the past couple of years has written fairly regularly a column that appears Mondays and Saturdays on the editorial page.

To become an outstanding name in journalism—traditionally a man's world -is an accomplishment for any woman. For a woman to become an outstanding name on the *Times* is something more, because that paper, more so than most of its journalistic contemporaries in an age of feminism, has remained a man's preserve. But Mrs. McCormick has gone further; in 1936 she achieved the unprecedented by becoming a member of the editorial writing staff of the *Times*, sitting daily with the board that decides the policy of America's most influential paper.

After journalism, art is Mrs. McCormick's chief interest. If she had

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Argentina vs. United States

Despite Washington's good-will program, Argentina remains a stumbling block to Latin-American harmony

CARLETON BEALS

Authority on Latin-American affairs; author, "The Coming Struggle for Latin America"

As a gesture of good-will, the President's order directing the Navy to purchase Argentine corned beef in preference to the domestic product will certainly do Uncle Sam no harm in the eyes of Argentina. But it would be a mistake to suppose that this simple little act will be enough to convert the marked coolness between Washington and Buenos Aires into a strong and lasting friendship.

For Argentina continues to resent —and this resentment has taken the form of strong political opposition to the United States—our general policy toward her leading national product, beef. President Roosevelt's order to buy Argentine corned beef in effect was that of a carpenter ordering a half-dozen nails from a wholesale hardware house. The insignificant amount we wanted to buy meant nothing to Argentine economy.

Moreover, much of whatever good-will there was behind our order was canceled when vociferous American cattle interests shouted protests from one end of the country to the other. Argentinians asked themselves what likelihood there would be of a normal, full-sized beef trade with the United States if such a mighty clamor arose when we ordered a virtual thimble-full—and then only because we had hardly enough of the domestic product to supply our own needs. As though to underline our feeling on this question, we refused to allow Argentina to include displays of chilled beef at her exhibits in the San Francisco and New York Fairs. That was like inviting a peacock to a beauty show and ordering him to leave his tail feathers home.

Technically, we exclude Argentine chilled meat on "hygienic" grounds; we want to guard against the possible spread of hoof and mouth disease. Actually—Argentina is willing to submit her chilled beef to as strict medical examination as we might require—our desire is to protect the home market against competition from abroad. Argentina argues that our ban is hypocritical and unfair. Nevertheless, it continues—an obstacle to Secretary of State Hull's trade reciprocity program.

Argentinians do not take the ban lightly. "We'll run our last year's cars and trucks down to the rims before we'll buy American," a prominent Argentine cattle-breeder recently threatened. "We'll buy our new cars in Europe," is another familiar cry.

Nor are these empty threats. America's automobile business in Argentina has dropped off 30 per cent for the first two months of this year as compared to the same period of 1938. And while American motor car manufacturers wrinkle their brows over these figures, German and British automobile officials gleefully plan to convert our loss into their gain.

MEANWHILE, America's unpopularity in Argentina is widespread. For Argentina—quite aside from her resentment over our trade policies—is suspicious and even jealous of the United States. Desperately anxious to maintain her position as the leading nation of South America, she looks askance at any help or manifestations of friendliness by the United States toward Chile or Brazil. When the United States recently completed arrangements under which Brazil would receive a substantial loan and military equipment, Argentinians shouted to high heaven. Officially, the Argentine reaction to our assistance to Brazil took the form of sweeping new import restrictions against American goods—which may mean a 40 per cent decline of our shipments to Argentina—and of new barter arrangements with the totalitarian powers. The fine hand of Argentina was also seen by many experts in the confiscation of Standard Oil properties by Bolivia.

Thus revolve the wheels within wheels of South America. Perhaps, too, there is another factor. It may very well be psychological. More so than any other nation in South America, Argentina—like the United States—has a population that is largely European in origin. Argentina's climate also is much like ours. The combination has helped develop a country in many respects similar to our own. Its railways, schools, industrial organization, press, even its habits, show advanced development, and the development continues.

In all this progress, Argentinians have taken considerable pride. They have become strongly nationalistic —with a nationalism intensified, no doubt, by the up-to-now condescending attitude of the United States, with which Argentina considers herself on a par. Our exclusion of her leading export on sanitary grounds was a blow to her dignity which she did not intend to take without retaliation.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the United States has become the favorite football of keenly nationalistic organizations in Argentina and even of the lunatic fringes. The Nationalistic Youth Alliance and the Spanish Phalanx, both Fascist organizations, parade and demonstrate against the United States. Placards are posted to emphasize their contention that our good-neighbor aims are a blind for ulterior purposes, that our real intention is to foist a "Jewish-Protestant plutocratic" rule on all South America.

Even were we to open our markets to Argentine beef, our professions of good-will would still sound hollow to many Argentinians. We don't want Argentina's wheat, wool, cotton, corn, fruits, rice, peanuts, sugar, apples or grapes. We don't want them because we either have them already or have

commitments to get them from other nations. Will Rogers once remarked that Argentina exported to us wheat and gigolos, that we receive too little of the former, too many of the latter.

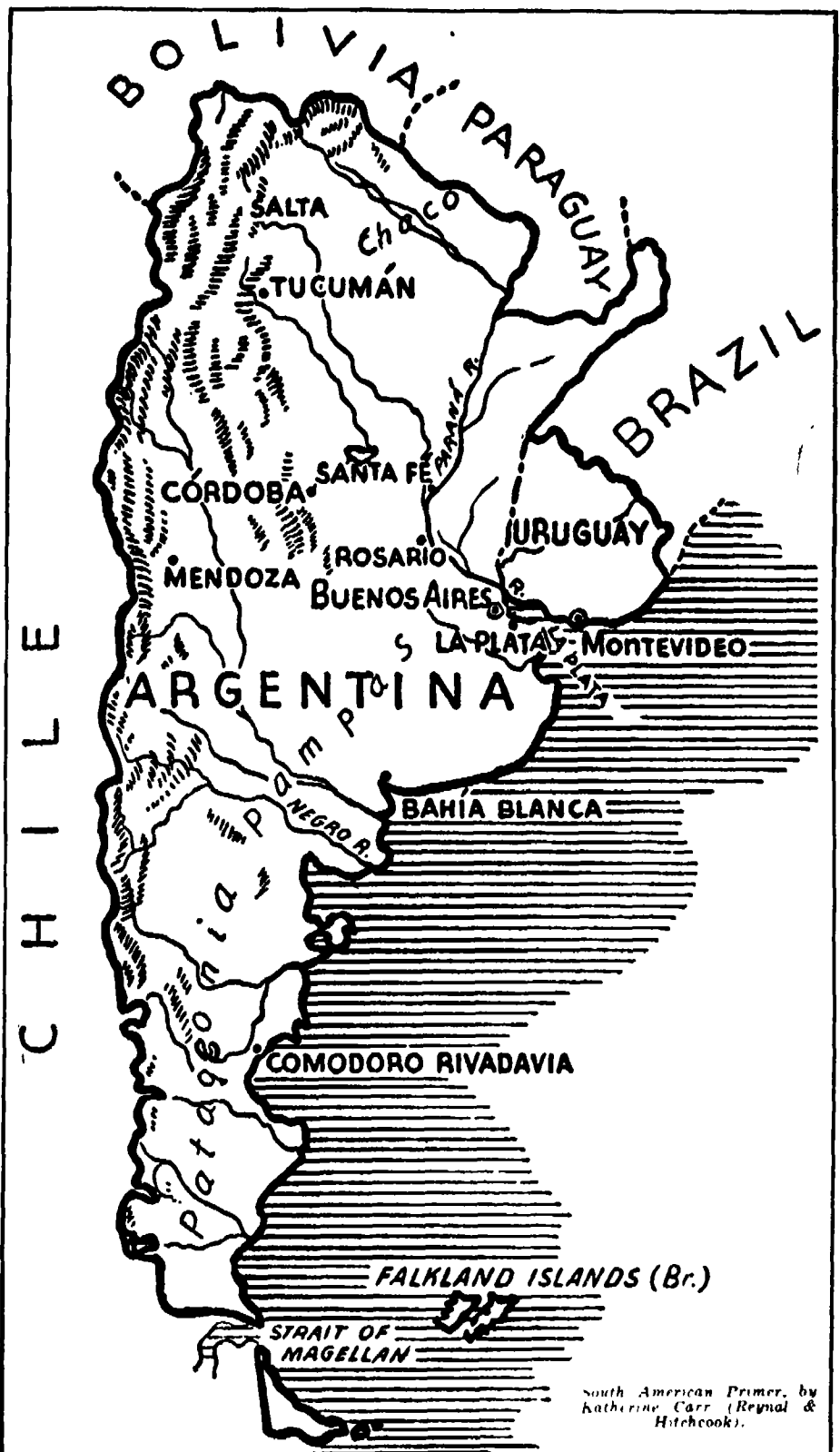
Argentina has a number of minor products, however, which the United States could use to advantage: linseed, vegetable oils, tannin, furs, tin, wolfram and vanadium. But lacking the ability of the totalitarian powers to direct purchases abroad, the United States can only hope that our importers will buy enough of these minor commodities to make up for the major commodities we do not buy.

In invoking the plea of our self-sufficiency as an excuse for not buying Argentina's leading goods, we have good reason to expect that Argentina will use the same argument against us. Thus her oil, iron, steel, building, lumber, cotton, sugar, coal, textile and shoe industries have received substantial government aid in their development. Argentina has even taken to the manufacture of railway locomotives. Industry is to be diversified, imports controlled.

The totalitarian powers have capitalized on the difficulties between Argentina and the United States. Germany has completed barter arrangements with Argentina and adjacent countries and has accompanied her political and economic "missionary" work with a campaign of propaganda. A great many Argentinians have shown signs of worry over the German threat. Nazi agents have been placed on trial in Argentina on charges of attempted arson of non-Nazi newspapers, and of violence and property destruction. The Argentine press, particularly the anti-Nazi papers, bristled with anger at the recent report of a so-called German plot to seize Patagonia.* Anti-Nazi demonstrations following this report forced a government investigation, which was largely ineffective.

Numerous Nazi and Fascist organizations, both foreign and native, continue to flourish. Argentine Nazi groups apparently have been plotting to foment an armed filibuster into Chilean Patagonia. Meanwhile, the Chilean Nazis, who have been working on a similar Chilean putsch, have issued posters declaring that the whole of Patagonia belongs to Chile, and that "the liberating Phalanx will free Chilean Patagonia

*Patagonia is a section of South America located principally in the southern part of Argentina but extending also into Chile.

South American Primer, by Katherine Carr (Reynal & Hitchcock).

Carrot-shaped Argentina can trace many of her troubles to geography. She has five nations on her borders, and at one time or another, each of them has given her cause for worry. At one time the boundaries of Argentina included Uruguay, Paraguay, and Bolivia. Though there is little likelihood that these original boundaries will be restored, Argentina has managed at least to complete arrangements with those three nations whereby they are brought within her "sphere of influence." But Argentina's relations with her remaining two border nations, Chile and Brazil, are far less cordial. Patagonia, southern part of Argentina, extends into Chile and has been a sore spot in the relations between the two countries. Argentina's differences with Brazil are largely in the realm of power politics; she is desperately afraid that her giant neighbor—largely through the aid of the United States—will attempt to displace her from her position as South America's leading nation.

Some thirty years ago Bryce, with a prophetic eye, wrote as follows: "In this immense fertile and temperate country with hardly six people to a square mile, what limit can we set to the growth of wealth and population? Already the nation is larger than the Dutch or Portuguese or Swedish. . . . It may one day be the most numerous among all the peoples that speak a tongue of Latin origin."

The area of the Argentine Republic is 2,797,113 square kilometers, in other words more than 200,000 square kilometers greater than the pre-war area of Belgium, Denmark, Germany, France, Holland, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland and Spain combined!

The constitution of Argentina which, with certain small exceptions is almost the same as that of the United States, provides the best example to be found of the application of English law under Hispanic administration, of the grafting of a shoot from Anglo-Saxon genius on a stock whose roots grew in Latin soil.

In such matters as affect the government as a whole, control is in the hands of the central government. The governors of the various provinces elected by the people, are invested with very extensive powers, and are independent of the central executive.

—*Introduction to Argentina* by Alexander Wilbourne Weddell, Ambassador to Argentina.

from the Argentine yoke." The Phalanx, promoted by the Spanish Franco government, is an organization now found in all Latin countries. German Nazi organizers are connected with it, and the United States is its principal target of abuse.

The charge that the Germans are planning to take over Patagonia has been in the air a long time. It became concrete when Heinrich Jurges, a German emigré, whose wife had been sent to a Nazi concentration camp, produced documents which were published in the liberal press. The storm was so great that the government had to act. Alfred Mueller, the local German Fuehrer, was arrested, amid protestations by the German embassy that the documents were false.

The Federal Prosecutor has now released Mueller, stating that the evidence is "insufficient to warrant prosecution," and has strongly recommended the punishment of Jurges for perjury. The Ortiz government, moreover, has apologized to Germany. Discreet press comments hint at an official whitewash, but the outcome in any case is a definite setback for the anti-Nazi forces.

From the first the Ortiz government either took little stock in the charges or did not want them aired. It made repeated assurances to Germany that the investigation and any limitations that might be placed on local Nazi organizations in no way affected Argentina's friendly feelings toward the Reich and had no bearing on existing trade agreements.

Nazi efforts to embroil Chile and Argentina run counter to Argentina's efforts in the last few years to build up a set of alliances against Brazil. Argentine capital, inextricably intermingled with that of England and Italy, and now that of Germany, has penetrated Uruguay, Paraguay and Bolivia, long satellite nations constituting a "Caribbean area." Argentina has her own "imperialism," a definite policy of economic penetration and political tutelage in adjacent countries. She has watched carefully Brazil's efforts to exercise similar economic and political influence in those countries; she has observed bitterly the expansion of American capital in Brazil.

Brazil has made successful counter-raids upon Uruguay and Paraguay, and is striking toward Bolivia with roads, railroads and new plane services. Argentina feels herself encircled; so does Brazil. In this tug of war, Chile has occupied a peculiar position. Chile and Brazil, both fearing aggression by Argentina, the big navy country, the best armed, and boasting the biggest array of war planes, were long close allies. Only a few years ago, border clashes occurred between Brazil and Argentina, also Chile and Argentina. When landslides occurred on the trans-Andean railroad, Chile, to discourage any possible attack, delayed repairing the damage. Chile had spy jitters, arrested Argentinians, even forced a high diplomatic personage to leave the country under suspicion of such activities. Brazil's efforts were also directed toward bringing Bolivia into the Chilean-Brazilian alliance.

Argentina strove desperately to combat this, and her success in gaining the economic and political upper hand in Bolivia may partly explain Brazil's new eagerness to turn toward the United States for loans and armaments. Argentina also made close connections with Peru, and strove to break Chile away from her alliance with Brazil. A long-smouldering boundary with Chile was arbitrated in friendly fashion. New trade treaties were made. Soon after, the rise of the Chilean Popular Front government cracked the last intimate ties with dictatorial and totalitarian Brazil. Today not only has repair work on the trans-Andean road been pushed, but a new line is being driven through the Andes.

Brazil, cut off from her Chilean alliance, frustrated considerably in Bolivia, is now frantically rushing armaments to match those of Argentina, an activity which we, the Germans and the Italians are helping to promote.

South American power politics thus cuts across the whole pattern of the American good-will policy. Though Washington has done much to checkmate totalitarian influence to the south, a common front of American nations for that purpose remains a romantic dream. The southern nations have constantly jumped over the traces.

The election of President Roberto Ortiz two years ago seemed to promise a new deal in Argentina-American relations, and led to a brief interlude of back-slapping. Former President Irigoyen, for almost a generation the political boss of the country, had always been anti-American. His successor, Uriburú, who seized power by armed coup, was briefly more amenable, but soon turned against us, and even promoted brown-shirt movements. At times, President Justo, the next Executive, leaned heavily on those same Fascist elements and prevented other factions from exercising democratic rights. But gradually Argentina's long democratic tradition was re-asserting itself, and the regime was rapidly becoming more friendly to the United States.

Ortiz, who promised to restore civil liberties and in good part has done so, seemed a perfect choice from the viewpoint of American diplomacy. Known to be a capable administrator in previous high gov-

ernment posts, he had reduced Argentina's debt (to the delight of American bond-holders), improved and beautified Buenos Aires, and so expanded and modernized port facilities that by comparison New York's harbor facilities are an old-fashioned junk heap. A self-made millionaire, he was closely tied up with various British, American and Italian business interests.

And so six United States superbombers flew down magnificently in record time to welcome him into the Presidency. Soon after, eight American army aviators became instructors to the Argentine air force. Sure enough, the onerous trade-quota system was abandoned, and though exchange restrictions still forced our merchants to pay a 20 per cent premium over nearly all other countries, our exports to Argentina crept up and up, finally outdistancing even those of Great Britain. New road building created a demand for American autos and trucks. Ortiz' nationalistic program of creating diversified industries, for the time being, called for the importation of more American machinery.

For some time Brazil had been looking doubtfully at our growing friendship with her rival, and resentfully coquetted with Germany. The two jealous South American rivals make a difficult team for the paternalistic good-will policy of the United States to drive in tandem. Natural resentment at our cordiality toward Argentina, plus surplus cotton, plus a very active German colony, plus fine transatlantic steamship and air service, drew Brazil constantly closer to Germany, whose doctrines of government were more agreeable to Dictator Vargas than are our own.

The State Department sent down clever Jefferson Caffery to Brazil to outwit the Nazis. Successive offers of loans, battleships, trade assistance, army, navy and aviation experts, gifts of quinine seedlings, promises to buy Brazilian rubber, and numerous gestures of military strength and friendship, have gained us more nearly equal rights in Brazil with the totalitarian powers.

Foreign Policy Association

But Argentina's cordial sentiments towards us froze up correspondingly. Soon she was sending us a sharp protest against our efforts to dispose of subsidized wheat in the Brazilian market, where Argentina now sells more goods than England. Argentina's feelings of wariness toward us revived. She heeded British warnings that she would lose her best market unless she bought more goods from the Empire. And so, even before the Lima conference of American nations late last year, Argentina had announced—though she signed a promise to the contrary—that she would restore the quota system so distasteful to us. It was resumed January first, eight days after the ink was dry on her Lima pledge not to put up any new barriers of this nature against our trade and to reduce any already in existence.

Aside from these economic compulsions, there is ample reason for Argentina's broad international outlook. Her high agricultural development, her great wealth, have placed her at the head of all other American nations except the United States. Greater Buenos Aires, by the census of a few weeks ago, is now larger than Chicago, and one of the most beautiful of cities. Argentina has the best and largest public school system in Latin America. She is the only South American country with an authentic theater. Her writers merit international attention. She has produced some of the world's leading authorities in jurisprudence and international law. Argentine painters, if mostly unknown in New York, are hailed in Paris. Musical attainments are considerable, the gaucho melodies providing an inexhaustible source of folk music. Argentine film production increased more than 100 per cent in 1938. Buenos Aires has seventy daily newspapers—some with millions of circulation—and 735 periodicals in all. Argentina's spirit is cosmopolitan, her outlook wide, her international contacts numerous, and her pride too great to permit her to depend for leadership on the United States or any other country.

Argentine President Ortiz

In late years a shadow of doubt has spread over the country. The depression hit Argentina hard. She came to realize just how dependent she was on foreign markets and on world prices she could not control. She saw that her purely agricultural role was hazardous. World competition in her products was getting constantly keener

The result has been a nationalistic determination to achieve greater economic independence. This also explains her increasing interest in Bolivia, where she has secured amazing railway, oil and agricultural concessions, for Bolivia's economy in many things supplements that of Argentina, meeting particularly the latter's lack of certain mineral and tropical resources. Argentina's program of economic nationalism, her moves to take over foreign-owned railways and oil concerns, her nationalization of the great stockgrowing and meat industry to benefit Argentine growers rather than the foreign-owned packing companies, her determination to control foreign trade exclusively in her own interest, her manipulation of international relations with a careful eye on Brazil and the United States, her determination not to cut off her contacts with Europe or the Orient—many of these developments should not be taken as antagonism toward the United States or any other foreign land, but merely as an indication that Argentina is more than ever proud of her own heritage, determined not to accept outside paternalism, and assured that she can take her place among nations as an equal, not as a semi-colonial appendage.

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"It is clear that a democratic nation cannot maintain its hold on the faith of our citizens unless it can adjust its economic operations so that it shall not cast out, as it has today, nearly thirteen million workers from its productive system. With that amount of unemployment the economy is only half alive. Such an economy cannot long continue.

"Full production in the modern economy is based on effective consuming power. Consuming power must be able at all times to absorb the full product of our economy. Broadly speaking, it is the lack of adjustment between consuming power and productive capacity which finally brings us face to face with the paradox of hunger and despair in the midst of plenty.

"The growth of production beyond effective consuming power results in an abrupt cut in production and the immediate cessation of the expansion of productive capacity. Likewise the contraction of consuming power below production gives the same effect. The final result of both movements is depression and unemployment. The common goal is a continually increasing production at full capacity, balanced by a continually increasing consumption.

"Certain important factors are needed to create recovery and full employment in this country. The most important is continued and increased economic action by organized workers to raise wages and reduce hours. Wage income, that is, lower bracket income, needs to attain a much more advantageous position in relation to dividends and profit income than at present. Just as increasing wages increases active purchasing power, lowering of hours increases employment and reduces unemployment.

"Then, secondly, it is clear that only government contributions to the general consumer income can guarantee at the present time a solid movement towards economic balance. Such a contribution needs to be intelligently planned, planned as to rate, amount of expenditure, in order to provide a continuous forward economic trend.

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But it is precisely this planning by federal authority that many industrialists feel endangers democracy and is a threat to private enterprise.

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Says W. Gibson Carey, Jr., new president of the United States Chamber of Comerce: "As everyone will recognize, this is a tremendously broad subject which cannot be handled adequately by anyone in a few words.

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"We have witnessed of late years in the United States a tremendous swing toward collectivism. Thinking people recognize that there are great difficulties involved in bringing into existence those conditions which will free individual initiative; which will persuade idle dollars to take a chance rather than to flow largely into the most secure types of bonds, and which will induce us as a nation really to go to work.

"We should at once consider most carefully our entire tax structure and we should at the earliest possible moment put into effect those forms of taxation which will encourage private enterprise. An essential in my opinion is that taxes should not be of a punitive character but should be exclusively for the raising of necessary government income. We certainly should study without delay every form of legislation which has resulted in the general and widespread lack of confidence existing. Just as an example, it seems but commonsense that private money is not going to flow at the possible and desirable rate into the utility field under present conditions and that, furthermore, private dollars, which are normally willing to take the risks of competitive business, are not going to do this while through legislation we are attempting to fix and, in fact, standardize many of the important economic factors. Our American enterprise system must, if it is to work well, be kept fluid so that the necessary readjustments to obtain balance can take place automatically. This means that legislation having to do with the issuing of securities, with labor relations, with farm production and many other phases of our economy must be re-analyzed and, where necessary, corrected.

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authority in the executive branch of the government, we will, in my opinion, anyway, unquestionably be taking a dangerous course. In that manner we can obtain the necessary discipline to maintain and increase productivity but we cannot, until we go so far as to control completely both capital and labor, arrive at anything like a full re-employment of our population. Although the country is anxious for security, I personally think that the danger of trying to obtain this through centralized authority rather than through self-discipline, hard work and a full recognition of the rights of individuals and minorities is now understood by more than a majority of our citizens.

"All of the above, I realize, is much too general. I believe it is absolutely impossible, however, in a few words to do more than indicate in the broadest terms a program of procedure on which all people can work for a re-establishment of prosperity."

Will industry discipline itself and, fully recognizing the rights of individuals and minorities, will it without government aid take the initiative necessary to put the millions of American employables back to work?

Claude Pepper

The industrious young New Deal Senator from Florida, Claude Pepper, thinks that it is essential for government to take a hand. He states flatly: "In view of modern technological improvements, there are not enough jobs to go around. If private enterprise, on its initiative and for the profit motive, is not justified in creating the necessary new jobs, that task will have to be attacked by the government, which represents the whole number of the people; it is unthinkable that any social order would permit its own disintegration or its own deterioration from within.

"Because it is desirable that the national perspective be constantly kept in view, the national government is best qualified to undertake such a plan. It will, of course, cooperate with the states and their political subdivisions. If the federal program actually provided work for all the employables it would not be unreasonable to leave to the states the burden of direct relief to those unable to work to any advantage. But the problem of made work is not a local problem, and should not be left to local solution.

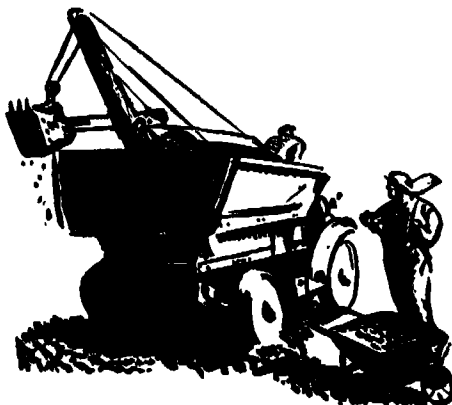
"The kind of work to be created to provide the necessary jobs should as far as possible be work that is economically productive and sound. The people to be employed should as far as economically possible be given the kind of work to which they are adapted, and the conditions of their employment should as far as possible be those which would prevail if the work were done by private industry, with decent regard to wages, hours and working conditions. By all means the skilled labor to be taken into such a program should not be deprived of the benefit of its professional skill and training. There will always be a certain number of people not fitted for any particular kind of work by training and experience. These cases will have to be solved by intelligent placement and a plan of vocational rehabilitation."

But, say the conservatives, what about government competition with private enterprise if it undertakes to put men back to work?

Norman Thomas

Norman Thomas, Socialist leader and three times his party's candidate for the Presidency, contends: "It is false to say that planned economy requires dictatorship or the totalitarian state. Indeed, planned economy in such a state is likely to result in time in dry rot. The totalitarian states at present have largely ended unemployment but they have done it with an exceedingly low wage scale and mostly by a dreadful extension of armament economics, which will exact a price that the world cannot afford to pay."

Earl Browder

Earl Browder, head of the Communist party in the United States, declares that capitalism and unemployment go hand in hand, but he adds: "Democracy can put men back to work, even under the present capitalist system, if it makes up its mind to do it. While unemployment is an inevitable accompaniment of capitalism, and cannot be entirely abolished as long as capitalism exists—only socialism can really utilize fully our national economy—yet much can be done beyond anything yet attempted.

"But any serious work program must face and accept the lesson of experience, that private initiative alone cannot do the job, that increasing governmental initiative, participation and control is required. Nowhere is this more clear than in housing, of which there is an enormous shortage, to make good in which becomes quite essential to any economic recovery program. There is not the slightest hope of a large-scale housing program really being carried out under private initiative. There are two insuperable obstacles that can be overcome only by the federal government; these are, the interweaving of the interests of capital available for investment with the interests profiting from the existing monopoly rents for sub-standard housing, which paralyzes the initiative of private enterprise, and, secondly, the inability of private initiative to coordinate the maze of private interests that block and defeat any but a national program with governmental power behind it.

"A large-scale housing program, in terms of many billions of dollars, can be initiated and carried out by the government, within the limits of the capitalist system, which would greatly stimulate the entire national economy far beyond the field of housing. It could even be organized upon strictly capitalistic lines, in the sense that the program could be placed in the hands of an entirely independent housing corporation, controlled by the government. The conditions for a high degree of success would be, only, that it is prepared to deflate monopoly rents in the most drastic manner, ignoring all complaints of interested parties, and that it be administered as efficiently as P.W.A. under Secretary Ickes has demonstrated is entirely possible.

"If such a large-scale housing program could conceivably be carried out by a strictly private corporation, would any Wall Street spokesman see

in it anything but a great contribution to American welfare? Of course not; they would all hail it as a typical expression of American genius—particularly if it returned fabulous profits to private investors. Why would it not be at least an equal contribution if carried out by the government, returning to investors only the interest rates prevailing on government bonds, and passing on the major benefits to the people?

"In this issue we have presented the very heart of the controversy between the New Deal and the anti-New Deal camps into which American political life is divided. And since the Communist Party, with its program for a complete socialist reorganization of our country, has such a small proportion of the population supporting it, the Communists are glad to throw what influence they have behind the New Deal and its progressive policies, even proposing improvements such as a real and serious housing program, in the hope that our democracy, even under capitalism, may have enough vitality to gain a breathing space for the American people before a Hoover-Dewey-Taft Republican reactionary administration brings again the chaos of economic collapse, such as 1932-33, which might result in Hitlerism for America.

"The New Deal has nothing of socialism in it; in fact it contains the only hope of a functioning democracy under capitalism; but even that little should be enough basis for a broad unity of the progressive majority of the American people in 1940."

Dr. Francis E. Townsend

CURRENT HISTORY also asked the venerable Dr. Francis E. Townsend for his opinion on this question, "Can Democracy Put Men Back to Work?" He replied: "Most emphatically, yes! Some thirty years ago industry, prompted by its desire for rapid profits, began seeking short-cut methods of production through the use of machines that permitted a reduction of payroll costs—payrolls being the great expense item industry had to meet.

"Industry went blindly and avidly after this prolific source of profit saving, little thinking what effect this policy would eventually have on the market in which it had to sell its products. For ten years now the effects of this shortsightedness have been manifest in our gigantic unemployed problem. Eleven to fifteen million men classed as employable have been out of jobs. They and their families constitute an army of forty to fifty millions of jobless and destitute people who are having to be carried on the backs of the taxpayer—a liability instead of an asset. Add to these about eight million old folks who are jobless and destitute and the number of helpless individuals in the nation becomes appallingly large.

"What to do about it? Just this: Convert our entire population into one great national, mutual, endowment insurance company. Tax the citizens at exactly the same rate on the revenues they enjoy—the gross revenues. Earmark this tax money for the one purpose of paying the endowments to the citizens when they reach the retirement age (sixty years) and give each one his pro rata share of the amount collected up to an amount that will make each one an important buyer of important goods—not just beans and bread and cabbage — with the understanding that each month's payment of the annuity shall be spent within thirty days for American-made goods or services.

"The combined buying power of eight to ten millions of well-to-do old folk will stabilize industry and create new wealth through the use of tax moneys—something we have never thought to do thus far."

At this writing Congress has given Dr. Townsend its hostile answer to his $200 a month plan, but there is no doubt that his viewpoint has influenced the framers of social security legislation and group annuities in private corporations. Exactly what effect the present social security laws will have on relieving unemployment remains to be seen.

Lawrence Dennis

But let us return to Lawrence Dennis, unorthodox Wall Street economist and author of *The Coming American Fascism*, who says that democracy *cannot* put men back to work. We are giving Mr. Dennis's statement a good deal of space as he alone appears to be upholding the negative and his opinions are highly provocative: "American democracy since 1929," he says, "has realized the almost unique achievement in the

(Continued on page 61)

FROM READERS OF

What's YOUR Opinion?

Here are a few letters from readers of Mr. Denny's June department—Can Government and Business Co-operate Now? The editors regret that all worthy communications cannot be printed this month, but they will reserve additional space in the September issue when Mr. Denny returns from his vacation.

CURRENT HISTORY *readers are interested in what you think, so write in now about this month's question. Between two contributions of equal merit, it's first come, first served. Please be as brief as possible and, if convenient, use a typewriter.*

To the Editor: "Can Business and Government Co-operate Now?" The answer is No!

Business and Government cannot co-operate unless there is a desire on the part of both to do so. Under the present Administration there is no real desire to co-operate with business. Business has disapproved the President's policies and Mr. Roosevelt cannot forgive opposition and is vindictive in resenting it.

His advisers, with the possible exception of Secretary Morgenthau, have no desire to co-operate as such co-operation would weaken the President's strongest appeal to the workers, which of course is that he is fighting single-handed in their interest against entrenched capital.

As Mr. Roosevelt's advisers have no political background they must depend on his re-election for their continuation in office.

In addition, effective co-operation with Business by this Administration would necessarily include curbing the power of the labor unions and this would be politically inexpedient.

H. C. GROOME

To the Editor: "Can Government and Business Co-operate Now?" Yes! Most certainly if we can agree on what one means by co-operating.

In the years before 1933 we had too much business in government, now business in general believes there is too much government in business. Either way mere recriminations get us nowhere. What we need now is that Business shall bestir itself and go back to business.

As a people we set great store on our rights. Every right or power carries with it responsibilities and obligations. Business needs only to perform the responsibilities which go with the rights Business clamors so for. When Business does not assume its obligations and slights its responsibilities, Government will directly or indirectly see that some needed action is taken. It is not a matter of right or wrong. It is a matter of necessity. Business must to some extent discipline its own membership by setting a high standard of conduct and of trusteeship.

By co-operation of government and business we mean that each shall work in its proper sphere to further the well-

Future What's YOUR Opinion *departments will feature an important section devoted to letters from readers. We invite you to participate and urge you to begin at once. Send us your comments on this month's subject. What do YOU think? Can Democracy Put Men Back to Work? What's YOUR Opinion?*

What's YOUR Opinion?

Which of the following subjects would you like to have discussed in Mr. Denny's department during the coming months?

Note: This is not a ballot. Do not vote for or against the proposed questions.

. . . Should the Townsend Plan be adopted by the United States?

. . . Should work relief be returned to the states?

. . . Should a declaration of war be voted on by the people?

. . . Should the Wagner Labor Act be revised?

. . . Should the Neutrality Act be amended?

. . . Should the immigration laws be amended to permit entry of all genuine refugees?

. . . Should fingerprinting of all citizens be compulsory?

. . . Should the government take over the railroads?

. . . Should income from federal, state and municipal bonds be subject to income tax?

After marking your choices, please cut off this column and mail it to CURRENT HISTORY, 420 Madison Avenue, New York City —and don't forget to send us any suggestions of your own, together with your name and address.

NAME ....

ADDRESS ....

CITY ....

STATE ....

being and welfare of all. There is no proper place for special privileges nor get-rich-quick schemes. . . .

In order to improve or maintain business, we must all continue to serve in a legitimate way in our respective lines and those of us who have laid back on their oars or have been pedaling backward will do their bit by going back to their own proper activities.

The American people must learn and apply the thought that too much worry about the future for too long a time will give us no present and no future. To have a sound future, the successive present days must be each sound, one by one. HARRY H. HOBBS

To the Editor: Can Business and Government Co-operate Now? Probably not. We must look at the problem realistically. The undeniable fact is that most businessmen (by "businessmen" I mean employers and capitalists) and most governmental representatives hold conflicting economic views. With what are the leaders of the basic industries in this nation concerned? Quite naturally, they are concerned with increasing their personal profits. They are especially interested in reducing the power of government. Since they control the means of production of the *basic* commodities and materials without which American industry would collapse, they could very easily determine the economic course of the nation's business enterprises if government did not interfere.

But the New Dealers in the Roosevelt Administration are convinced that the government must have some control and some voice in determining the social and economic course of the nation. They firmly believe that government must take action to increase the purchasing power of the people as a whole. Such a plan involves maintaining a reasonably high wage scale and reducing work hours. It means that labor's right to organize, to strike, and to bargain collectively must not be undermined by businessmen. It means, all in all, using government as a "balance-wheel" to stabilize the economy. But this also means that the government, instead of the businessmen, will really plan to a large extent the production and distribution of many goods and materials. It would result in decreasing profits for the big industrialists but increasing profits for the great mass of consumers.

Thus, obviously, no enthusiastic co-operation between business and government is likely as long as the New Dealers are in power. Probably the conflict will continue until the functions of government are definitely determined. At bottom the whole problem is one of fixing the government's position in a fast-changing world.

PAUL BULLOCK, JR. (Age 14)

To the Editor: Can government and business co-operate *now?* That depends on government. Adding enormously to the public debt, now $40,000,000,000, will not be co-operating with business. Taxes now are so great that two-thirds of the corporations of the U. S. are doing nothing. If government is to take all a business can produce what is the use of trying to do business? . . . To think that we have come to this pass to cure a depression. No such enormous debt has ever before in history been accumulated. NESTOR LIGHT

To the Editor: The "crash of '29" and the resulting abnormal economic pressure has caused our population to resolve itself into two somewhat antagonistic factions with conflicting interests and views. These two factions have been often referred to as the "Haves" and the "Have-nots." What we once knew as the great middle class has degenerated into a minority. The principal issue between these two factions seems to be a margin of safety in economic security.

The Republican Party represents the interests of the "Haves" and the Democratic Party the interests of the "Have-nots." Business is naturally affiliated with the Republican Party as it always has been. Labor and all others representing the "Have-nots" have a community of interests that, theoretically, should hold them together under one political banner. The Democratic Party represents the major portion of this group but we find them usually split up and following other leftist or liberal political groupings. In 1932 and 1936 the "Have-nots" learned something of the value of unity in increased power, politically. If they have become fully conscious of the strength of unity it is quite possible that failure of the Republican Party to stress the establishment of a margin of safety in economic or social security in a practical manner will result in the Republican Party remaining a minority.

Under our present political system we are somewhat unreasonable to even hope that Business will co-operate with a Democratis administration as long as a vestige of hope remains that a Republican will be seated at the next election. An adjustment of our political system that would permit equal representation of the interests of the "Haves" and the "Have-nots" at all times might solve this question of co-operation as there would be a lesser motive influencing Business to retard intentionally economic recovery to discredit one administration with the hope of placing its own representative in power. Business is not at fault but is only reacting naturally to a faulty political system. These excessive surges of political power, first on one side then the other, are exceedingly expensive and demand far too much in the way of party obligations from those who are paid to give us efficient government.

G. THERON JOHNSON

To the Editor: Can business and government co-operate *now?* Threats, intimidation and coercion on the part of a floundering governmental bureaucracy do not induce ungrudging co-operation from business, in spite of friendly assurances from New Deal spokesmen.

In the *last* six years, the nation has been passing through a revolving door in frivolous pursuit of Utopia, until spirit, hope and confidence have been undermined by Federal pap, propaganda, promises, bonuses, pensions, relief, pump-primings.

There is no hope for prosperity under New Deal policies that initiate reform for political revenue, while Congress remains mentally and morally inert in covetous desire of patronage and "pork."

The incentives to private enterprise await a change in the national administration. . . .

EDWARD E. SUFFERN

To the Editor: My opinion is that the Government should be the biggest thing in this country, and that business can co-operate with it any time it wants to, but that if the Government starts co-operating with business, it would only

(Continued on page 63)

Stalin on the Spot

Caught in the grip of historical dynamite, Stalin veers from revolution to nationalism

By BORIS SHUB

"It is profitable for the English to have Russia and Germany fight each other, because if these two should smash their heads, England would grow more powerful."

That vivid sentence might have been uttered by Premier Molotov of the U.S.S.R. in his May 31 speech on foreign policy—the speech in which, while holding the door open for further negotiations, he rejected as inadequate the proposals of Britain and France designed to draw Moscow into a three-power pact against aggression.

Or the sentence might have been uttered by Stalin himself last March when, at the Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, he attacked the western democracies for seeking "to raise the ire of the Soviet Union against Germany, to poison the atmosphere and provoke a conflict with Germany without any visible grounds for it."

In fact, however, the sentence was uttered, the distrust of Great Britain was voiced, on the floor of the Imperial Duma on May 23, 1914, two months before the outbreak of the World War. It was uttered by Deputy Markov, the extreme reactionary monarchist. In the course of a memorable speech, that staunch supporter of the Romanov autocracy expressed Russia's perennial suspicion of the English bearing gifts.

"The friendship of the English," said Markov, "lasts only so long as there is no necessity for active assistance to Russia. . . . It were better if, in place of a great friendship with England, we had a small alliance with Germany."

Now, a quarter of a century later, on what is perhaps the eve of a second world war, Stalin looks at the outstretched hand of Britain with the same trepidation that beset the Rasputin camarilla surrounding Czar Nicholas II. The reason public opinion is so completely in the dark regarding Russian foreign policy is

Low

Joseph Stalin

that twenty years of Bolshevist revolutionary propaganda have largely obliterated the obvious fact that the Soviet Union is . . . Russia.

Least of all is the foreign policy of the Kremlin understood by the members of the American Communist party and the supporters generally known as "fellow travelers," because they accept at face value such cloudy myths as "Soviet Union," "Dictatorship of the Proletariat," "Collective Security" and "Peace Front." Substitute for these "Russia," "Stalin Regime," "Alliance" and "Balance of Power," respectively, and penetration of the fog becomes less difficult.

Russia faces a momentous choice of policy, a choice certain to play a decisive part in determining the destinies of that nation and of the world. Decision lies in the hands of one man, Stalin. It would be a mistake to suppose that he has broken completely with the vestiges of his revolutionary Bolshevist past. His entire political training was under Lenin, to whom Russia as a *nation* meant precisely nothing.

Lenin formulated his theories largely while in exile, in cheap rooming houses of London, Stockholm, Geneva, Munich, Cracow and Zurich. He was an internationalist not merely because he read Marx, but because for the greater part of his adult life he was a man without a country. He seized power during a period of general social upheaval, and in the turbulence of war and post-war Europe he thought he saw the end of nations and the emergence of an international dictatorship of the proletariat. It was that faith that permitted him to sign away a third of European Russia by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, sincerely believing that, if the Russian Bolsheviks could retain power for a brief spell, all European boundary lines would vanish on the Red Day of Judgment. To Lenin, the Kremlin was no more than an overnight inn on the highway of world revolution.

All efforts to export Bolshevism to Western Europe failed, however. Communist uprisings in Berlin, in Finland, in Bavaria and in Hungary were suppressed, and French officers helped the Poles turn back the Red Army at the gates of Warsaw. To Lenin, nevertheless, these setbacks carried no final portent. To the end of his days he avoided the conference tables of national power politics. The Kremlin was still an overnight inn.

Stalin, on the other hand, is a man of vastly different cast. Although a Georgian by birth, he became more Russian than those disciples of Lenin who spent their formative years shuttling from one European capital to another. His pre-revolutionary existence seldom carried him outside the Russian Empire. He was a Bolshevik who lived in the cities and villages of Russia, and in the remote fastnesses of Siberia. To him the "international proletariat" was never more than an abstract article of Leninist faith; his experience was with *Russian* workers, *Russian* peasants and *Russian* police.

Soon after Lenin's death, Stalin broke with the cardinal Bolshevist canon of faith, that Bolshevist objectives required an international arena. Trotsky and Zinoviev continued to worry about the "international proletariat" and the world revolution; Stalin turned his eyes more and more upon the Russian Empire, its peoples and its limitless resources. Stalin won out. The Kremlin long ago ceased to be an inn for impatient revolutionists as it was when Trotsky ruled the Red Army and Zinoviev directed the Communist International as a weapon of world-wide insurrection.

For twelve years Stalin has single-handedly dictated the policies of the Russian State from the palace where once the Czars ruled. In the past few years he has done everything within his power to regenerate the springs of Russian national patriotism. The people have been encouraged to read the masters of Russian literature previously indexed as "bourgeois" and "reactionary." The Soviet cinema now glorifies the military achievements of early Russian princes and Czars in a manner unthinkable in Lenin's time. The Soviet press has revived and rabidly propagandizes the most anti-revolutionary and anti-internationalist word of all, *Rodina* — Motherland. The people are taught that Russian soil is worth fighting for even unto death. This is the atmosphere within which Stalin's foreign policy is unfolding, and this is the background which makes that policy comprehensible.

The best proof that Russia's recent diplomatic moves are dictated primarily by national self-interest is found in the reaction of the Russian emigré press, which has little love for Stalin and less for a Bolshevist foreign policy. In Paris, Professor Miliukov, Foreign Minister under the short-lived Russian democratic republic of 1917, publishes a daily newspaper, and Kerensky, who was Premier under that republic, edits a bi-monthly journal. Both publications have authoritative underground correspondents in Russia who enable them, time and again, to predict changes within that country long before the outside world has the slightest inkling that such shifts are impending.

In the face of outraged denials by the official Communist press in Europe and America, they foresaw the liquidation of the Red Army generals in 1937, and the subsequent removal of Secret Police Chief Yezhov. And they indicated the "retirement" of Foreign Commissar Litvinov long before the cryptic Soviet communique of May 3 last shocked the capitals of the world. When Miliukov and Kerensky publish articles tentatively supporting Stalin's

New York Times

Maxim Litvinov

foreign policy, it is very nearly time for the Communist International to close shop.

Miliukov's paper, for example, points out that, between the Munich conference of September 1938 and the occupation of Prague in March 1939, Russia must have sold Germany a pretty fancy bill of goods. Immediately after Munich, Hitler fashioned an autonomous Carpatho-Ukraine out of eastern Czecho-Slovakia, and spent enormous sums of money to stimulate a Ukrainian separatist movement. The western powers assumed, with no great sorrow, that a drive into the Soviet Ukraine was imminent. And yet in March the pivotal territory was abandoned to Hungary, the Hitler scheme was shelved, and an ominous cordiality of relations between Berlin and Moscow undermined nerves at No. 10 Downing Street, London.

Russia was back in the game of national power politics, clearly and unmistakably. Communists are embarrassed at Stalin's flirtation with Germany, but as a tactical move directed to those who sought so recently to appease Hitler at the expense of Russia, the move is in keeping with Russia's status as a European power. Experience with Great Britain for the past hundred years has taught Moscow to move cautiously. Imperial Russia saw Britain checkmate her in Asia, in the Near East, in the Bosphorus and in the Balkans. Democratic Russia in the spring of 1917 appealed in vain to her ally for a revision of secret Imperialist treaties and the conclusion of an equitable peace without annexation or indemnities. And finally, Bolshevist Russia saw Britain take advantage of internal disorder to seize the valuable oil fields of Batum.

Under the circumstances, the mere possibility of Russo-German rapprochement compels Great Britain to deal with Russia either on terms of equality or not at all, for this is the only game that the British take seriously. (Compare the flirtation with Napoleon by Alexander I for a striking analogy.)

To the international Communist movement, Russian understanding with Germany would constitute a death-blow, because the propaganda machinery of the Comintern has been geared for years as an anti-fascist force. From the standpoint of Russian national security, however, the maneuver is not without justification.

Great Britain has apparently come to the belated conclusion that, in the event of war, an eastern front is necessary to preserve the blockade value of the British fleet. For the fleet is potent, as Winston Churchill points out, to the extent that it shuts off Germany's access to raw materials and food. Given a benevolently neutral Russia in the East, and Germany can feed its men and its guns for an indefinite period, thereby canceling the effect of a naval blockade. Great Britain wants a wall in the East stronger than Poland and Rumania but has not yet shown a readiness to pay in full for such service on the part of Russia.

Anglo-Russian negotiations have proceeded slowly primarily because Britain has been seeking a cheap bargain. The successive proposals submitted to Moscow by London have been full of convenient jokers which might well leave Russia holding the bag. The terms which Premier Molotov rejected on May 31 would have left Russia open to the possi-

bility of German invasion through the Baltic States without imposing a clear duty upon Great Britain, for if Latvia and Estonia were intimidated to permit the entry of German troops without appealing for aid, Britain would have had no contractual obligation to act. Insistence by Moscow upon complete equality and reciprocity in any pact of mutual assistance against aggression is no more than ordinary national prudence. It is based on the recollection that British diplomacy has "pulled fast ones" on more than one occasion in the past. Russia wants an ironclad agreement or nothing. Molotov's demand for a specific guarantee covering the Baltic States bordering on Russia—Latvia, Estonia and Finland—is particularly understandable in view of the fact that the Baltic is one potential sphere of operations in which British naval vessels could support Russian land and air forces.

Two serious obstacles stand in the way of a truly effective Russian policy. The first is the glimmering Communist hope that perhaps the Red Army will still be called upon to perform its international revolutionary role. This was hinted by Vice-Commissar of Defense Mekhlis in a recent speech. It is this lingering fancy that keeps Communist embers alive outside of the Soviet Union and hampers complete devotion to Russian interests. The outcome of the Spanish Civil War was in good measure the result of Moscow's half-hearted effort to take another crack at the Bolshevist game. Attempts to take a hand in the internal differences within the Spanish Loyalist government contributed no small part to the Franco victory. Recent Soviet policy with regard to China, on the other hand, has been considerably more in line with Russia's Far Eastern interests.

The second obstacle is far more fundamental. Part of Stalin's caution in dealing with the western democracies can be traced to a dilemma for which he can find no easy answer. Unlike Hitler, Stalin has been forced to pay lip service to the democratic aspirations of the people. Ruling with an absolute power that the Romanovs would have envied, he propagates a democratic myth that carries within it the seeds of destruction for the Bolshevist State.

"None dares question the fact," he said in his Party Congress speech, "that our Constitution is the most democratic in the world."

And indeed *on paper* this is almost true. A few saving phrases, buried but alive, are all that stand in the way. And while as a charter of existing rights and liberties that instrument is a dead letter, it lives as propaganda. Created as part of the frenzied effort to foster patriotism and national consciousness in the face of war danger, it hovers ghostlike over the Kremlin.

FINAL commitment to fight on the side of the western democracies, coupled with the shadowy pretense of liberty, might provide the very stimulus which the Russian people require in their repressed desire for political freedom. A Russian nation in arms, fighting side by side with Britain and France, challenges the totalitaran principle in 1939, even as the alliance of 1914 undermined absolutism.

Stalin cannot be blind to the challenge implicit in choosing the western democracies rather than authoritarian Germany. Nevertheless, having created the picture of a nation devoted to peace, having reinculcated in some measure love of country, and having convinced the larger part of world opinion, whether rightly or wrongly, that Russia stands with the victims of aggression, he cannot exercise free choice in his decision. Russia enjoys greater international prestige now than at any time in recent history, and that prestige cannot be thrown overboard lightly by even the most obdurate wielder of power. As Stalin casts the die he realizes, even as did the Romanov dynasty, that, before the party is over, the Russian people may act to bring latent slogans of freedom to life.

There is risk in either course, but to line up with Hitler involves an immediate loss of moral standing in the eyes of the Russian people and of world opinion. Russia imposes a choice now, as in 1914, that transcends the personal preference of her dictator. Having been compelled by a historical dynamic to substitute Russian interest for the chimera of world revolution, Stalin must watch events take their tragi-heroic course. A bitter pill for a ruler for whose personal power the status quo is the best safeguard, but the first ray of hope for a people with whom fate has played curious tricks in the past.

Viacheslav Molotov

FOR eighteen years Viacheslav Molotov has been Stalin's immediate assistant, one of his most trusted aides. Many Soviet leaders, prominent during the Revolution itself, have been exiled, executed, or sentenced. But Molotov remains.

His position for many years was that of handy man, filling in wherever Stalin needed him. He is not very well known abroad. Nevertheless, for many years he has helped frame the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. As President of the Council, he has been the superior of Maxim Litvinov, whom he recently replaced when Stalin appointed Molotov in direct charge of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Molotov is forty-nine years old, a comparative youth among diplomats. Somewhat thick-set, with heavy shoulders that seem made to support responsibilities, he can be distinguished from most of his colleagues by a certain Anglo-American kind of elegance. His wife, who visited the United States in 1936, has helped bring Molotov into the American sphere and has exerted influence on his attitude toward the United States.

Russia's New Foreign Minister

It is entirely possible that Viacheslav Molotov might one day be called upon to take Stalin's place in the Kremlin.
—*Condensed from the* Paris Soir, *from a translation appearing in The Living Age.*

THEY SAY

Quotations from the World Press

The Great Corcoran Drive for the Third-Term Idea

—Condensed from Frank R. Kent's column, "The Great Game of Politics," in The Baltimore Sun.

In recent weeks a vigorous effort to galvanize a third-term-for-Roosevelt idea has been made. Altogether, considerable success has been achieved in nullifying the general acceptance that, in accord with the oldest American political tradition, Mr. Roosevelt would retire at the close of his second term.

The basic fact about this "drive" is that back of it is that ingenious young man, Mr. Thomas Corcoran. And when you say that Mr. Corcoran is back of it you mean that Mr. Ben Cohen is back of it, Mr. Leon Henderson, Mr. Bob Jackson, Mr. David Cushman Coyle, Mr. David Niles and the other bright young men whom Mr. Roosevelt brought out of obscurity and whose one chance of avoiding return to that state is to continue Mr. Roosevelt in the White House.

You also mean that back of it are Mr. Lasser, of the Workers Alliance; Mr. Lewis, of the C.I.O., and the great press agent army of the government departments. It isn't, of course, necessary to mention that Mr. Earl Browder, head of the Communist party, publicly plumped for a third term some time ago, nor that the federal jobholders are a unit in such a movement. It is with them a matter of obvious self-interest. Take all these forces and a rather impressive performance can be put on if staged by a skillful director. That is exactly what has been done, and Mr. Corcoran is the bright boy who has done it.

The point which ought to be understood, however, is that it has not changed the actual situation in any way. The Democratic leaders who were against Mr. Roosevelt are just as much against him now as before. There has been no change in public sentiment on the subject. The Gallup and other polls still show a definite majority against a third term. The best political judgment has been that a third nomination could no more succeed than a third-party movement can succeed. That is still the judgment of the experienced politicians. Nor have these changed their view that Mr. Roosevelt will not run again in 1940.

What then, it is asked, is the idea of the great Corcoran drive? The idea is simple enough. Corcoran and Company are convinced that the people are still not only with the President but with the New Deal. They think that the anti-third term tradition is absurd and the practical politicians are wrong when they warn that the American people do not want any man to hold the Presidency more than eight years.

These amateur political strategists believe they can put enough pressure to Mr. Roosevelt to let Mr. Farley very definitely know that he wants a renomination. This, they think, will compel Mr. Farley to deliver to Mr. Roosevelt all the delegates he has been so carefully putting in the bag for himself. And that would be a splendid joke on Mr. Farley, whom they do not like, at the same time putting Mr. Roosevelt in position where he could enforce a demand on the Democratic conservatives to do his will in the convention. Perhaps they are right, but not many detached observers think so.

The reasons are clear. Chief among them is the fact that there is no possibility of Mr. Roosevelt being "drafted" for the nomination or supported by a united party. His most partial friends do not claim that. He probably could be nominated by openly conniving in the movement and driving it through a reluctant convention by the weight of the federal machine. But there is no other way. The worthlessness of a nomination thus obtained is why the practical men of politics take so little stock in the "drive." It would, most of them agree, split the Democratic party wider than ever Mr. Bryan did.

The Corcorans, Cohens and others were in their cradles when Mr. Bryan was the peerless leader of exactly the same elements to which the New Deal now appeals. Naturally, the parallel means nothing to them. The question is whether they can sufficiently inflame Mr. Roosevelt. It is true they have had immense influence with him in the past, but unless he is very greatly inflamed he will not go the distance on this. The best guess is that he may use the third-term threat as a convention club to compel endorsement of his policies and prevent the nomination of men personally distasteful to him. Actually, he does not need to threaten to get both of these things. There is little the convention can do but give them.

The banker's question in the accompanying dispatch is one of practical importance to every investor of sums large and small. Many CURRENT HISTORY readers no doubt have had occasion to consider it in recent years. CURRENT HISTORY will be glad to receive, and to publish, answers to that question from its readers. Answers should not exceed five hundred words in length. The editors offer payment of $10 for the best answer received during the month of July, $5 for the second-best. Answers should be directed to the offices of CURRENT HISTORY, 420 Madison Avenue, New York City.

If You Had a Million How Would You Invest It?

—Condensed from a news dispatch to The New York Herald-Tribune *from Elizabeth, N. J.*

John D. Morgan, patent attorney of Elizabeth, N. J., who died recently at the age of seventy, directed in his will that his estate be divided equally between his two daughters, provided that they first passed an examination in "the principles of sound investment, substantially as they are explained in some standard, authoritative work on this subject. This examination must show a practical knowledge of such principles, permanently understood and remembered, and not a mere temporary committing to

memory of some book by my heirs."

The will, disposing of a fortune of $750,000 to $1,000,000, was written in 1925. It orders the estate to be held in trust for Mrs. Morgan, during her lifetime. At her death, half of the trust is to be divided equally between the daughters, if they pass the required examination; after five years the other half is to be divided equally between them.

It directs that the trustees "set aside out of the income from my estate such part of the sum of $200 as may be reasonably necessary to defray the cost of such examination or examinations of my said daughters in the principle of sound investment. These examinations must be of such nature and extent as to thoroughly and effectively carry out this provision. I warn my beneficiaries, when they obtain control of my estate, against speculation and unsound investments, and urge on them to always seek competent and disinterested advice from their banker or other competent person before making investments."

An officer of the First National Bank of Summit, New Jersey, which had been named as a co-trustee, was asked what textbook he would suggest for the daughters to study. "I really haven't given it a thought," he said, "because the need for it is very remote. If I were to give the examination today I think I know the first question I would ask. It would be: 'If you had money to invest conservatively today, would you put it into something offering a 3 per cent return, or a 6 per cent return—and why? Please answer fully.' "

Sykes—The Seattle Daily Times

The man on horseback.

Solution: An Aspirin

—Condensed from the column, "Random Thoughts" in The Kansas City Star.

There is nothing like a good problem in arithmetic to stir the mind to frenzied thought. We spoke last week of a problem that had been exciting the people of St. Louis until it was transferred to Kansas City. It involved three hotel guests and the rebate on their $30 bill to reduce it to $25. The manager gave the bellboy five $1 bills from which he was to return to each guest $1.67. The boy found the division too complicated, so he gave each guest $1 and kept the other $2. Each guest then had paid $9, or a total of $27, which with the boy's $2 added brought the total to $29. The question was what had become of the extra $1 to make up the original $30.

We suggested that the $30 had nothing to do with the case and was just lugged in to make the problem harder. Our solution was based on building up from the revised bill of $25. Now A. P. E. writes from Atchison with another slant.

"True," he says, "$3 were returned, resulting in a total hotel expenditure of $27. Of this the hotel received $25 and the porter $2—total $27, just as though the bill had been $25 and the porter's tip $2. Adding to this the $3 change returned produces the original sum of $30. The crucial thing seems to be to remember that the porter's $2 came out of the $27 and is therefore to be deducted, rather than added to produce a mythical sum of $29, nowhere involved in the transaction. Moral: Had the porter lost the $2 in a crap game there would have been no problem."

Moseley and the Goblins

—Condensed from a column by Hugh S. Johnson in The New York World-Telegram.

General Moseley has been seeing things under the bed. The absurdity of his tale of a Communist plot to seize this government by force doesn't lessen the glare of his day in the limelight. The actions of the Dies committee, "investigating" him—heckling and threatening to suppress him—is just water under his wheel. Frequent report that the War Department is gum-shoeing his recent activities suggests a general court-martial for his rash utterances. That would complete his martyrdom and fill his cup of joy to overflowing.

If it were not for the adverse effect of his publicity capers on other people, the General's little side-show would be a howling joke. Anybody who has a chance to observe the activities of the actual Communists in this country knows that they are just footling fol-de-rol. Only one other

current performance compares with them in unimportance. That is the heiling and posturing of the Nazi-Fascist monkey show which General Moseley applauds.

As concerns the General personally, it is a pity. In his military service he was a bold go-getter who consistently rendered invaluable service to his country, especially in the terrible supply problem of our armies in France. I have served with him for more years than I like to remember, beginning as shavetails in Texas. He was always a cutter of red tape—an army realist who got results—a sincere, intense and loyal soldier. It advanced him rapidly and that gave him, as all his comrades know, a marked superiority complex. Removed from the restraints of discipline of active service, he simply exploded in a volcanic eruption of a fireworks personality long repressed.

His being taken for a sucker by bum professional patrioteers of the absurd Ku-Klux variety is simply an instance of the innocence and ignorance of the civilian pressures which attend the cloistered life of the average Army officer intent upon his own highly specialized profession.

His stuff carries an implication that it represents the Army point of view, that the Army thinks it could and should move in to regulate political thinking, action and expression in this country—that the President could and should unleash a bunch of military Black Shirts and Gestapo "intelligence" officers to purge our democracy of "subversive" elements.

The reverse is the fact. I haven't talked with any kind of an Army officer who did not feel that Moseley was not only off on a crazy tangent personally, but also that he is letting down the reputation of the service for loyalty.

Men do not give up their rights of opinion when they enter the Army, but it is a part of their profession that they accept and execute the final decision of responsible authority as loyally as though it were their own —whether they agree with it or not. If that were not so, we couldn't have any democratic government by majority rule. Military force is more powerful than ballots. Obedience to majority government is a religion in our Army. The unquestioning loyalty of our Army and Navy to their constitutional command—majority government—is the most important safeguard of democracy.

Profile of a Prosecutor

—Condensed from The Kansas City Star.

United States District Attorney Maurice Morton Milligan of Richmond, Ray County, Missouri, is an erect, black-haired, lithe, strong-featured man who truly has seemed to represent the vigorous reflowering

Maurice Morton Milligan

of all there was of law and order west of the Mississippi. Milligan with the backing of the federal government, waded into the muck of Kansas City politics and tossed up—take it or leave it—what remained to us of a municipal corporation after the vultures had fattened on it. You've seen his face and perhaps wondered where this young champion came from.

Well, he came from a small town, still comes from there and sincerely desires to keep coming from there as long as he can manage to be useful. And to deal with that deceptive adjective, "young"—Maurice Milligan happens to be fifty-five and keeps on his big desk at the temporary federal courts building a photograph of his grandson. You have to look closely for the gray hairs in his black cap of hair, cut country style. Evidently the barber doesn't ask if he wants his neck shaved; just shaves it, and O.K. Not that the matter is of any importance, but then he also happens to be a meticulous dresser —he wears shirtings and suitings, sport shoes and such, well matched.

We were assigned to watch Milligan in action when Boss Pendergast, leader of Kansas City's municipal machine, pleaded guilty in the federal court to income tax evasion, and we didn't see Milligan in action at all. We saw a youthful, straight-backed fellow, in a neat gray suit with a pleated back, read the government's clear, cold case against a flagrant violator of the federal income tax laws. The performance was undramatic in contrast with the eloquent pleas for clemency that followed. Still and all, we couldn't help wishing we were young enough to be Milligan's son and wise enough to appreciate the significance of his accomplishment.

Milligan has been Ray County's probate judge for two four-year terms—the youngest ever elected to that office; also has been city attorney, assistant county prosecutor and member of the board of education. Then, too, Maurice, physically and sartorially, would be a natural for a statue in bronze or marble. At least, he wouldn't have to be chiseled in a frock coat and baggy-kneed pants.

Maurice drifted into law, through propinquity, you might say; he was exposed to Blackstone at an early age —16 or thereabouts—and couldn't shake loose. When he was first thinking he ought to buy a razor, his father sent him to Jefferson City for two sessions of the legislature, 1901-1903, in the capacity of clerk.

P.S. on Pendergast

—An article by Harper Leech in The Chicago Daily News.

Well, you never can tell! Three years ago I made a hurried survey of the Pendergast machine in Kansas City, and political machines are no rarity and no treat to me. But this one was a honey, and I would have bet my shirt that it was there to stay. Now the big boss who fed 'em and voted 'em for forty years, when "good citizens" neglected 'em, is in the little room where the evening sun casts checkered shadows on the floor.

The income tax got him! And who would have thought of a thing like that 'way back yonder when the sixteenth amendment was a poor little orphan of Senator Brown of Nebraska, begging the state legislatures to let it into the Constitution.

There was some pretty good prophecy about the income tax, too. When it was before Congress, Senator Philander C. Knox, the same who

prophesied the truth about the Versailles treaty years afterward, uttered a jeremiad about the income tax. It would make us a nation of thieves and perjurers, he said. It would fill the land with snitchers and spies. But not even the brilliant Pittsburgher foresaw that, after initiating a regime of bribery and fix, the income tax would itself "turn square guy" and become a veritable Nemesis of graft.

Yet that is not new in the evolution of law. The growth of any custom or institution into something that no one anticipated, often into something that its sponsors never dreamed, is commonplace. The Court of Star Chamber, which became a synonym for tyranny, was once a reform tribunal to protect the common man. The writ of habeas corpus, keystone of civil liberty in the English-speaking world, was once upon a time a means of putting men into jail, not of getting them out. The fourteenth amendment, enacted to protect men with dark skins, eventually became the guardian of corporate white paper and parchment.

The federal anti-conspiracy statute, aimed at Ku Kluxers, counterfeiters and moonshiners, became in the second decade the favorite instrument for punishing ballot frauds. And now the income tax becomes the choicest weapon in the arsenal of the law to attack the corrupt alliance of business and politics, high and low.

The Capone case was the first startling demonstration to the public of the latent terrors of the income tax system for the Powers of Prey. Public reaction to the Capone conviction was rather dubious, too. We were a bit shamefaced that a man who had escaped punishment for graver offenses had to be taken with a revenue statute. Today the conviction of a big crook for faking his income tax return is greeted with no such mental reservations. The general feeling is that any old stick is good enough to scotch a snake.

There is much justification for the new attitude in the changes that have taken place in crime. The conservative burglar, peter man and dip of our boyhood days was a simple, if crooked, soul, and his crimes were crude. The modern criminal and enemy of society is all too often a high-powered captain of criminal industry at the head of a far-reaching system in which direct responsibility and liability have been reduced to a minimum. Our rather primitive criminal procedure devised to cope with old-fashioned crimes such as are defined in the Old Testament simply does not get the higher-ups of modern syndicate and "holding company" crime, but the income tax system and its penalties fit the situation like a glove.

Many years ago, in his invaluable book *Sin and Society*, Dr. E. A. Ross pointed out the inadequacy of old taboos and laws to deal with the subtle men of prey who have been bred in our sophisticated society. I guess Professor Ross thinks highly of the income tax.

Talburt—Pittsburgh Press

Laying the cornerstone for 1940?

Juvenile Gangs and Crime

Condensed from a radio address by Dr. Frederic M. Thrasher of New York University over N.B.C.

A few years ago I made a scientific study of more than one thousand gangs in Chicago. A friend of mine, writing in the funny column of *The Chicago Tribune*, said that if Professor Thrasher found only that many gangs in Chicago, he must have worked but one side of the street. I do not believe I discovered all the gangs in that city, but I think I got a pretty good example, enough to reveal how boys get into trouble and the beginnings of criminal careers. Gangs and the conditions which create them are not peculiar just to Chicago. They exist in all American cities.

Our Chicago study showed that no less than 25,000 young boys and adolescents were subjected to the influences of delinquent gangs. Our New York study showed 29,176 children between the ages of seven and sixteen in one slum district alone. Sixty per cent of these children spend their leisure time on the streets. The first delinquencies are usually a game which is made interesting by older boys who have already been initiated into delinquent activities. Much early delinquency has a purely sport motive and shows the importance of providing wholesome leisure activities for children.

If we wish to attack the roots of crime, we must go into the delin-

quency areas where young boys are being initiated into criminal activities as a result of their contacts on the streets. The streets grant no degrees and give no diplomas, but they educate with fatal precision. The casual contacts of the streets often make it possible for the criminal underworld to have a direct influence upon growing boys.

What do boys learn in these associations? First of all, to be independent. Many boys learn to take care of themselves, to live away from home, to pick up an easy living in one way or another.

In the second place, the streets inculcate personal habits that are demoralizing. The boys soon learn the use of profanity and vulgarity. They become sexually demoralized. Gambling is universal. The use of intoxicants and often of other types of stimulants and varieties of tobacco is common.

Thirdly, the boy on the streets acquires a disrespect for law and authority. He gets a knowledge of crooked politics. He learns how the criminal escapes punishment, and along with this come attitudes of fatalism and cynicism which develop a dangerous philosophy of life, particularly for a prospective criminal.

Finally, the boy on the streets learns the technique of crime because of his contacts with street corner tramps, semi-criminals, gangsters and members of the underworld. Sometimes he acquires this information in unsupervised candy stores and poolrooms. He learns about playing the numbers, selling stolen goods, renting guns for hold-ups, the techniques of vice and racketeering, manufacture of illicit liquor, how to break into stores, how to steal junk and dispose of it and how to break into railroad cars.

If the streets do not succeed in turning out a finished criminal, they often develop a type of personality which may well foreshadow the gangster and the gunman. A boy of this type may be described as a hoodlum with a show-off complex. He takes particular delight in interfering with the orderly pursuit of business and pleasure which he sees about him. He does not hold a job. He is often on the street or in the poolroom. He is a loafer, idling away countless hours in smoking, gambling and rough horse-play. His bravado is always ready to foment a brawl, but he is seldom willing to engage in a fair fight unless backed by his pals. He is coarse and vulgar in his talk. He has no appreciation of history, no dignified tradition in his past, no cultural background. He is, in brief, a thoroughly disorganized, or if you like, unorganized person, and he is pretty likely to develop into a criminal.

A good example of the hoodlum is Fatty. Fatty is only nine years old, but he stole 25 cents from a policeman who was waiting to buy lunch. He holds up smaller boys when they are going with money to buy groceries. Fatty stole $6 worth of tickets through a hole in a box-office window. He smoked so much that he fainted in line in school. He found a gun which a robber threw away in his alley and used it on the little boys. He broke a $200 window in the drug store; he took $2 from a man with a pushcart; he played hookey from school; he stoned the girls. At an early age he had come under the influence of a street gang whose members later acquired court records.

If he had become a member of a good boys' club or settlement—if a good boys' worker had got hold of him, his story would have been very different. The activities he needed, however, do not just happen. They are the result of planning by recreation leaders who are experts in the field of leisure time. The problem of attacking crime at its roots really turns out to be one of organizing the leisure time of boys. This is a community responsibility. It cannot be accomplished by any single agency, such as the home, the school, the church, or the boys' club alone. It must be accomplished through all the preventive agencies which touch the lives of boys and young men.

Ben in Le Rire, Paris

Dr. Chamberlain's quints.

Tomorrow's Excavators in the Fair of Today

—*H. I. Phillips in* The Washington Post.

Q.—Are we digging deep enough?

A.—I think so. We just uncovered another one of those buildings nobody can make head or tail of.

Q.—You still think they were buildings?

A.—It is difficult to cling to the notion, but there are distinct signs of windows, et cetera.

Q.—We dug up a curious thing yesterday. It appeared to be a monster egg. Did they lay eggs that big in those days?

A.—Certain data from the New Deal period indicate they laid 'em much bigger.

Q.—Have you determined what that tall white shaft was?

A.—I can't make any sense of it. It appears to have been erected for no other purpose than to achieve height without purpose.

Q.—Almost everything we dig up bears the name Grover Whalen, doesn't it?

A.—Yes. It will be important when we dig up something that doesn't.

Q.—Who was this Whalen?

A.—He was evidently one of the great kings in that period.

Q.—But there were no American kings in that period.

A.—That's what you think!

Q.—What is your conclusion about that sunken pool and surrounding buildings we dug up last week?

A.—Everything around it bore the name of one Tut-Ank-Rose.

Q.—Are you sure the name was Rose?

A.—In letters that big how could I be wrong?

Q.—This Rose was evidently an exotic person who loved to live lavishly. He must have been a great swimmer.

A.—He evidently had his palace here.

Q.—What makes you think so?

A.—I find constant reference to Holm.

Q.—What do you suppose those things were that we found in that odd building with the inscription "General Motors"?

A.—It's hard to say, but they were evidently some quaint contrivances for traveling from place to place. I think they were called automobiles. They ran at the ridiculously slow pace of eighty miles an hour.

Q.—It bears out our theory that in 1939 people did travel on land. By the way, who was this Ford person, some manifestation of whom we encounter every time we lift a shovel?

A.—The research department thinks he must have been a traveling man, possibly a strolling player. We find evidence of him no matter where we go.

Q.—The amazing thing is that we find nothing in all our excavations that bears any relation to our habits and customs today, two thousand years later, is it not?

(There is a hubbub from an adjacent point. One of the explorers rushes over, finds out what it's about and returns.)

A.—Well, you're all wrong in that last remark.

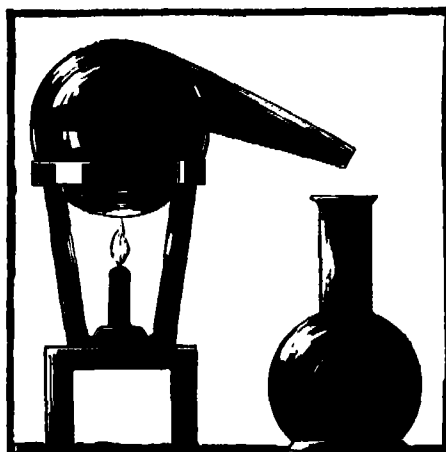
Q.—How so?

A.—They just dug up a midway and the mummy of a fan dancer! Civilization in that respect never changes!

The Welsh "Menace"; or Concocting a "Conspiracy"

—From the column, "Take a Look," by W. L. White in The Emporia Gazette.

If you are in a mood for conspiracies, you can concoct a spider-web chart proving that any minority is engaged in a blood-thirsty plot. Watch me do a job on the Welsh.

You think they're harmless? And that it doesn't mean anything that Charles Evans Hughes is Chief

Justice? Well, wake up! Remember that another Supreme Court Justice bears the good Welsh name of Roberts. If it only stopped there! But every Welshman is a Communist at heart, so it's no coincidence that John Llewellyn Lewis is head of the C.I.O. International Welshery has its key men everywhere. Who is the head attorney for the great banking house of Morgan? Who but John W. Davis? This banking house controls the U. S. Steel Corporation, and I suppose you still think it's just a coincidence that this company was the first in its industry to sign up with the C.I.O. A fast play between Davis and Lewis! The International Welsh-Communists won't stop until all American industry is in its clutches. I suppose you think Henry Morgenthau is powerful? Pooh! A bookkeeper! A front man for the International Welsh. For behind the scenes wielding the real power stands Jesse Jones—another good Welsh name—who through his R.F.C. lends billions to American corporations which must dance to the tune of the International Welsh. Is it still a coincidence that Norman Thomas—another good Welsh name—heads the Socialist party? Norman Davis "observed" at Geneva and quietly visited European capitals as the semi-official representative of our government. Do you doubt that he was in constant contact with David Lloyd George? Now bend closer while I whisper: the name Josef Stalin is only a blind—we have documents proving that he was christened David Abernathy Hughes.

The above paragraph took ten minutes to concoct. Give me twenty and I'll prove that it is not the Welsh, but really the Hawaiians who are sucking the nation dry and will presently push its skeleton into the garbage unless you sign up and begin paying dues.

Iceberg-Hunting Season Now Well Under Way

—Condensed from an article by Edmund Grimley in The News Chronicle, *London.*

Out in the North Atlantic, each spring and summer, United States Coast Guard cutters carry on their vigil for icebergs. It has been so every year since the *Titanic*, believed to be unsinkable, went down on the night of April 14, 1912, after striking one of these ice monsters of the ocean.

Nothing was done till fifteen hundred persons lost their lives as the result of a single collision. The United States government at once began a temporary patrol. Then in January 1914 an International Conference on the Safety of Life at Sea was held in London, and the United States was invited to take over the management of an international ice service.

Not more than three vessels were to be provided, and the various contracting governments agreed to contribute towards the cost. Great Britain and Northern Ireland pay 40 per cent, the United States 18 per cent, Germany 10 per cent, France and Italy each 6 per cent, with other countries contributing less.

Greenland alone produces somewhere between ten thousand and fifteen thousand icebergs every year. Massive and awe-inspiring, many of them rising 120 feet and more out of the water, they drift hundreds of miles, hardly losing their shape and size till the Gulf Stream and warmer weather cause them to break up and dissolve.

Patrol vessels are obliged to limit their cruising activities to an area of about 150,000 square miles near the Grand Bank. For the rest, they have to rely on reports sent them by radio from passing vessels of icebergs that have been sighted.

The question has often been asked why icebergs cannot be destroyed instead of being allowed to drift as a menace for weeks and months? The largest bergs are so deep-lying and hard that the explosion of a few hundred pounds of T.N.T. has little effect. Thermite should be placed in the heart of the berg so that the explosion may split the whole icy edifice. But it is neither safe nor easy. There are often no footholds for the men. More than once pieces of the ice have broken off or the plane of equilibrium has suddenly shifted,

causing the berg to fall over without warning, leaving a struggling group of men in the icy water while others in boats have rushed to their rescue.

Gunfire has been even less effective than mining. Occasionally, a well-placed shot may bring down a few tons of ice into the sea. But when it is remembered that many of these bergs are estimated to weigh 500,000 tons, and that only from one-fourth to one-sixth of the whole mass projects above water, the futility of firing at it may be realized.

The only thing is to await natural destruction. Either a berg breaks up by degrees or when in warm water gradually melts and disappears, in from seven to nine days.

Italy's Waiting Game

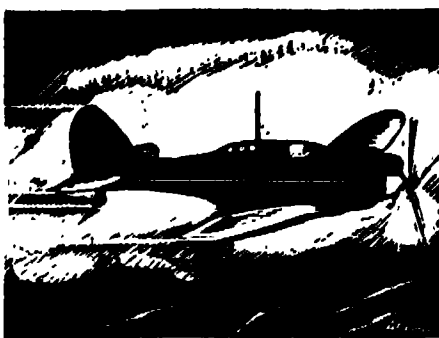
—From an article in Telegrafo, *Rome.*

Germany's task has been comparatively easy, as none of the great Powers was sufficiently interested in defending the position taken. Italy, on the other hand, is up against two great world Powers. But there is no danger that Germany, having realized her Continental program, will leave Italy in the lurch. Italy could not carry out the *coups* brought off by Germany without provoking a world war; but Italy knows what she wants and where she is going. Italy is a past master in the art of waiting for her hour.

Poland's Man Power and Military Strength

—Condensed from The Daily Telegraph and Morning Post, *London.*

Poland's military strength lies in her man power. During the War more than one million Poles died of privation. Most of these were old people, so that the age-balance of population was disturbed. Today 50 per cent of the people are under twenty-five years of age—66 per cent under thirty! These figures mean that Poland, with a population of 34,000,000, can mobilize an army larger than France with 41,000,000.

In the post-war years a resurrected Poland was charged with optimistic virility. In the years 1920-25 the average number of boys born in Poland was 515,000. In Germany, with double the population, it was only 675,000. More recent figures are even more striking. Poles are naturally more prolific, and in the last ten years the average number of boys born in

Poland was 511,000, while in Germany it was 595,000. In young man power, therefore, Poland is only slightly inferior to Germany.

The Polish army thus is actually the fifth military power in the world. The standing army exceeds 300,000, including 45,000 regular officers and non-commissioned officers, while trained reserves exceed two million. Poland could mobilize an army of four million without crippling her essential economic life.

The standing army includes thirty well-equipped divisions of infantry, with two of mountain troops. Polish tanks are of excellent quality and performance, and are being produced in large numbers. Supporting troops include thirty regiments of field artillery attached to the divisions, independent brigades for general reserve, ten regiments of heavy artillery, mechanized units, anti-aircraft sections and armored trains.

The outstanding feature of the Polish army is its cavalry. I should class this as the best in Europe. Cavalry may be discredited in the West, but in the wide expanses of Eastern Europe it is very important. In a war of movement over a country with poor communications, the activities of mechanized forces are limited by considerations of supply; but in any part of Poland cavalry can live on the country.

Mounted troops consist of three regiments of light cavalry, twenty-seven of Uhlans, ten of mounted chasseurs and ten squadrons of scouts. All the divisions of the cavalry are equipped alike, with the machine gun as the dominant weapon. The Poles have developed the offensive as well as the defensive powers of the machine gun. I saw one remarkable advance by machine gunners alone, without the support of infantry, artillery or tanks. While one line kept up a fierce barrage, a second line advanced. This in turn sent out a venomous fire, and the process was repeated.

Poland's only potential difficulty is that of supplies in war time. Her native supplies of metals and coal are largely drawn from Upper Silesia, adjacent to the German frontier.

The problem has been tackled with energy. The French loan of £25,000,000 two years ago has achieved remarkable results. While other countries talk of five-year plans, the Polish press and Polish conversation re-echo with the continual mention of the "Central Industrial Area." In a triangle within the confluence of the Rivers Vistula and San, about the town of Sandomierz, has been created a new industrial development. Already dozens of giant factories are in production, and considerable reserve stocks are accumulating.

Thus the overwhelming bogy of the Polish high command has been laid. Even if the factories and mines of Upper Silesia were overrun in the first days of war, Poland would no longer be crippled. She could carry on under her own resources until outside help could come by roundabout routes or direct from Russia.

Stalin's Magnificent Concession?

—Condensed from an article in Epoque, *Paris.*

The question of the Russian pact must be approached without any sentimentality. If it goes through, it will not be a marriage for love, and in that case both parties are expected to try to get the best possible advantages for themselves.

Negotiations are carried on in an atmosphere of mutual distrust. England and France have all the reasons to fear that Russia would be a dangerous ally, that she would pursue her own purposes outside the framework of the pact. On the other hand, Russia cannot fully trust England and France. She knows that many French papers and many of the Deputies of the Government majority are against the pact and that the height of diplomatic skill would be to create a situation in which the Germans will be allowed to gulp down the Ukraine and partition Russia. The problem is to choose the least evil. Refusal to perpetuate this pact would mean the downfall of the anti-German barricade from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, and perhaps result in a pact between Stalin and Hitler; it would be catastrophic.

The capitalistic nations dislike the

idea of a union with a Communist government. But it is probably just as hard for the Bolsheviks to consent to such a reactionary step. Stalin finds himself following the path of Nicholas II. He has become reconciled to the fact that a people brought up in contempt of capitalism and democracy is now asked to make a pact with the most conservative republic in the world. It is unjust and absurd to disregard that and not to see that by this alone Stalin gives us a certain guarantee.

Japanese Bothered by Fear of Anglo-Soviet Pact

—Condensed from an editorial in Kokumin Shimbun, *Tokyo.*

Britain and France are leaving no stone unturned to win over small European states in order to complete the encirclement system. It is impossible for Japan to remain indifferent to European events, for developments there are destined to affect the Far Eastern situation directly and seriously. From this point of view, Foreign Minister Arita's grave concern about the talk of an Anglo-Soviet approchement is quite natural. It appears that Britain is opposed to a military alliance such as Soviet Russia desires, as she is unwilling to commit herself to undertakings affecting the Far East; but British diplomacy, as is its wont, may change suddenly. As for Soviet Russia, her set purpose is to cause a world revolution, and she is ever on the watch for an opportunity to set Europe and the Far East on fire. In other words, a European conflagration and the Bolshevization of China are two things on which Moscow's mind is set at present.

—Condensed from an editorial in Hochi Shimbun, *Tokyo.*

That Great Britain hesitated to act in concert with Moscow in the Far East indicates that Britain is under no illusion as to the disadvantage and undesirability of making an enemy of Japan. If Britain decides to accede to the Soviet proposal, all will be over between Japan and Britain. Even if the Far East may be excluded from the scope of the encirclement system, the conclusion of an Anglo-French-Soviet alliance may automatically involve Japan in the European trouble should Germany and Italy come into a head-on collision with Soviet Russia, despite the fact that Tokyo has decided not to enter a military alliance with the Axis. In such an event, Japan will have to consider her attitude seriously. At the moment, Japan's diplomatic efforts must be directed toward preventing collaboration between Britain and Soviet Russia, so that Japan may be able to fill the obligations of the anti-Comintern pact without running the risk of embroiling herself into the turmoil of another world war.

Thomas—The Detroit News

Volga boatmen.

Shades of Monroe!

—From The Latin-American World

"Generalissimo Francisco Franco does not plan to follow up his victory with an attempt to regain the lost Spanish colonies in America," says his mouthpiece, Señor Alfonso Estera.

By Monroe, sir! That's mighty generous of the man.

A Second Lawrence of Arabia

—Condensed from an article in The Sunday Express, *London.*

Today, once again, there is a Briton who is a power behind the scenes in Arabia. He dresses like an Arab, he speaks to the Arabs in their own language, and he has gained the confidence of semi-savage tribes as Lawrence did.

Harold Ingrams is his name, and though he is in a sense the successor to Lawrence, yet he differs from him in two important points. First, where Lawrence organized the Arabs for war, Ingrams has succeeded in bringing to South Arabia the first peace it has had for centuries. Second, where Lawrence rode the Arabian Desert alone, Ingrams rides with his wife.

Harold Ingrams is in the early forties. He is six feet tall, with phenomenally fair hair and pale eyes.

Only five years ago Ingrams was on service at Aden at the mouth of the Red Sea. Facing Aden is a long sun-scorched strip of the coast of Southern Arabia which is called the Hadhramaut. In the atlas it is usually marked with vague boundaries—for few know exactly where it is or what it is, or who lives there under the rule of whom.

Actually it is the home of 300,000 members of Arab tribes. Some have been brigands, some cultivators of dates and corn, and some tenders of the exotic incense-tree which for

two thousand years has sent its gum from this coast to make an awesome odor in all the churches of Christendom. It is a land mostly desert, but with some cultivable valleys.

Ingrams and his wife were lured by a mystery of this coast to make a visit in 1934. They found a sad land indeed. Cursed by nature with an infertile soil, it was cursed still more by warring man.

Ingrams found that the 300,000 people were divided up into 1,200 tribes, which had from time immemorial waged feuds against each other. The state of the country had become such that the fields were connected to the villages by trenches, and some people had literally not dared to pass their own house doors for twenty years. In a single valley there was an average of ten deaths a month through the feud. In this and plenty of other valleys land lay idle because the people did not dare to come out with their spades and rakes for fear of a rifle shot.

Ingrams and his wife outstayed their intended leave, and went ten days inland to places not hitherto visited by Europeans. And everywhere they went people said: "Bring us, we pray you, peace. Help us to end the feuds that we are sick of." Ingrams had to answer that he had no official position in the Hadhramaut and no authority, but he went back to Aden with the feeling that there was work to his hand, and wrote a report to the Colonial Office.

Two years passed, and Ingrams learned from the Colonial Office that he was to go to the Hadhramaut. One of the principal rulers, the Sultan of the Q'aiti, had asked for him to be sent as an adviser. He arrived with his wife at Makella, the principal port of Hadhramaut and the residence of the Sultan, late in 1936, and immediately set out to achieve the seemingly impossible task of ending the feuds.

Le Canard Enchaîné, Paris

"This is so we can't be encircled."

He and his wife dressed as Arabs, lived as Arabs and entertained as Arabs. They started out on tours of the country that were to extend to thousands of miles. They traveled by camel and mule. They carried no arms, and avoided outraging the Arabs' beliefs. They drank no alcohol. They stayed with Arabs when they could; when they could not, they slept beneath a cliff.

Ingrams' grand object was to work the tribes up to sign a three-year truce, during which none should attack another. He carried his draft truce everywhere with him, collecting signatures not only from chiefs, but from heads of families—thousands of signatures.

He and his wife visited every tribe in the Hadhramaut—the peaceable tribes and those who made a living by banditry and murder alike. He found that the Arabs could be convinced if you took each one alone, but in conclave nothing was to be done with them.

And while Ingrams was talking peace to the men, Mrs. Ingrams went into the harem and exerted herself on the women. For the influence exerted through the wives of the Hadhramaut was not small.

Soon Ingrams had a fine array of signatures; but the refusers also formed an array. Many would say: "I would willingly sign, but suppose when I have given my pledge my neighbor attacks me, will the British government help me?" And as yet Ingrams was not in a position to answer "Yes."

It so happened that a test case arose almost at once. In January 1937 a British officer who had come to Hadhramaut to survey roads was fired on and two of his men were injured. The tribe responsible was the Ben Yemani. The heads of the tribe were summoned before the Sultan and Ingrams. They were found guilty and fined ten camels, thirty rifles, and one hundred goats. All Hadhramaut waited to see whether Ingrams really had power or not.

Letters were sent demanding the fine. No reply. Next the tribe were told that if they did not pay up, the village would be bombed by the R.A.F. Still no reply. Then the villagers were warned to leave their houses for the fields at a certain hour. They were told the wells on which their water supply depended would not be destroyed.

At the appointed hour the R.A.F. came, dropped some bombs—which did not do much damage—and flew away. At once the Ben Yemani men came in, bringing their camels, rifles and goats, and paid the fine. Thousands came to Makella to witness their submission, and Ingrams publicly shook hands with the heads of the tribe.

Shortly afterwards he and Mrs. Ingrams went to stay with them. The chiefs of the Yemani were most agreeable, and actually thanked Ingrams for having bombed them. It was a matter of face. "If we had not been bombed," they said, "everybody would have laughed at us and said we were cowards, and the government were lying, and we wouldn't have been bombed if we hadn't paid."

With the defeat of the Ben Yemani the remaining tribes hastened to sign Ingram's three-year truce. And thus it came about that in March 1938 there was at last peace between all the tribes of Hadhramaut. The gratitude of the Arabs was deep and sincere, and Ingrams was given the honorable title of "Friend of Hadhramaut."

Spaniards in Exile

—Condensed from an article in The Manchester Guardian, *London.*

At Argelès, France, there are sixteen thousand civilians who have a camp to themselves. Most of them have borne arms at one time or other, but as officials, lawyers, doctors, schoolmasters and workmen their civilian nature carries the day, and they have begun to organize themselves with courage and energy and that resilience which is characteristic of Spaniards.

The Jefe del Campo—once an official high up in the government, a lawyer and a man of experience in organization of various kinds—has now a decent little office in a wooden barrack with a table and a typewriter. He told us what had already been achieved in the organization of the camp and his plans for the future.

All sorts of things have been done since the first days of chaos, when there was nothing but thousands and thousands of men on the naked shore, and though to me it seemed still very ghastly there have been improvements and the Spaniards with such means as have been given them have lone wonders. The French have given :orrugated iron, and everyone now ıas some sort of shelter even though t is only a sand burrow high enough o lie down in.

They are all organized into groups ıf forty. Each group has a chief, who eceives the rations and gives orders, lso a cook, who is busy a good part f the day stirring great pots over ıres in the sand (there are now ations of fuel). There is also a vorking brigade of nine hundred talwarts—all volunteers—who are uilding wooden barracks and see to he cleanliness of the camp.

The Jefe del Campo is rightly roud of what Spaniards call the mpidness of the sand. One can walk ound now without even finding a otato peel, let alone things worse. speak, of course, of things visible. ermin is still a terrible scourge, and s the men have only the rags they and up in it is difficult to fight. The ritish Red Cross has promised shirts ıd shorts. At present one finds roups of half-naked men boiling ıeir rags and blankets to free them om lice—the greatest pest of the ımp and one it will be possible to ombat only when clothes have been stributed.

It is when he talks of schemes for the future that the Jefe is happiest. He gets out little plans, made to scale by an engineer. This barrack, he says, is to be divided into partitions; it is the married quarters. Oh yes, there are women in the camp, about two hundred who refused to leave their husbands, and who with their children are humanely ignored by the French. They ought to be transferred with the rest somewhere into the interior, but as they threatened to kill themselves if torn from their husbands they have just been left and are at present in the sand burrows. (There are another two hundred with 160 children also at Argelès, but living apart.) This other barrack is to be for the artists—there are twenty-three of them—this other for the Centro de Cultura, where there will be lectures, given by professors and schoolmasters, and language classes. Then there are the barbers' barrack and, most important of all, the theater. It was with tender pride the Jefe produced the plans for this. As he talked the squalor vanished.

When we asked the Jefe how he was going to get materials for all these things he said he had not anything except the wood to build with, but he thought we would give him the other things: a few musical instruments for the theater (there are many excellent singers and performers in the camp), lesson books, paper, envelopes and pencils for the Centro de Cultura, barbers' outfits. We said that we would appeal for them but that people in England might think that while men were dying for lack of the most elemental medical necessities it might be difficult. "But don't people in England know," he said, "that spiritual needs are as great as physical—that people are going mad in the camps because they have nothing to do but brood on the anguish of their situation, that illness is in part psychological, that men die when they have lost all hope in living?"

It looks as if it will be many months before a solution is found for most of these men. Refugees are being admitted back to Spain only in driblets of a hundred a day; the first embarkations to Mexico have not yet started except for individuals. The Jefe is right. To save abandoned men from madness something must be done for their moral, for what he calls their cultural, life.

Nazi Press Chief Spanks "Agitators" in World Press

—Dr. Otto Dietrich, Reich Press Chief, in a round-robin to the German press.

A far-sighted statesman once declared: "The next war will be declared by the press." I hardly believe that this statement is exaggerated in its sanguinary irony. In many countries today, the press dominates public opinion. Respect for the printed word has become an ingrained habit with many people. Unfortunately, they are too easily inclined to believe the evil rather than the good. . . . and even serious publications easily fall prey to lies.

Much would be gained if the world press would not write merely about peace, but would ban war agitators from their offices. Even if we have different political opinions, we should all agree on one point: respect for the truth.

I have frequently expressed the conviction that one of the cardinal tasks confronting statesmen is to bring about peaceful relations among the press of the civilized states. The German press, indeed, has sought to create understandings of this nature with various European states. The prerequisite for such gentlemen's agreements, however, is strict reciprocity. It cannot be tolerated that, under the guise of a misconceived "freedom of the press," peoples throughout the world are further incited, while our own German press maintains strict discipline.

Recently one of the most prominent American newspaper publishers visited me, and I made him this fair offer: if he would publish a good article on Germany in the United States, I would publish an article of his in the German press. In great embarrassment he answered that he was fearful of being charged by American competitors of being under German influence, should he consent to my offer. His answer was significant, and indicative of the destructive and dangerous attitude prevailing in a large segment of the international newspaper world.

A Day at the World's Fair

—Reprinted from the column, "Today and Tomorrow," by Walter Lippmann, in The New York Herald-Tribune. *Copyright, New York Tribune, Inc.*

ON the way from Washington, with its political quarrels, to Europe, with its crises, I have at last managed to spend the better part of a day at the World's Fair in New York. That is not nearly a long enough time to see the Fair. But it is time enough to see the point, which is that the human race is a collection of the most marvelous, ingenious and engaging idiots that ever got possession of a noble planet. Everything is on display, from instruments so precise that they will measure the pressure of a man's thumb on a steel rail to a regiment of perfectly formed human creatures—everything is there that demonstrates how, with his capacity for accuracy and beauty, man retains a preposterous incapacity to enjoy the fruits of his genius, to be as wise as he is intelligent, to be as good as he is great.

No doubt each man will take away from this exposition that which he has brought to it and is prepared to see. I have come away thinking how little like the truth are the formulae which we dispute about and dignify by calling our ideologies. In the Russian building, for example, one may read on the walls all kinds of inscriptions announcing the birth of a social order different and better than any which has existed on earth. Yet, as proof, there are exhibits which seek to convince the American crowds that Russia is now more American than America itself.

.There is a room designed, somewhat unconvincingly I thought, to convince us that the dictatorship of Stalin is a democracy in which elected representatives wait to hear from their constituents and do not forget to kiss the babies. There are exhibits to show that Russia has constructed a Pittsburgh, and that in Moscow they are building an edifice which is somewhat like, though a little taller than, the Empire State Building, and that on top of it there is an energetic Lenin made of steel instead of a genial Al Smith made of flesh and bones. There is also a section of the new Moscow subway which combines the engineering skill of the B.M.T. with the decorative art invented by American manufacturers of bathroom fixtures.

So I came away from the Russian Pavilion feeling that the influence of America on Russia was probably greater than the influence of Russia on America.

And then I visited the Italian Pavilion, with its lovely cascade of cool water pouring down the facade, and I thought how excellent it would be if Signor Mussolini and Count Ciano could stand under it and cool off and relax and remember that Rome, which was not built in a day, is the Eternal City of Western Man, to be guarded with reverence and exalted in magnanimity.

For all that is displayed elsewhere in this Fair, the variety of man's interests and talents, the endless ingenuity and courage of his enterprises, will surely distract and destroy mankind if men cannot find once again that sense of the universal in the particular, the allegiance to that which is catholic in that which is diverse, of which for more than two thousand years Rome has been the center and the symbol.

This I felt most strongly as I saw the truly splendid exhibits of American industrial technology. That incredibly magnificent box of tools cannot be used by men who, having learned to do the vector analysis in mathematical physics, are not yet able to add and subtract correctly in political economy, who can calculate the fineness of a machine to a millionth of an inch and cannot calculate a government budget within four billion dollars. For the reason why men cannot calculate well in their political economy is not that they really cannot add and subtract. It is because they do not have the moral unity with their fellows and that moral equilibrium within themselves which would enable them, and permit them, to deal with their social life steadily and as a whole.

THIS undermines all their calculations. Moreover, it entangles them in the greatest of all their misunderstandings, the failure to realize that men are much more likely to be right in what they affirm than in what they deny, and much more likely to see the truth in that which they love than in that which they hate. I went, for example, to the General Motors Building. Surely it is as proud an exhibit as one could find of what men can achieve by private initiative, voluntary organization, individual leadership and the personal genius of scientists and inventors. And looking at it one might be disposed to say: this is what private enterprise can do, and the best that the Italians or Russians have to show is no more than a feeble approximation to it.

Then one rides around and is shown the America of 1960 as Mr. Norman Bel Geddes conceives it, an America where one problem at least, namely the traffic problem, has been completely solved. And one realizes

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General Motors has spent a small fortune to convince the American public that if it wishes to enjoy the full benefit of private enterprise in motor manufacturing it will have to rebuild its cities and its highways by public enterprise. So one comes away feeling that men are right when they affirm the value of private enterprises and when they affirm the necessity of public enterprises; where they go wrong is in denying that both are necessary and that their collaboration is indispensable.

HAVING rested my legs and what remained of my mind at Billy Rose's Aquacade, I was ready for the British Empire. I may have missed a few of the dominions and a good many of the crown colonies, but nevertheless I saw enough to come away feeling that there is a lot of life in the old girl yet. In fact, it seemed to me that the inherent strength of Britain was most surely revealed in the good manners of the British exhibit, in the total absence of vainglory and of the desire, manifested elsewhere, to knock your eye out.

The British are exhibiting their tradition of political freedom with Magna Carta as the center. They are exhibiting their social reforms, showing not, as in some other pavilions, that all problems are solved but how much progress has been made in solving them. And the British are exhibiting very honest, and not at all showy, goods that they manufacture. What they seem to be trying to say is that they cherish freedom and would like to work and to trade and to solve the unsolved problems of social living. I came away thinking that only the strong can be so modest and only the honest heart can be so quiet.

Filled with these noble sentiments, conscious that I had missed Sweden, Czecho-Slovakia, Utah and Louisiana, it was nevertheless time for dinner. That took me to the French Pavilion, of course, not only because French food is the best in the world but also because the French know better than anyone else how and where to eat their food. They eat like civilized men, and at the Fair they have built a dining room where, if one can get into it, it is possible to eat and watch the fountains and the lights.

This is very correct, and it is very French. For after a man has seen all the energy of the human race and its enterprise and its effort, he should sit for a while and be comfortable and remember what the struggle is for and contemplate the colored waters which play in the cool of the evening.

Newspaper Leadership

—Condensed from The California Publisher.

From time to time in nearly every community the local newspaper is confronted with unusual situations, solutions of which, together with the problem of how and when to release the story, vitally affect the welfare of the entire city. One of the most unusual situations of that kind recently occurred in Glendale, California. Chief of Police V. B. Browne, accompanied by his pastor, came into the office of publisher W. S. Kellogg and related an amazing tale of how some sixteen years before, in a small town in Oklahoma, the Chief, as cashier of a bank, had been convicted of embezzlement and sentenced to serve two years in the state prison. How after he had served eleven months, he had been granted an unconditional pardon by the Governor of the State because of extenuating circumstances. How he then came to California and remade his life.

The Chief stated that the reason he was telling Kellogg the story was that an anonymous person had first called him on the phone, threatening him, and then had placed a prison photograph of him under the door of a Glendale institution, the proprietor of which turned it over to City officials. He told a frank, straightforward story; and what a story! Glendale's Chief of Police an ex-convict —a man who had served a prison

term and then rehabilitated himself to a point where he was not only head of the Police Department, but also one of the respected and beloved citizens of the community.

Kellogg decided that here was a man worthy of support if the facts could be substantiated and the story temporarily withheld. The Glendale City Council then sent back to Oklahoma an investigator, who not only verified all the facts but produced unquestionable evidence that Browne had been a victim of circumstance, and that his endeavor to help farmers with their crops resulted in the bank's failure and his conviction.

Despite these facts, the City Council was faced with an extremely ticklish situation. How could the Police Department possibly function with an ex-convict at its head? Was it fair to the City to retain him? Was it fair to the Chief to dismiss him? Wouldn't his many friends condemn the Council for pushing a man back into the gutter after he had already shown his ability to rehabilitate himself? Wouldn't those who weren't close personal friends roundly criticize the Council if they didn't dismiss him? Kellogg analyzed the situation as follows:

1. The story was bound to come out sooner or later—with some fifteen individuals in possession of it, and Los Angeles papers on the scent.
2. It was an obligation of the Council to release the story to the people. Furthermore, the manner in which the story broke would decide the public's reaction.
3. The Council's first obligation was to the community, its second to the individual.
4. If the Council asked for the Chief's resignation or dismissed him, there could be no retracing of steps.
5. The only decent solution was that the Council should make a straightforward statement of all facts, which in effect would say: That the Chief had brought credit to his community as a member of the police force, had paid the penalty for his past mistake, and, until there was good reason why the Council should do so, he would not be dismissed. The Council would guarantee immediate action if it became apparent the Department was not *functioning in* a proper manner. Kellogg pointed out that by adopting such a course the Council would immediately get the reaction of the public, that if the public felt the Council had done an

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The British are exhibiting their tradition of political freedom with Magna Carta as the center. They are exhibiting their social reforms, showing not, as in some other pavilions, that all problems are solved but how much progress has been made in solving them. And the British are exhibiting very honest, and not at all showy, goods that they manufacture. What they seem to be trying to say is that they cherish freedom and would like to work and to trade and to solve the unsolved problems of social living. I came away thinking that only the strong can be so modest and only the honest heart can be so quiet.

Filled with these noble sentiments, conscious that I had missed Sweden, Czecho-Slovakia, Utah and Louisiana, it was nevertheless time for dinner. That took me to the French Pavilion, of course, not only because French food is the best in the world but also because the French know better than anyone else how and where to eat their food. They eat like civilized men, and at the Fair they have built a dining room where, if one can get into it, it is possible to eat and watch the fountains and the lights.

This is very correct, and it is very French. For after a man has seen all the energy of the human race and its enterprise and its effort, he should sit for a while and be comfortable and remember what the struggle is for and contemplate the colored waters which play in the cool of the evening.

Newspaper Leadership

—Condensed from The California Publisher.

From time to time in nearly every community the local newspaper is confronted with unusual situations, solutions of which, together with the problem of how and when to release the story, vitally affect the welfare of the entire city. One of the most unusual situations of that kind recently occurred in Glendale, California. Chief of Police V. B. Browne, accompanied by his pastor, came into the office of publisher W. S. Kellogg and related an amazing tale of how some sixteen years before, in a small town in Oklahoma, the Chief, as cashier of a bank, had been convicted of embezzlement and sentenced to serve two years in the state prison. How after he had served eleven months, he had been granted an unconditional pardon by the Governor of the State because of extenuating circumstances. How he then came to California and remade his life.

The Chief stated that the reason he was telling Kellogg the story was that an anonymous person had first called him on the phone, threatening him, and then had placed a prison photograph of him under the door of a Glendale institution, the proprietor of which turned it over to City officials. He told a frank, straightforward story; and what a story! Glendale's Chief of Police an ex-convict —a man who had served a prison

term and then rehabilitated himself to a point where he was not only head of the Police Department, but also one of the respected and beloved citizens of the community.

Kellogg decided that here was a man worthy of support if the facts could be substantiated and the story temporarily withheld. The Glendale City Council then sent back to Oklahoma an investigator, who not only verified all the facts but produced unquestionable evidence that Browne had been a victim of circumstance, and that his endeavor to help farmers with their crops resulted in the bank's failure and his conviction.

Despite these facts, the City Council was faced with an extremely ticklish situation. How could the Police Department possibly function with an ex-convict at its head? Was it fair to the City to retain him? Was it fair to the Chief to dismiss him? Wouldn't his many friends condemn the Council for pushing a man back into the gutter after he had already shown his ability to rehabilitate himself? Wouldn't those who weren't close personal friends roundly criticize the Council if they didn't dismiss him? Kellogg analyzed the situation as follows:

1. The story was bound to come out sooner or later—with some fifteen individuals in possession of it, and Los Angeles papers on the scent.
2. It was an obligation of the Council to release the story to the people. Furthermore, the manner in which the story broke would decide the public's reaction.
3. The Council's first obligation was to the community, its second to the individual.
4. If the Council asked for the Chief's resignation or dismissed him, there could be no retracing of steps.
5. The only decent solution was that the Council should make a straightforward statement of all facts, which in effect would say: That the Chief had brought credit to his community as a member of the police force, had paid the penalty for his past mistake, and, until there was good reason why the Council should do so, he would not be dismissed. The Council would guarantee immediate action if it became apparent the Department was not functioning in a proper manner. Kellogg pointed out that by adopting such a course the Council would immediately get the reaction of the public, that if the public felt the Council had done an

unwise thing, it could still dismiss the Chief the next day, the next week, the next month. He pointed out the two appealing and dramatic elements in such a course of action—the ones he would stress in a story:

Here was an amazing situation involving a man who, through sheer nerve and character, had rehabilitated himself as a fine member of society. And here was an amazing City Council that had the good sense and sound judgment to give a man a chance, but at the same time protected its City.

The councilmen said that such a solution sounded fine, but they couldn't imagine such a story in print. Then Kellogg read to the Council a story written the night before by himself and Charles Wathey, a *News-Press* reporter, in anticipation that the Council would adopt such a course of action, which it then did.

Hardly had *The News-Press* hit the street until the phones of city councilmen were swamped with calls of congratulations. A spontaneous meeting of the Police Department gave a unanimous vote of confidence to their Chief and praise to the Council. For days resolutions of satisfaction from nearly every organization in the community poured into the newspaper office and to the Chief himself. The community instead of being saddled with the stigma which could have been attached to such an incident received commendation.

Here was a case where the leadership of a local newspaper helped solve a perplexing problem in a manner which resulted in benefit to all concerned.

On Swinging Spirituals

—From a column by "Our Social Trends Correspondent" in The Baltimore Evening Sun.

NOT so long ago, when jazz orchestras took to swinging old English and Scottish songs, many people—especially of Scottish ancestry—were offended. They did not appreciate the slurred, unctuous and somehow suggestive sound of "Loch Lomond," as crooned to swing accompaniment, and "Annie Laurie" getting hot licks and a diddy-de-dup bick-bick-bick bickety buck.

Lately, swing bands have taken to hottening up, or warming over, Negro spirituals; and *The Pittsburgh Courier*, a Negro newspaper, is deluged with indignant letters of protest. From Natchez, Mississippi, the moderator, secretary and corresponding secretary of the Antioch Missionary Baptist Association, representing sixty churches, have written: "A resolution was passed that this body go on record as joining in the protest made by your paper, as led by Reverend George W. Harvey, of Braddock, Pennsylvania, on the swinging of spirituals. We, too, protest this insidious evil. Music as it is now sung in gin shops, dance halls, on records, by orchestras, black and white, is truly a disgrace to the entire race."

A letter-writer from Little Rock, Arkansas, informs Reverend Harvey that in a dance hall near where he lives they are swinging "When the Saints Go Marching Home" and "Don't Be Like the Foolish Virgin"—adding such phrases as "we will kill the old red rooster when they come" and "we'll have chicken and dumplings when they come." An instructor in music in a Haynesville, Alabama, colored high school writes:

"The sacrilegious desecration of our 'spirituals' . . . is entirely wrong and out of place. There are some things that the Negro should hold and keep sacred. . . . There cannot be much respect for one who takes 'Swing Low Sweet Chariot,' 'Steal Away' and many other spirituals I could name, and swings them."

I THINK protests are in order, both as to the Scottish and English airs and as to the Negro spirituals. In the case of the former, swinging distorts and cheapens traditional songs; while in the case of the latter, the music *already is swing*, though in a very gentle and subtle form, and to swing it again is to destroy it.

From the time John Wesley's church introduced early Methodism to these shores, American Negroes have been swinging campmeeting songs. The melodious and often hauntingly beautiful religious songs now known as Negro spirituals, and assumed by most people to be of purely Afro-American origin, are a very interesting outgrowth of white spirituals which were immensely popular with the evangelical sects of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A comparison of spirituals sung by Negroes today with the "spiritual songs" in old Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian songbooks plainly demonstrates this kinship. For that matter, spirituals are still sung by white congregations in some out-of-the-way places in the Southern Highlands where there are no Negroes. In his scholarly volume, "American Negro Folk Songs," published ten years ago by the Harvard University Press, Professor Newman I. White cited the first conclusive evidence to show the white basis of the Negro spirituals. More recently George Pullen Jackson, in his "White Spirituals of the Southern Uplands" (University of North Carolina Press), carried this work further by placing, side by side, the text of very early white spirituals. In many instances, lines and even whole stanzas have been taken over, while paraphrase is very common.

In the early days the white evangelical sects held campmeetings which were attended by many Negroes, who joined heartily in the singing and even, on occasion, did the preaching, too. (Professor White states that it is a matter of record that the body servant of Bishop Ashbury, founder of American Methodism, was a noted exhorter who was "not always regarded as inferior to the bishop.") When the Freedman's Bureau was set up, after the Civil War, Northern welfare workers heard the Negroes singing spirituals and lost no time in converting them to propaganda purposes. It was natural for them to assume that these "freedom songs" were a spontaneous expression, never realizing that the primitive white sects had sung just as fervently of freedom (from sin).

If the Negro did not originate spirituals, however, the Afro-American product certainly is a great improvement. In such of his spirituals as are definitely of white origin, the changes are all to the good—the imagery is more picturesque and

lively, and the music, indubitably Negroid, has qualities which few white singers can successfully imitate. Certain of the better-known Negro spirituals have never been traced to any source other than the Bible. By appropriation then, and more rarely, by composition, the Afro-American has made the spirituals his own. By long association, they have come to have a very special meaning to his race, or, at any rate, to many members of his race. Certainly the protests against jitterbugging them seem justified.

The Boy Who Forged Shakespeare

—Condensed from a review by Louis Gannett in The New York Herald-Tribune of *John Mair's "The Fourth Forger: William Ireland and the Shakespeare Papers." (Macmillan, $2.75)*

William Ireland was probably born in 1775, though he asserted the date was 1777, which would have made him only seventeen when he first fooled the world; and his father was probably an engraver and antique collector. At eighteen he accompanied this gullible father to Stratford-on-Avon and watched him pay good money for what purported to be the very oak chair in which Will Shakespeare sat when he held Ann Hathaway upon his knee. When the boy saw what Stratford swindlers could do, he may have thought that he too could fool his father.

At any rate, he did. First he brought home a letter to Queen Elizabeth, supposedly written by the author of a quarto book of prayers that William had picked up in a shop. This first forgery his father unhesitatingly accepted as genuine; so William, who was apprenticed as a law clerk, cut off the blank leaf of a seventeenth-century rent roll which he found in his employer's office, and forged a lease between William Shakespeare and a certain John Heming.

Again his success surpassed his hopes. His father took the document to the Heralds' Office, where the seals were recognized as genuine. (They were indeed genuine. William had split an old seal down the middle, and fixed it to the parchment with wax, rubbing the seal with soot to conceal the joint.) So William moved on to original composition. First, he produced a grateful letter from Shakespeare to the Earl of Southampton, ostensibly settling the moot question of Southampton's patronage of the poet; next, he composed a Shakespearean Profession of Faith, settling for all time the suggestion that the Bard might have been more Catholic than Anglican. Two great scholars, Drs. Parr and Warton, Anglicans both, were invited to pass upon its authenticity. Dr. Warton listened; William feared that he would pronounce it a forgery. Instead, the doctor said solemnly: "Sir, we have many beautiful passages in our Litany, and in many parts of the New Testament, but this great man has distanced them all."

William listened, entranced. Not only could he write like Shakespeare; he was better than the Bible! And he was not yet twenty years old.

He waxed audacious. He produced a self-portrait, of Shakespeare by Shakespeare himself, together with a letter to Ann Hathaway and a poem, and to this he added a lock of Shakespeare's hair, tied with a piece of silk which he had clipped from an authentic Elizabethan document! Then he proceeded to a series of documents which established Shakespeare's moral character according to refined eighteenth-century taste. He wrote a letter to the poet from no less a lady than Queen Elizabeth herself, thus establishing his gentility in contradiction of critics who called him a bar-room bard. Then he produced an original manuscript of "King Lear," re-editing the text to improve its English and omitting the notes of ribald coarseness which the age disapproved. This established Shakespeare himself as a man of refinement; it was only his editors who were coarse. And for a time no critic seemed to observe that the curious spelling in which Ireland wrapped his Shakespeare manuscripts was rather that of the spurious antiques of Chatterton than that of authentic Elizabethan documents.

Finally, he produced an original Shakespeare play, "King Vortigern," and Sheridan produced it at the Drury Lane, with Fanny Kemble's father in the leading role.

Before "King Vortigern" could be produced, however, doubts were stirring. Sheridan himself refused to assert flatly that the play was by Shakespeare; Kemble, hostile, suggested that its première be set for April Fool's Day. The poet laureate and sundry scholars vouched for the genuineness of the volume of Shakespeare's Documents which the elder Ireland published a few months before the stage performance; but a stout 400-page volume by a bitter Irish critic, Edmund Malone, appearing on the eve of the play, convinced most of the world that the whole business was a fraud, and the play was howled down from the galleries.

Then came the neatest irony of all: William Ireland made public confession and boasted authorship of the words which so many had hailed as good enough for Shakespeare. But the elder Ireland, his own reputation at stake (most critics suspected him of the forgeries) continued to proclaim the authenticity of the documents; he argued at length that his son was too stupid to have invented them. The learned world, angry at its own deception, refused any longer to concede them any worth at all. And William, embittered and impoverished, had to live another forty years, a hack journalist writing shoddy novels under a dozen pseudonyms, and always eager to revive the story of his great days as a forger.

Art for the Fair-Goers Outside the Fair Grounds

—Condensed from the Magazine of Art, *Washington, D. C.*

Mr. Grover Whalen and his associates of the New York's World's Fair, who originally intended art to appear only as the handmaiden of advertising (a perfectly legitimate viewpoint for a fair), ended by tossing up a pavilion for which was assembled $30,000,000 worth of Old Masters, after authorizing Holger Cahill to spread a dragnet over the country to bring in a large and catholic selection of contemporary American art. The accomplishment of this eleventh hour right-about-face is as phenomenal as the Ford Building.

While the Fair Corporation was wavering, museums and galleries in Manhattan were quietly preparing for the visitors. Theirs is a rich and varied panorama which should prove rewarding to the weariest of Fair-goers.

The most popular event doubtless will be the exhibition of *American Life* for three hundred years, arranged by the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Attics and front parlors throughout the United States have contributed their share to this pictorial narrative. Here paintings have

been chosen frankly for their subject matter, to illustrate the customs and manners of our country, as well as the people and events that have shaped its history. Considering that our outstanding early painters specialized in portraiture, and that artists of the caliber of Winslow Homer and Thomas Eakins were graphic realists who delighted in depicting the now much exploited American scene, the exhibition contains work of quality as well as a great deal of lively entertainment.

Most spectacular and fashionable event is the kaleidoscopic view of *Art in Our Time*, presented by the Museum of Modern Art in its new, glass-walled building. Here, by the way, one is apt to come closer to a forecast of the future than anywhere in the Flushing meadows, site of the Fair. The exhibition includes painting, sculpture, graphic art, architecture and planning, and industrial art, by living American and foreign artists and designers. Photography is also included and selections of foreign and domestic motion pictures of the last forty years.

In the early part of July the Whitney Museum reopens with an enlarged and altered building and a new lighting system which has not previously been used in this country. Handicapped by limitations of space, the Whitney has heretofore been unable to keep possessions permanently on view. The new galleries will make it possible to hold a representative and comprehensive exhibition which will give visitors and New Yorkers, too, for that matter, an idea of the scope of this all-American collection, which since 1931 has purchased 44 sculptures, 154 paintings, 163 watercolors, 83 drawings and 374 prints.

An exhibition that has had little fanfare, but that merits attention is the survey of American printmaking arranged by Frank Weitenkampf, Curator of Prints at the New York Public Library. In his own words Mr. Weitenkampf described the exhibition as starting with "eighteenth-century prints, produced with courage if with few other qualifications," and ending with "the work of artists who, although they are no longer with us, clearly belong to the present." This eminent institution is also showing pictures of World's Fairs of the past—London, New York, Paris, Philadelphia and Chicago.

The Brooklyn Museum is showing historical American popular arts from May 14 through the summer. Such American phenomena as the cigar store Indian and the cast iron statuary that flourished in the 'nineties are on display, with furniture, pottery and other objects of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The National Academy, now so staid that it is difficult to recall that it was the daring rebel organization of a century ago, is holding an exhibition of work by its members, past and present. Among the artists represented are Sargent, Abbey, Homer, Duveneck, Henri, Chase, Bellows, Innes, Eakins, Abbott Thayer, Melchers, Hassam, Ryder, Saint-Gaudens, French, Bartlett and J. Q. A. Ward.

Another conservative organization, the American Academy of Arts and Letters, is exhibiting paintings by Edwin Austin Abbey and Childe Hassam, two former members. In addition there is an extensive display of paintings, sculpture and graphic art by living and deceased members, not only of the Academy but also of the National Institute of Arts and Letters.

Of unusual interest is the contribution of the American Museum of Natural History, which has assembled a special exhibition of primitive and native arts from collections made by Museum expeditions in Africa, Central and South America, Asia, Alaska and the South Seas. It has brought together sculptures, carvings and textiles in a variety of materials.

While primarily of historic interest, both the New York Historical Society and the Museum of the City of New York contain paintings and prints. The former now houses the Folk Arts Collection, said to be one of the best of its kind in the world. The Museum of the City of New York is displaying Currier and Ives prints of the New York scene, while its permanent collection includes early costumes, silver, china and pottery, furniture, theatrical material and many other pleasant mementoes.

The Riverside Museum, which now occupies the former headquarters of the Roerich Museum on Riverside Drive is presenting an exhibition of contemporary painting, sculpture and applied arts from nine Latin American countries. Participants are Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Cuba, Guatemala, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic and Mexico. It is sponsored by the United States New York World's Fair Commission, supplementing the foreign exhibits at the World's Fair.

The dealers' galleries have also risen to the occasion; not only do most of them expect to remain open throughout the summer, but a number are planning special exhibitions.

Last, but far from least, are the permanent exhibits of the Metropolitan Museum, the Old Masters of the Frick Collection, the illuminated manuscripts and other treasures of the Pierpont Morgan Library. And then, for those who want to get away from it all, what could be better than the Cloisters, tranquil stronghold of medieval art, located in Fort Tryon Park high above the Hudson? Here even one's view is undisturbed, for Mr. Rockefeller, who donated site and funds for the Cloisters, was also kind enough to purchase the Palisades across the river.

By Harvey W. Lawrence

The National Conference of Christians and Jews was founded in 1928, following a letter of appeal for such an organization by Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes and the late Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, outstanding Protestant pastor. For nearly ten years, until his death, it was headed by former Secretary of War Newton D. Baker, who once defined the organization, its aims and purposes, as follows:

"The National Conference of Christians and Jews associates a number of thoughtful and earnest people in an effort to analyze and allay the prejudices which exist among Protestants, Catholics and Jews. The Conference seeks to moderate and finally to eliminate a system of prejudice which we have in part inherited and which disfigures and distorts our business, social and political relations."

Primarily it is an educational organization, striving to promote better

relations between Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, through the creation of mutual respect based upon understanding of the traditions and heritages of America's various religious groups. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt describes its educational campaign enthusiastically as "a potent and necessary piece of work which deserves the approval and support of good citizens everywhere." The organization has succeeded, where others have failed, because it holds no brief for any particular religion. Within the framework of the individual's religious background, it fosters traditional American respect for the rights of other Americans to worship God as they see fit.

Among the techniques used are:

1. Traveling good-will trios consisting of a priest, a rabbi and a Protestant minister, who, in public trialogues before audiences, explore causes of distrust and ill-will and point out the need for mutual good-will.

2. Local round-table groups of Catholics, Jews and Protestants, set up in many communities throughout the country. These groups annually celebrate Brotherhood Day, which is marked, by ministers and rabbis in churches and synagogues throughout the country, with special pleas for brotherhood and tolerance. This year, Brotherhood Day was celebrated in almost two thousand communities.

3. Regional, state and national good-will seminars, held in colleges, churches and elsewhere. This year, the National Conference will sponsor its third national Institute of Human Relations. To be held on the campus of Williams College during the last week of August, it will be devoted to the theme: "Citizenship and Religion: A Consideration of American Policy with Regard to the Relations of Church and Synagogue to the State."

A few weeks ago, the National Conference issued one of the most impressive of its pronouncements on inter-faith good-will, a plea for tolerance signed by 550 Protestant, Catholic and Jewish leaders.

Among the signers were such Protestants as Dr. Samuel McCrea Cavert, general secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Charles P. Taft of Cincinnati and President Henry S. Coffin of the Union Theological Seminary; such Jews as Dr. Cyrus Adler, president of the American Jewish Committee, Rabbi David de Sola Pool, president of the Synagogue Council of America, and Robert P. Goldman, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations; such Catholics as the Most Reverend Joseph F. Rummel, Archbishop of New Orleans, John La Farge, Associate Editor of *America*, Jesuit weekly, and Monsignor Francis J. Haas, dean of the School of Social Science, Catholic University of America.

The authors of the statement were the three co-chairmen of the National Conference, Professor Arthur H. Compton of the University of Chicago, Nobel Prize winner in science; Roger W. Straus, prominent Jewish layman of New York, and Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes, well-known Catholic historian.

The text of the statement follows:

"The tragic events in other lands today, particularly in Europe, have had their repercussions in this country in the engendering of misunderstandings, hatred and hostilities among members of cultural and religious groups. In some instances these prejudices and cleavages have resulted from divided opinions over situations in other lands. In others, hatreds have been deliberately fomented against cultural groups by unscrupulous or misled individuals who are seeking to transplant to these shores the animosities prevalent in some countries abroad.

"We believe there is special need at this time that American citizens, whatever their differences of race or creed, should not permit legitimate differences of opinion as to political events or policies to create mutual suspicions or result in unfriendly relations among the groups that compose our common citizenship. We would also caution Americans against propaganda, oral or written, which seeks to turn any class or race or religious group against another.

"We condemn atheistic communism, which seeks to destroy religion and to pit class against class in ruinous social and economic warfare.

"We condemn the fascism and nazism which promote racial hatred, prostitute religion, destroy liberty and seek to make men the servile instruments of the state. We condemn the persecution of Catholics wherever such persecution may take place, and all propaganda which advocates such persecution.

"We condemn the persecution of Protestants, wherever such persecution may take place, and all propaganda which advocates such persecution.

"We condemn the persecution of Jews and unscrupulous propaganda directed at the Jewish group.

"We appeal to Christians to resist all these insidious forces and specifically all anti-Semitism since it is a denial not only of basic Christian principles but of every principle of justice, decency and humanity.

"Events abroad have shown us the tragic consequences of a propaganda of hatred: the murder of priests and nuns in Spain; the persecution and dispossession of Jews in Italy, Germany and its protectorates; the persecution of Protestants and Catholics in Germany and the alienation of church property, the creation of a huge class of refugees of all faiths uprooted from their homeland and, very often, from their loved ones....

"Consequently, at this critical period, it is incumbent upon Americans of every faith and creed to reject the propaganda of atheistic communism, of fascism and nazism, of anti-Catholicism, anti-Protestantism and anti-Semitism, and all other doctrines which promote dissension and conflict among groups.

"There is no place or occasion in the American democracy for prejudice and bitterness, whether racial or religious. The different races, religions and creeds in our American democracy must emphasize anew a mutual respect and hold fast to the ties which bind us together.

"We summon every American to re-dedicate himself to America's ideals of political liberty, religious freedom and equality under God. We call on every American to seek out his brother and join with him in common tasks of building a society based on good-will, justice and peace, so that we stand united as a bulwark of defense against doctrines which deny the validity of these ideals."

California Bound

HELEN F. BROWN

I. NORTH TO SAN FRANCISCO

"WHICH FAIR?"

That question is being debated in many an American home as spring gives way to summer. When the decision goes to the "Pageant of the Pacific," the great variety of interesting sightseeing which may be done en route to, from and in California is usually an important consideration.

The lure of the West is manifold: snow-capped mountain peaks and magnificent beaches; relentlessly scorching desert and the dim grandeur of the redwood groves; dude ranches and the glitter of Hollywood; unequalled natural phenomena, such as the Grand Canyon of the Colorado and the geysers of Yellowstone National Park. These are sights with few equals elsewhere in the United States, or, indeed, in the world.

The traveler familiar with the West will find nothing new or startling in the following summary of outstanding places to visit. The effort has been to present a brief guide which will be of value to those of our readers who have never been West, or have been infrequently, but who are planning this summer to visit the Golden Gate International Exposition and wish to make the most of their trip by including as many as possible of the sights en route. CURRENT HISTORY's Travel Bureau will gladly supply further details on places which hold a particular appeal for individual readers.

The western railroads, pioneers in catering to tourists, are out-doing themselves this summer, offering all types of circle tours and side trips to enable the traveler to see as varied a selection of interesting points as his time and purse will permit. Because of the tremendous distances in the West, rail travel is in some ways more advantageous than any other for the average vacationist, and a consultation with your local ticket agent is advisable in planning any western trip. For the more leisurely tourist, however, automobile travel is less difficult than the mileage to be covered would indicate. The roads are excellent and built for speed. The native westerner, for instance, considers a 150-mile trip merely a matter of three or four hours, whereas in the more closely populated East such a trip is seldom possible in less than five hours. The traveler whose time is more limited than his pocketbook will wish to investigate the services of the great air networks, which will enable him to cover widely separated points of interest with the speed of the wind. There is, too, a special thrill in seeing from the air such great natural sights as the Rockies and the Grand Canyon.

IF you choose the northern route West, a side trip of great interest is that through Yellowstone National Park, which you may enter by way of the Red Lodge, Cody or Gardiner Gateways. Entering by one gateway and leaving by another is recommended as the way to "see most for your money." The Red Lodge Highway is the newest and loftiest approach to Yellowstone, its highest point being 11,000 feet. Its switchbacks and panoramas remind one forcibly of the Alps. If you go by way of Cody, you may stop over for the "Cody Stampede," which takes place over the Fourth of July—a real old-time western rodeo. At Cody also is the Buffalo Bill Museum with its historic relics of the Old West and Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney's statue of Buffalo Bill. The country around Cody abounds in scenic beauty and offers dude-ranching, fishing and big-game hunting if you wish to linger for a taste of western living. The road from Cody into the Park has been called the "seventy most scenic miles in the world," running as it does through Shoshone Cavern, past the Shoshone Dam and Reservoir, and along the Shoshone River, with strange rock formations towering above the road.

The standard tour of Yellowstone Park lasts three and a half days and costs between $42.50 and $49 (depending on the entrance selected). This price includes transportation, meals and hotel accommodations (not providing for single room or room with bath). On this tour you will see the Rockies in all their unspoiled grandeur. In July most of the 750 varieties of wild flowers in the Park are in bloom; foaming mountain streams add to the beauty of the vistas from every road; and wild life is plentiful—elk, bear, buffalo and mountain sheep. The outstanding sights of this fascinating trip through the Park are the Yellowstone Lake, a "mountain sea" having a shore line of more than one hundred miles; the Mammoth Hot Springs with their strange "birthday-cake" formations; the Park's most magnificent sight, the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone, with the Upper and Lower Falls of the Yellowstone River; and, of course, the king among the geysers, Old Faithful, which never disappoints the visitor, but sends up its tons of boiling water and steam every hour with the regularity of clockwork.

If you can spare the time, you will find a longer stay in the Park worthwhile. You may stop over in the comfortable and reasonably priced hotels and enjoy dancing, horseback riding, swimming, fishing and various interesting side trips to such points as Grasshopper Glacier, the Grand Teton National Park and Mount Washburn.

From Yellowstone you may turn south through Cheyenne to Denver. Just north of Denver is Rocky Mountain National Park, one of the finest of the national parks; just south is Colorado Springs, from which the Pike's Peak region may be explored. From Colorado Springs you may continue to San Francisco by way of Salt Lake City, of special interest as the center of the Mormon Church

NORTH AND SOUTH OF THE GOLDEN GATE

and Reno, which, needless to say, is nationally known as a "divorce mill," but is of interest also because of its preservation of customs and traditions of the Old West. Between Reno and San Francisco, on the border between Nevada and California, is Lake Tahoe, one of the most unforgettably beautiful sights of a western trip, so sapphire are its waters, so incomparable its snow-capped lofty surroundings.

It would be regrettable, however, to miss the beautiful country and spectacular sights which lie along the northern route from Yellowstone to the Pacific Coast. Leaving Yellowstone, the route crosses the Continental Divide near Butte, Montana, and continues through the Montana Rockies to Spokane, Washington, the headquarters for vacations in a Rocky Mountain lakeland. There is daily sightseeing service from Spokane to the Grand Coulee Dam, under construction in the Columbia River Basin—an engineering spectacle to marvel at.

Continuing westward, you may change at Yakima to a Rainier Park motor coach which will take you to Tacoma or Seattle by way of Mount Rainier. This drive leads through the fertile Yakima Valley, where are the seemingly endless orchards for which Washington is famous, then through big timber forests and over the Cascade Mountains to Sunrise Lodge, at the foot of "America's noblest mountain," snow-capped Rainier. You may pause here to enjoy sports of all kinds, or continue to Seattle, embarkation point for the wonders of the famous Inside Passage to Alaska. An interesting side trip from Seattle is that to Victoria and Vancouver, British Columbia, by steamer. Both Seattle and Tacoma make good headquarters from which to go sailing on Puget Sound, famous for salmon fishing, or

go camping in Olympic National Park in the big timber country of the Olympic Peninsula.

Next stop en route to San Francisco is Portland, Oregon, "City of Roses," starting point of the celebrated Columbia River Highway and Mount Hood Loop Highway drives, and headquarters from which to visit the great Bonneville Dam. Oregon, like Washington, offers many mountain and forest resorts to tempt the leisurely traveler, but if your time is limited be sure to save a good share of it for the beauties of California and the wonders of the Southwest.

Between Portland and San Francisco you may have your first sight of the giant redwoods by making part of the trip by motor coach (a standard side trip, from Grants Pass to Eureka, which may be arranged through the railroad). Or you may prefer to go by way of Sacramento, California's capital, this year celebrating the Golden Empire Centennial. "Roaring Camp," a replica of an early mining town, complete with dance hall and miners, shows you how the pioneers lived and played, and there are to be pageants, parades and festivals throughout the summer.

II. AND TO THE SOUTH

Since San Francisco and its exposition, although the object of the trip discussed in this article, are nevertheless a separate subject, we pause only to remind our readers that San Francisco is the principal port for steamship lines leading to that idyllic outpost of America, Hawaii, as well as to the Orient and to Australia and New Zealand, whose summer begins as ours is ending. The charm of Hawaii needs no elaboration here; if time and funds permit, a Hawaiian holiday would be an unforgettable part of any traveler's summer.

On the mainland, having "done" San Francisco and the Fair, the tourist will doubtless turn south for his return trip, and he will be faced with a difficult decision: shall he follow the coast to Los Angeles, or turn inland to visit the beautiful Sierras and the big trees? This choice must be a matter of personal preference. Both routes are so interesting that it is impossible to recommend one rather than the other.

If you choose the inland route, you will certainly wish, first, to spend some time in Yosemite Park. The deep glacial gorge of the Yosemite Valley, with its level green floor, is noted as a scenic wonder. Nearby is the Mariposa Grove of Big Trees, where are some of the largest known examples of the giant redwoods, including the famous Wawona Tree through which you may drive in an automobile. The three-day Circle Tour of the Park covers the Valley, Mariposa, and a trip to Glacier Point, more than 3,000 feet above the valley floor, from which there is a spectacular view which includes three waterfalls. The all-inclusive price of this standard tour varies with the accommodations selected, but is under $40, and, should you wish to spend more time in the Park, trying the fishing, swimming and other sports offered, you will find lodging at camp or hotel to suit your tastes and pocketbook.

South of Yosemite are General Grant National Park and Sequoia National Park, where the largest of the redwoods may be seen—the giant General Grant, 37.3 feet in diameter and 273.9 feet high.

Famous Death Valley, lowest spot on the continent, lies east of Sequoia National Park, but despite its historic and natural interest a visit to it is not recommended between April and October, since the summer temperature reaches 140 degrees in the shade! After visits to the parks, therefore, the traveler doubtless will continue to Los Angeles, through Bakersfield, center of the rich Kern County oil fields.

The alternative, coastal route to Los Angeles offers both scenic splendor and historic interest. The route, whether by train or automobile, follows closely *El Camino Real*, the "King's Highway," along which the early padres built their missions, a day's horseback journey apart. San Francisco de Assisi you no doubt will have visited during your stay in San Francisco; at San José is another, Santa Clara.

A side trip to the Monterey Peninsula is well worth the while of both sightseer and vacationist. The shore line here is one of the most picturesque imaginable, with rugged, cypress-covered headlands sheltering the whitest of beaches. The famous resort of Del Monte offers the visitor unexcelled facilities for sports, including the renowned Pebble Beach Golf Course, while at Carmel is a quaint artists' colony and nearby is the historic town of Monterey, capital of California under three flags—

Spanish, Mexican and American. San Carlos Church at Monterey boasts a facade built in 1794.

The mission at San Luis Obispo, farther down the coast, is crowned by the first tile roof made in California (1790). It set the style for the other missions and thus for much of Southern California's architecture, which is nowhere better illustrated than in the charming city of Santa Barbara. Mission Santa Barbara is one of the best preserved of the missions. Another notable one is at San Buenaventura, the modern Ventura, twenty-five miles southeast of Santa Barbara.

And so, through the orange groves, into Los Angeles. What can one say about this sprawling, many-faceted City of the Angels? Mention its famous climate with sunny days and cool nights? Or its semi-tropical vegetation, so odd-looking in such a bustling metropolis? Or its beaches and mountains; exotic religions and that most exotic of industries, the motion pictures; or the outdoor symphony concerts at the Hollywood Bowl, and the observatory on Mount Wilson with the world's largest telescope? At any rate, whatever else you do in Los Angeles, be sure to view the city from one of the surrounding hills at night, when twinkling lights spread out in all directions as far as the eye can follow.

If Hollywood represents to you a major reason for visiting Los Angeles, you will wish to dance at the Cocoanut Grove or the Ambassador and lunch at the Brown Derby on Vine Street, favorite spots of the stars. A drive through the lovely suburb of Beverly Hills will give you glimpses of the homes of many of the famous stars, and if there happens to be a world première at one of the large theaters, you will have a chance to see Hollywood's great on parade. As for the studios, it is of course difficult to visit them unless you have an introduction of some kind.

Before you turn east from Los Angeles, be sure to visit San Diego, 126 miles south, the oldest (1769) and one of the loveliest cities in California, located as it is between the foothills and the blue waters of the bay. An ideal year-round climate has resulted in its development as an outstanding resort city. Here, too, is the United States Navy's Pacific base. Across the bay is Coronado, beautiful seaside resort, and a short ride to the south will take you across the border to Tia Juana or Agua Caliente in Mexico.

You may go directly east from San Diego to Yuma, the route running by way of Tia Juana through the magnificent Carriso Gorge, or you may return to Los Angeles and reach Yuma by way of the famous resort of Palm Springs and the Imperial Valley, which irrigation from the waters of the Colorado has changed from a desert to one of the most productive regions in the world. At Yuma is a large Indian reservation. The picturesque Indians who live there meet all the trains to offer their handicraft for sale. The desert scenery of Arizona with its strange vegetation and strange and surprising colorings makes a sharp contrast to anything you will have seen thus far on your trip.

If you wish to visit the Grand Canyon however (and who does not?) you will leave Los Angeles via San Bernardino and Las Vegas, Nevada (a side trip here will enable you to visit the great Boulder Dam) for Williams, Arizona; the connecting point for the line to the Grand Canyon is here. Through cars make it possible to see the Canyon between morning and evening and then continue to Colorado Springs, but if time permits, a longer stopover is well worthwhile. The sightseer remembers always the thrill he experiences when he first stands on the rim of the "Big Ditch." The overwhelming grandeur of the sight, the stillness, the colors, cannot be approximated in words.

The horseback trip down to the Colorado River a mile below is not so hazardous as it appears, and affords an opportunity for closer study of the amazing geological formations laid bare in the centuries during which the river has toiled through the rock.

Between the Grand Canyon and Colorado Springs, difficult to reach by railroad but not to be overlooked if you are traveling by car, is Mesa Verde National Park, site of the largest and most interesting of the famed cliff-dwellings which date from about 1000-1300 B.C., and are fascinating relics of a vanished civilization on our continent. Southeast of the Grand Canyon, also accessible most readily by automobile, is the famous Petrified Forest.

If your trip is made towards fall,

This is Treasure Island, site of the Golden Gate International Exposition in San Francisco Bay. The elaborate model weighs more than a ton, is accurately built on a scale of 150 feet to the inch. In the background are the Berkeley hills and the famous Campanile of the University of California.

you may wish to prolong summer by spending more time in the Southwest. In that case you will swing south from the Grand Canyon to Phoenix and Tucson, which, owing to their clear, dry climates, have become extremely popular as winter resorts and offer splendid accommodations. Near Tucson is one of the loveliest and oldest (1699) of American missions, San Xavier del Bac. Besides having a charm all its own, Tucson is an advantageous stopping-point for those who wish to explore the famous Arizona dude-ranch territory.

From Tucson, Mexico City or Globe, the routes converge once more at El Paso. This thriving city has long been a popular tourist center. A convenient side trip here leads to Carlsbad Caverns, the largest and longest caves ever discovered, now a national park, and equipped with wide paths and skillful lighting, so that the beauty of the carved limestone formations may be adequately appreciated. This side trip may be made in one day and costs, including transportation, guide fees, and luncheon underground at a unique cafeteria in the caverns, about $10.

Just across the border from El Paso is Juarez, a picturesque Mexican city of thirty thousand. The central market place here seems piquantly foreign to American eyes, and nearby is the venerable mission "Our Lady of Guadalupe" (1659), with its 56-inch walls. Authentic Mexican dishes and a spirited night life in the famous cafés and cabarets are other attractions of Juarez to the tourist.

From El Paso you may return east by way of Kansas City, or you may cross west Texas to beautiful and interesting San Antonio, where you will wish to visit the Alamo and recall the days in March 1836 when 182 Texans heroically withstood an army of 4,000 Mexicans for eleven days and finally chose death rather than surrender.

This outline of the wonders of the West is necessarily sketchy;* nor do we claim that the routes it describes are the only possible ones, or even the best ones for all travelers. For instance, instead of continuing west from Yellowstone, you may prefer to swing south through Colorado to the Grand Canyon, thence into Los Angeles and up, rather than down, the Pacific Coast, returning east by way of the Canadian Rockies, with perhaps a stop at beautiful Lake Louise or Banff.

*For information about San Francisco, as well as an appreciation of the unique atmosphere of this cosmopolitan city, an excellent book is Edwin Rosskam's *San Francisco. West Coast Metropolis* (Alliance Book Corporation). For information about Los Angeles you might well consult *Los Angeles, City of Dreams*, by Harry Carr (D. Appleton-Century).

Romantic Cities of California, by Hildegarde Hawthorne (D. Appleton-Century), deals with San Francisco as well as Los Angeles, San Diego and the other outstanding California cities.

Other books which the western traveler may find useful are *California Missions and Their Romances*, by Cora Older (Coward McCann); *Roaming American Playgrounds*, by John T. Faris (Farrar & Rinehart), which covers both Canada and the United States; *The Lure of Alaska*, by Harry A. Franck (Stokes), and, for details about the national parks, *National Parks of the Northwest*, by Martelle Trager (Dodd, Mead), and *Romance of the National Parks*, by Harlean James (Macmillan).

What's YOUR Opinion?

(*Continued from page* 35)

annals of organized societies of enforcing idleness on a quarter of the population.

"Full employment requires full production. This, in turn, necessitates a sufficiency of effective demand for consumption and for the creation or destruction of capital, or both. War motives insure enough of this sort of demand. As a matter of fact, nineteenth century democracy was propelled by the warlike forces of imperial conquest of backward peoples and industrial exploitation of unorganized labor. Thus we got our territory from the Indians and Mexicans and thus our great fortunes were founded. War, again, may be of the twentieth century variety known as socialism, or class war between the Haves and the Have-nots. Any type of warfare or competition insures full employment if waged with the intensity a contest normally develops. The motivating force is the will to power, not the will to do good or to build a Utopia.

"The warfare of imperialist and capitalist greed was the democracy of the nineteenth century. The decline of this warfare is now generally lamented. It was benign as compared with the warfare of other periods. It was characterized by rising living standards due to invention, technology and rationalization of industry and commerce. These beneficent effects, however, were by-products and not motivating forces. Industry was expanded not for welfare but for profits, though an incidental result was welfare. Today industrial expansion would be technically easy and enormously productive of increased welfare for the people. But it does not take place simply because, under present conditions, it would not be profitable, in the good democratic, American sense of the word profitable. What tends most to make industrial expansion unprofitable is high taxation to support the present high level of social costs. Any attempt to reverse this trend meets with the opposition of political pressure groups and, if carried far, would give rise to violence by the unemployed and farmers who would be cut off the public payroll.

"Democracy put men to work during the nineteenth century because of the activating forces of the frontier, the industrial revolution and a rate of population growth that doubled the number of bellies to fill and bodies to house, clothe and exploit five times within the brief space of 150 years between the American Revolution and the present Great Depression. During this short historical period, our population doubled on an average every thirty years, thus assuring a more or less continuous land boom. Given a continuance of prevailing trends, in another thirty years our population will have begun to decline. Rapid population increase, the frontier, the industrial revolution, easy wars on semi-civilized natives and easy exploitation of unorganized labor—all these essentials of a sound healthy democracy are over. Democracy, therefore, is fast becoming an extinct volcano, a magnificent monument but lifeless.

"Those to whom the democracies must look for initiative lack the motivations to fight or to venture. This means more Munichs, deficits, unemployment and stagnation. British imperialists prefer appeasement to profitless war. American capitalists prefer government 2½'s at 107 to business ventures.

"It is said that American business men have an aversion to business risks and a preference for government bonds because of a lack of confidence engendered by unbalanced budgets and monetary experiments. Like most orthodox explanations of the crisis, this is absurd. If American capitalists felt a lack of confidence in the public credit and currency, there would be a flight *from* instead of *to* paper government bonds and incontrovertible paper money. What there is a lack of confidence in, is the possibility of making a profit.

"The necessary motivations for full employment in any organized society spring from religion or war. The Incas of Peru maintained full employment without war by conditioning their people to respond appropriately to the dictates of an all-integrating, self-consistent and self-perpetuating religious cult. Our nineteenth century democracy was the cult of Mammon or individual self-interest. It was a type of warfare which had to find its necessary mo-

tivations in the conditions of the frontier, imperial conquest and industrial exploitation. The necessary geo-political conditions for that type of warfare have now all but disappeared. So the eternal struggle for existence takes on new patterns of conflict or competition. Business men and orthodox economists who deplore the decline of the competitive system should console themselves that another system of competition is in the making. Only they may find their skills of little use in this new type of competition. As ever, in the eternal circulation of the élite, the Have-nots or the Outs are the dynamic and emergent classes.

"Our New Dealers thought by reform and inspirational talks to end the economic stagnation of American democracy. Their failure has been implicit in their utter lack of the dynamic forces of religion and war. In vain does Mr. Roosevelt, in his obvious desperation, turn to war mongering against the dynamic foreign Have-nots. Aside from the apparent fact that this is the day of the Have-nots, there is the further and not wholly unapparent fact that, like Ferdinand, the foreign Haves: Messrs. Chamberlain, Daladier and Bonnet, do not want to fight.

"It is axiomatic that a Have can win nothing from a Have-not. Fighting German and Japanese Have-nots is not the same thing as fighting Indians or Africans who had no serious means of defense and rich booty to be seized by the conqueror. In appealing to the American Have-nots, Mr. Roosevelt, of course, chose the right audience. But for them he has no adequate ideology or emotional appeal. They want action, which is always obtainable, and not security, which is always unattainable and never more obviously so than right now. Nor do our Have-nots want democracy and liberty. (It is the Haves who want liberty and who talk wistfully about democracy, meaning the land booms and bull markets of the past.) What our Have-nots really want is discipline and leadership in some high adventure, which incidentally, would provide them with something to feel, something to do and something to eat. The New Deal is not high adventure but petty chiseling by minority pressure groups for Washington hand-outs.

"The new American frontier is on the Treasury steps. This is clearly the dying phase of American democracy. The only possible realistic refutation of my thesis would be the success of democracy in putting the unemployed back to work. That, for reasons above stated, I predict will not happen."

Certainly this is a forcefully presented argument and is of itself a challenge to liberty-loving Americans to demonstrate the error of Mr. Dennis's conclusions.

Howard Coonley

Disagreeing with Mr. Dennis is Howard Coonley, president of the National Association of Manufacturers. "Democracy," he says, "most assuredly can put men back to work.

"The country today has far from reached its frontiers. With land, water, minerals, oil and other natural resources still abundant, our potential future is boundless. In 1,600 research laboratories, 30,000 engineers are working on the dreams of today which will become the realities of tomorrow.

"Private business will put men back to work when idle capital is released by offering investors a return commensurate with the risk involved.

"To my mind, the four principal deterrent factors which have caused investors to hold off are: failure of government and business to find a common ground upon which to cooperate for recovery; unsettled labor conditions caused by inequitable legislation; an excessive tax burden; and the failure of government to decrease its spending for the purpose of an ultimate budget balancing.

"To those who maintain that a permanent government work relief program is inevitable, I say that industry, not work relief, will provide jobs in the future when recovery comes. Work relief should be reduced gradually as private industry begins to absorb the unemployed.

"While dictators may have solved the problem of unemployment, they have not solved the problem of putting men back into satisfactory jobs.

"Satisfactory jobs" means jobs at adequate wages, and in no dictator state do wages approach those of United States workers in purchasing power of necessities and luxuries of life. Then, too, the economic policies of the dictator nations are driving them straight to the brink of financial disaster.

"By removing the obstacles that now block the path of American progress, we can give the green light to industry, put men back to work and still retain the essentials of democracy."

Here we are at the heart of the problem. Can free competitive enterprise put ten million men back to work, or must the government continue to be responsible for giving them jobs? The fascist nations say they have solved the problem, but look at the position in which they find themselves today. England claims to have solved it but with the biggest peacetime armament program in its history.

Winthrop W. Aldrich, chairman of the Chase National Bank, speaking before the Bond Club of New York, declared: "There is no question whatever that continual government spending, continual unbalanced budgets, continual deficit financing, will in any country, ultimately lead to such financial chaos that complete internal regimentation will be necessary; that, to accomplish this regimentation, self-containment and economic nationalism will become inevitable."

Editors, knowing of the public's interest in this topic, are running articles and editorials on it all over the country. *The New York Herald-Tribune* carries an article by Albert Einstein in which the celebrated mathematician discusses the situation in America in the light of his experience in Germany: "I am convinced that the danger of fascism in America can be eliminated only by effective measures against unemployment and economic insecurity. It is, of course, essential to combat fascist propaganda coming from abroad; yet it is equally important to avoid the fatal error of believing that the fascist danger can be checked by purely political means. . . .

"Any one interested in safeguarding civil liberty in this country must be prepared to tackle the problem of unemployment and to make the necessary sacrifices for its solution. He must ask himself whether it is

ot worthwhile to yield a measure f economic freedom in return for ndividual and national security. he whole question cannot be considered from the point of view of arty politics, since it concerns a anger that threatens all.

"The unemployed suffer not only ecause they lack vital necessities but lso because they feel cast out from he community of men. . . . Even hen a man has found work after an xtended period of unemployment, he far from being a free man. There always the haunting fear of losing is job again. Actual unemployment nd the specter of unemployment constantly looming before those still having jobs—these are the two factors hat embitter men, and in their earch for a way out of this economic ise men eagerly put their faith in nyone who promises them better onditions. It is from this source hat the political danger of unemloyment springs."

Raymond Clapper, liberal columnt of the Scripps-Howard newspaers, linked his reflections on the subject with the recent visit of King George and Queen Elizabeth: "This King and Queen are here only as gentle, sentimental relics preserved from the vanished age of monarchs which disappeared when people found that kings were unable to provide them with tolerable freedom and conditions of life. Will democracy live to tell the tale unless it is able to provide these conditions? With courage and intelligence it can do the job. It has found the way to provide the freedom. It has yet to find the satisfactory conditions of life."

The time has come then, when we, the American people, must face the facts of our economic life with the same honesty and integrity that a good man of science carries with him when he steps into his laboratory. In presenting these divergent viewpoints on this highly controversial question, CURRENT HISTORY is attempting to assist its readers to arrive at such an attitude.

And now, in the light of the foregoing comments and the situation as you view it, What's YOUR Opinion?

Power Politics Over Palestine

(Continued from page 23)

pread her doctrines, embarked on a rogram of annual subsidies and ecific subventions of over $250,000 o be used for fostering unrest mong Transjordan and Palestinian rabs"; in the terror since 1935, acording to Mr. Noel-Baker's address Parliament, "money, arms, officers, rganizers, everything came from aly and Germany. . . . In 1936 the erusalem police intercepted docuents proving that the Arab raiders eceived £50,000 from Germany and 20,000 from Italy for the purpose strengthening their resistance." ut the enemies of England have thus ayed right into the hands of British nperialism. They have merely kept ive the "revolt by leave" whereby thousand or fifteen hundred terrorts have been deliberately permitted prove to the world that a Jewish ate in Palestine is impossible. At e same time there has been instited within Palestine and in England a series of violations of the andate which would be incredible they were not officially recorded.

Against this situation Parliament s raised its voice time and again in iticism and disapproval. "I should ve had more respect for his speech," said the leader of His Majesty's Opposition regarding Mr. MacDonald's presentation of the White Paper, "if he had frankly admitted that the Jews were to be sacrificed to the incompetence of the government in the matter . . . to be sacrificed to its apparent fear of, if not, indeed, its sympathy with, violence and these methods of murder and assassination —that the Jews must be sacrificed to the government's preoccupation with exclusively Imperialist rather than human considerations."

This criticism falls on deaf ears. The British government is today, more than ever, committed to power politics, whatever sacrifices this policy may demand from others or from its own people. At least one member of Chamberlain's Cabinet—and significantly it is the Secretary for Foreign Affairs—is reported by the newspapers to have said, "Ethical principles must give way to administrative necessity." To such a point of view accusations of "breach of faith," "repudiation," "appeasement," *et cetera*, have no validity. What is necessary is to prove that "administrative necessity" will be better served by a different policy. Colonel Wedgwood has suggested one means of proving that by advocating the open revolt of the Jews, and his proposal was echoed by a number of others. But he is also the author of another solution which may find increasing favor as efforts are made to reconcile the desperate need of the Jews with the demands of Britain's imperialist position. That solution is embodied in the phrase, the Seventh Dominion. It proposes that Palestine become a truly Jewish commonwealth but that it retain the same ties with England as do Canada, Australia and South Africa. The proposal has always been regarded favorably by a large and influential body of British and Jews who feel that Zionists have overlooked the one compromise which would prove the salvation of an unhappy people.

Letters

(Continued from page 36)

be a short time until Big Business would be dictating the policies of the government, which would be to the detriment of small business and labor.

It is my opinion a law drawing a line cannot possibly be good for both rich and poor, and therefore the government should make the laws and both sides abide by them. . . . C. H. COWLES

To the Editor: The co-operation we want from business is that it shall invest money. This it is now doing and always will to that extent that is profitable. Capital is not simply on a "sit-down-strike." As the Brookings Institution told the world in *Income and Economic Progress*, " . . . if new capital is to be constructed there must of necessity be an increasing flow of funds not only through investment channels but also through the channels of retail and wholesale trade." When the New Deal with its spending and lending program was putting funds through those channels, capital investment by private enterprise climbed from 3 billions of dollars in 1932 to 15 billions in 1937. But in 1937 the spending was cut down rapidly and by the second half the budget was practically balanced. As a result we had "the largest and fastest contraction in business activity ever recorded in any 6 months' period in our economic history" according to Mordecai Ezekiel.

If Harry Hopkins wants to "create an environment in which private investment is encouraged," he had better work for a revival of the spending-lending idea because business is not going to pick itself up by the bootstraps. And the old stimuli: new frontiers, increasing population, etc., are gone

Whether Walter Lippmann admits it or not, it is "found from the study of our industrial history that the growth of capital is closely adjusted to and dependent upon an expanding demand for consumption goods." Business will co-operate (invest) when the Government pours funds into their hands through consumer purchasing power.

CHARLES L. DUXBURY

McCormick of the Times

(Continued from page 27)

time she would like nothing better than to make the study of architecture a hobby. Years ago, when she lived in Ohio, she became one of the directors of a Dayton art museum, a post she still holds, although Ohio, her legal residence, has not seen her for a couple of years. Today in New York the Gotham, a quietly distinguished hotel, is the McCormick home.

Born in Yorkshire, educated in Ohio, associate editor of the *Catholic Universe Bulletin*, married to Francis J. McCormick—such in briefest outline had been the career of Anne O'Hare McCormick when she sent her first article to the *Times*. Soon her copy was receiving the gentlest sort of treatment from copyreaders, even though now and then someone itched to tone her down, for occasionally she appeared to gild her direct and simple prose.

"Able and unbiased," *The New York Herald-Tribune*, sponsor of Miss Dorothy Thompson, America's best known woman columnist, once called Mrs. McCormick's reporting. Both American and European journalists will testify to its ability. That it is unbiased, a reading of any of Mrs. McCormick's columns or dispatches will indicate. It is difficult to discover where she stands in the clashes of today's social and political philosophies. She tells the facts, forcefully, graphically, but lets them speak for themselves.

Occasionally she appears on a lecture platform, now and then on the air. But despite journalistic prominence—she won the Pulitzer Prize for European correspondence in 1937, the first woman to be awarded a major Pulitzer Prize in journalism—Mrs. McCormick has remained a modest figure. Her modesty showed itself clearly when she was cited as the "Woman of 1939." "I think the emphasis was on the year rather than on the person," she said. "A newspaper woman who specializes in international affairs is chosen for this award rather than a more distinguished representative of some other career, because in 1939 the interest of the world is focused on news. I have been moving around among thunderous events, and I have stolen some of the thunder."

Balkanizing America

(Continued from page 19)

result of the economic breakdown that occurred in America between the close of the Revolutionary War in 1783 and the adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1789—a period when each state had full control of its trade relations with other states."

A ban on imports means a loss of exports—for states as well as countries. Isolation for Michigan would mean the loss of its automobile market in forty-seven states. Isolated cotton states, which already have lost much of their overseas market, would lose their market at home. Wheat states would have to curtail their crops. Texas, California, Oklahoma and Kansas could cap most of their oil wells. West Virginia, Kentucky, Illinois, Pennsylvania could shut up most of their coal mines.

The assault on our free-trade system made in the past ten years, it seems certain, will spur the federal government to attempt, through standardized legislation, to bring some order into the economic relations among the major subdivisions of our country. The Supreme Court recently invalidated a Florida inspection tax on out-of-state cement. And the state governments themselves may be beginning to see their own folly. Last April the governors of the forty-eight states, through the Council of State Governments, launched a national campaign aimed at leveling interstate barriers.

Under the Council's leadership thirty-seven states have set up commissions on interstate co-operation to develop programs for the gradual elimination of these barriers which, in the words of Secretary Wallace, are causing "large and unnecessary losses to the whole community."

Railroads in the Red

(Continued from page 26)

only plunges it further into deb That is a temporary expediency t be used in the depths of an extraor dinary depression but not as per manent policy.

Also, it should be noted that gov ernment loans are no help to th hardest-pressed railroads, becau government is not in business to giv money to the roads and what it loans must be backed by adequate securit If the money is not repaid, the se curity is forfeit. This means that o many of the government loans, i roads cannot recover lost business their best assets are lost to the bond holders and stockholders if and whe the R.F.C. cancels the governmen loans by disposing of the pledge collateral.

Expediting bankruptcy or reorgan ization proceedings for railroads— the so-called "through-the-wringer method—appears to be the only form of relief which will actually reliev many over-capitalized railroads.

The railroads insistently ask fo greater freedom in the manageme of their affairs, while the governme continues to show a trend towa more centralization of authority ov all business. At the same time the are advocating broader powers fo I.C.C., so that competition may b strictly regulated.

New metals, new types of enginee ing, wide electrification, developme of streamlined and light trains, fast schedules—all these indicate the ra roads are prepared to serve the cou try more efficiently than ever befor

Railroads will continue, as long competition exists, to improve the service and technique. And they w operate for generations to come. T question "how?" is unanswerable, b we can be sure an answer will found. Among all the contendi groups fighting for pet remedi none has yet suggested killing the

The first step of "emergency r lief" was taken with the authoriz tion of R.F.C. loans. The second ste which may be started before Co gress adjourns, might well be term the "temporary" relief period. Pe manent reorganization will be matter of years, but people are b ginning to realize that time mu be a relative factor in ironing o major economic problems.

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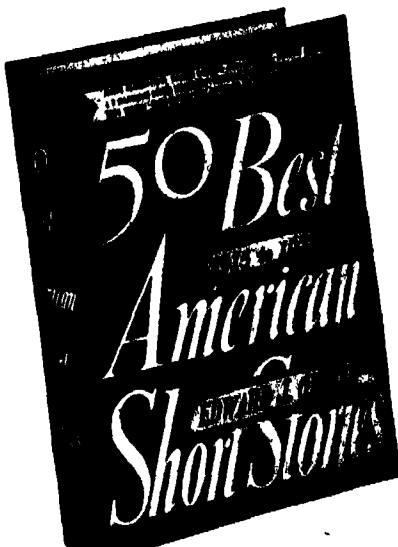
WILBUR DANIEL STEELE — The Yellow Cat
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JOSEPH HERGESHEIMER — The Meeker Ritual
FRANCES GILCHRIST WOOD — Turkey Red
KONRAD BERCOVICI — Fanutza
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CURRENT HISTORY

MILITARY OBJECTIVE!

TIME was when the only part children were allowed to play in war was to give up certain food their little bodies needed so that the troops could have it.

That was in the unenlightened days before airplanes and delayed-fuse bombs.

Now the kiddies are permitted to die just like their daddies. *Today* they are *military objectives* to be blown to bits by bombs, to be buried in the ruins of their schools, to be raked by machine-gun fire as they cling to their mothers' skirts.

Thus, the world progresses. Thus, the science of mass-production murder becomes more proficient. Thus, war loses its last vestige of so-called "glamour."

With slaughter of these innocents an admitted part of military strategy, war can no longer be condoned by any sane and decent person. Yet many people still shake their heads hopelessly and say: "What can I do? How can I prevent war?"

Next time you tuck your youngster into his crib look at him and see if your heart will accept such a defeatist attitude. Rather, accept this truth—that if enough people say: "There must be no more war!", there *will* be no more war!

World Peaceways is a non-profit, non-crank organization that has made definite progress in maintaining peace and is determined to do more. We need help—*your* help. Why not sit down right now and drop us a line?

WRITE TO

WORLD PEACEWAYS

103 Park Ave., New York City

The World Today in Books

NORMAN COUSINS

A YEAR and a half ago Captain Anthony Eden, then the bright and rising young star of English politics, lost his job with the government because he had a notion that if Neville Chamberlain gave Hitler enough rope he would hang England. Now comes word from London that the recent decision to oppose instead of appease the bulging-muscled totalitarians has paved the way for a reconciliation between the former Foreign Secretary and the Prime Minister. It is even held likely that Captain Anthony will be called back into service—though not necessarily in the Cabinet—by the Munich-misled Chamberlain who now realizes, as one European observer has pointed out, that the trouble with appeasement was that Hitler would not take yes for an answer.

The Eden-Chamberlain differences -which perhaps have aroused more controversy in England than any other peacetime dispute over foreign affairs since Disraeli and Granville—have a strong historical significance. For the issues extend beyond the matter of tactical strategy toward an offending country; they hit squarely into almost all major post-war international problems.

That is why *In Search of Peace* and *Foreign Affairs* are among the most important of new books. For the first is written by Neville Chamberlain; the second by Anthony Eden. If you put—or rather read—them both together you have as complete a picture not only of the appeasement cycle but of the general complexion of world events as you might obtain anywhere. For both books—which appeared almost simultaneously and which consist of the public papers of each statesman—trace from separate vantage points the full course of England's part in world affairs. And—of considerable interest and value—each book contains abundant interpretative material and expressions of personal and political philosophy.

Quite aside from their worth as a record of the issues between the two men, the books effectively reveal the clash of personalities that must have contributed—in a small measure, at least—to their differences. Chamberlain was unhurried, even tempered, tolerant, difficult to arouse. Eden liked to move quickly and decisively when he felt moving was necessary, was strongly motivated by his feelings of right and wrong, and was generously idealistic. One characteristic—perhaps a dominating one—they share; both are intensely sincere. In addition, both apparently today hold substantially the same view of Britain in foreign affairs. The concluding chapters in each book point to almost identical outlooks—the determination that the British way of life, or at least the non-totalitarian way of life, shall be preserved *at all costs* against challenge by the dictatorships.

The phrase "at all costs" is italicized because a year ago it could not properly describe Neville Chamberlain's policy toward Germany. At that time there was a price he was willing to pay for what he felt was insurance against both further German aggression and a war in which Britain would most certainly become involved. That insurance was paid with the life of an independent nation, Czecho-Slovakia. But today Neville Chamberlain, perceiving that Nazi Germany seeks to dominate the world through threat of force, at last has agreed with Anthony Eden and Winston Churchill that the only guarantee Britain can have against German domination is to be strong enough to meet the direct threat when it comes and to speak in terms that the German ruler understands.

There is something almost Wilsonian about Chamberlain. He seems too trusting, too artless, too dignified to be mixed up in international politics at a time when Machiavellian shrewdness is the order of the day. I watched him in a newsreel the other night. He was warning Japan against the molestation of British nationals in China. For emphasis he relied on the rapid putting-on or taking-off of spectacles in the best Wilson manner. The frequency with which this device was used gave the impression that he himself appreciated that at best he is a conversationalist, not a Cicero.

His speeches, it is evident from *In Search of Peace*, reveal an inability to exploit the emotions of masses in the style of a Fuehrer or Duce or even a Roosevelt. Bombast is foreign to his makeup. Yet it is this very lack of formula demagoguery that is perhaps his greatest asset. For he is

Books Reviewed in This Issue

BOOK	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	PRICE
In Search of Peace	Neville Chamberlain	Putnam	$3.50
Foreign Affairs	Anthony Eden	Harcourt, Brace	3.00
Journal of Reparations	Charles G. Dawes	Macmillan	5.00
The Way Forward: The American Trade Agreements Program	Francis Bowes Sayre	Macmillan	2.75
Introduction to Argentina	Alexander Wilbourne Weddell	Greystone Press	3.00

able to make simplicity and sincerity do the work of eloquence and personality. Otherwise how could he give voice to such dramatically simple and effective phrases as, "I am a man of peace to the depths of my soul," and know that the people will believe him, which they do? Can you imagine any other present-day ruler saying that without drawing a smile from a great many people?

It is true, perhaps, that Neville Chamberlain made the mistake of feeling that the yearning for peace was as universal among leaders as it was among men. It is true, too, that during his stewardship, Britain's prestige suffered a number of setbacks. And on the debit side must also be placed the Lion's share of the blame for the crushing of Austria and Czecho-Slovakia. But this much no one can take away from Neville Chamberlain: he honestly sought peace even though it turned out to be a peace without honesty. And to his everlasting credit it must be said that he was flexible enough to admit that he had erred in his trust and was willing to accept the advice and program of those who had previously been his severest critics.

The world is still making up its mind about Neville Chamberlain. A brief year ago he was charged with the crime of complacency in the face of international gangsterism. Gout, age and caution, it was said, limited his outlook. Lloyd George dismissed him with a wave of the hand and the remark, "A good town clerk in a lean year." But today fresh evidence is accumulating that Neville Chamberlain may be destined for an honored place in English history. If war is averted—and right now such a possibility is based more on hopeful optimism than on reasonable cause—his supporters have good reason to claim that Neville Chamberlain deserves a large portion of the praise. And even should there be war, they might contend that appeasement was a deliberate hoax played on the dictators to afford Great Britain ample time in which to sharpen her fighting tools. Such a theory, however, puts too much of a strain on the imagination; the Prime Minister is not equipped with the necessary guile to carry through such an artifice. We are willing to accept him at his word when he says in his book that his one dominating, compelling motivation all through his office was the "search of peace."

Coming back to Captain Anthony Eden, it was this very "search of peace" by Neville Chamberlain which was responsible for the force play through which Eden lost his post as Foreign Secretary. It becomes clear in reading *In Search of Peace* and *Foreign Affairs* that Eden was sacrificed for the cause of appeasement because Hitler's axis partner, Mussolini, disliked Eden's attitude during the Ethiopian affair. Then, too, Eden had a strong attachment for the League of Nations, which both Germany and Italy scorned. And Eden was not for temporizing. As far back as the German occupation of the Rhineland he spoke out sharply against the treaty violations and brought down a mountain of criticism upon his head at the time because of his supposed "tactlessness" in calling Germany to task.

Even Eden seems to smile when he says in the introduction to *Foreign Affairs* that no one, looking back today in the light of what has followed, still condemns him for that stand. "It is interesting to reflect," he says, "what might have been the consequence if those who were so loud in their indignant criticism . . . had devoted their great talents instead to an exhaustive survey of *Mein Kampf*." It appears from his book that he considers it likely that a strong stand during Hitler's early steps would have made the Fuehrer's later and greater advances more improbable.

The months out of office have not changed Eden's idealism. From the first—even before Stanley Baldwin peeled an eye in his direction and marked him down for future use almost ten years ago when he was an underling in the Foreign Office—he has believed in the need and function of the League of Nations. He is convinced more than ever today that some sort of international order is vitally necessary to save the world from its endless conflicts. Mr. Eden would be in accord, we are sure, with the plan for a federation of nations eloquently outlined in the recent book, *Union Now*, by Clarence Streit.

"Our problem," Eden declares, "now closely resembles that which confronted individual countries in respect of their internal order centuries ago. The warring barons of medieval times virtually destroyed themselves on behalf of the rival houses of York and Lancaster. Exhausted, they had in the end to

bylines

Whatever became of that slogan, "Let's G.O.P.laces"?—*Neal O'Hara in* The New York Post.

If you tax municipal bonds, I'll tax every bit of real estate the federal government owns in New York City—and I'll collect it, too—*Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia at a hearing before the House Ways and Means Committee.*

The days of foreign settlements in China are numbered—*Tatsuo Kawai, Japanese Foreign Office spokesman.*

I am told that there are approximately thirty million families in the United States and that their average income is about $1,500 a year. On that basis, the average family's share of the expense of the public payroll is $200 a year, or over 13 per cent of its total income—*Attorney General Frank Murphy.*

The G.O.P.'s 1940 platform will be based on two words: "House America." They are heckling the New Dealers by calling them "Third Termites" —*Walter Winchell.*

I'm going out to California and practice keeping my mouth shut *General Malin Craig, recently retired Army Chief of Staff.*

There is no legitimate reason why the entire labor movement cannot be unified—*Tom Mooney.*

If we have complete security we shall do it at the cost of all liberty. We must have risk and adventure if we make progress—*Herbert Hoover.*

Missiles fired from radio transmitters are as destructive as high explosives—*Edwin Muller* *(See Page 24).*

A disquieting thought for the American economist is the elaborate suite of offices Japanese interests have opened recently in Mexico City as an exposition of Japanese products that fall within the range of Juan Sanchez's purchasing power—*William Parker* *(See Page 30).*

I intend no slur on worthy individuals whom misfortune beyond their control has brought to actual need, when I say that those on government relief should, like the citizens of the District of Columbia, surrender their right to vote. It is too much like a judge sitting in an action in which he has a financial interest—*Maj. Gen. James G. Harbord, at Virginia Institute of Public Affairs.*

CURRENT HISTORY

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AUGUST, 1939

COVER PHOTOGRAPH FROM PICTURES, INC.

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accept rule of law of some authority greater than any one of them. So it is with the nations now. They must either accept and support the authority of some international order or they will destroy each other utterly. There is no middle course. The greater power of modern weapons of warfare only serves to make the choice clearer and more menacing."

The concluding chapter in Mr. Eden's book consists of his talk before the Annual Congress of American Industry in New York last December. As in many previous speeches, he spoke feelingly about the World War, about the hope of men who were fighting for an ideal, for what they felt would be a lasting victory over arrogant militarism. Yet twenty years after a supposed victory was won the world again faced an almost identical fight. It is his plea that the inability to save the world for democracy once should not blind us to the necessity of preserving it against an imminent challenge today. "A false complacency is the worst calamity that can befall any nation in critical times. . . . The Great War and its aftermath have not shaken the fundamental faiths, nor undermined the qualities of our people. We do still care, deeply, strongly, and for the same things."

And those things, declares Anthony Eden, are the convictions that the state was made for man, not man for the state, that the human personality is important, that the state must respect racial and religious rights, that each citizen must enjoy individual liberty and equality in the eyes of the law, that minorities and majorities alike must be honored. "These beliefs are the basis of all progress. . . . We know that we are destined, in our land and our generation, to live in a period of emergency of which none can see the end. If, throughout that testing time, however long or short it be, we hold fast to our faith, cradle it in stone, and set steel to defend it, we can yet hand on our inheritance of freedom intact to the generations that are to come."

These are more than the words of a professional diplomat. They are quoted at length because they have two distinct merits: first, the feeling of absolute sincerity and a keen sensitivity for the democratic rights of man; secondly, a literary quality not generally found in collections of speeches. Eden, whether or not he was the idealistic front for a group of realists who used him as badge of respectability, tossing him aside as soon as his idealism became embarrassing, has too much stature to remain long out of office. And when he returns, we suspect Great Britain will be the better for it.

"WHEN it is all over," General Charles G. Dawes said fourteen years ago, "we shall get either garbage or garlands. I'll run the risk of the garbage."

He was referring to the work of the Experts Committee of the Reparation Commission, of which he was chairman. It was the committee's difficult task to examine the thin, weak body of economic Germany and decide how far the Allies could go toward making her continue fulfilling her Versailles obligations. For five years after the Commission's recommendations were put into effect, it appeared that the verdict would be "garlands." For the economic complexion of Germany—and the rest of Europe for that matter—brightened considerably. But the depression sent Europe — particularly Germany — skidding back into economic chaos. Though not held responsible for the depression, the Dawes Commission, it was held in some quarters, had not gone far enough in its prescription for Germany's health.

We are still too close to the event —yes, still too close after fourteen years, to attempt to pass final judgment on the Commission's work, to attempt to decide, as the General himself said, whether the verdict will be "garlands" or "garbage." But there is a new book which is indispensable to any consideration of the Commission's efforts to make peace "endurable" for Germany. It is called *A Journal of Reparations*. Significantly, its author is the chairman himself—Charles G. Dawes. And it is of particular value because it was written not during hours of leisurely reflection years after the event but during the actual days of the conferences. It is written, too, in the most engaging of all memoir forms —the personal diary and correspondence. Thus a subject whose very name connotes unending miles of important but uninspiring statistics is brought into the realm of the interesting and even the colorful.

It is General Dawes' conviction that the Reparation Commission "changed for the better, at least for

a period of years, the condition of Europe." He says the greatest difficulty facing his Experts Committee was to drive through a compromise arrangement which would at least attempt to satisfy both politicians and economists. The political extremists, if given their way, might have crippled Germany beyond any hope of recovery. Several economists would have had the Allies pay Germany. When the final report was forged, it was a "compromise dominated by economic experts."

The pertinacy and timeliness of General Dawes' book are not the least among its values. At a time when half the world is nervously fingering triggers, it serves as a dramatic reminder that the price of war must be paid long after the peace treaties are signed, that both victor and vanquished must pay it, that there is no victory in war, that each war helps prepare the way for the next. It will help explain, too, how aftermaths of war can produce Hitlers whose madness for revenge finds an outlet in the bestialization of mankind.

AMERICANS who have never traveled abroad do not realize fully how sharp is the sting of high prices resulting directly from tariff barriers. Across the border our Canadian neighbors, whose economic life-blood courses not from Great Britain but from the United States, are forced to pay exorbitant prices for essential goods. Makes of cars costing $800 in this country cannot be bought for less than $1000 in Canada, even though the cars may have been assembled in the Dominion. The same is true of radios, refrigerators, house furnishings, books, toys, and almost anything you can't eat. This despite an extensive "free" list.

That is why the Administration's trade program, aiming to break down trade walls, is hailed with such hope all over the world, even though it is not yet completely in operation. Frances Bowes Sayre, Assistant Secretary of State, properly describes the program as "the way forward." He has just written a book of that title explaining in detail and with great clarity what has become known as the American Trade Agreements program. *The Way Forward* tells the government's aims in international trade, how the program operates, what has been done to date.

Five years ago international trade was handcuffed by ever-increasing tariffs and restrictions. Though the trade lanes today are by no means completely free, they are at least divested of their shackles. Comparative trade figures for 1938 and 1935 prove that. What is more important is that the world seems to be moving in the right direction in this respect. To our own Department of State, of which Mr. Sayre is in charge of trade relations, must belong considerable credit. Agreements have been completed with nineteen countries, ac-

(Continued on page 64)

McNutt for '40?

A HANDSOME, white-haired, smiling man of forty-eight was ushered into President Roosevelt's oval office at the White House a few weeks ago. He was Paul Vories McNutt, since 1937 High Commissioner to the Philippines.

The High Commissioner, tired of his Manila mansion and his summer palace in the hills, had just returned to the United States and wanted to resign. That was all right, apparently, with Mr. Roosevelt, but he had another job for Mr. McNutt—Administrator of the new Federal Security Administration, in which are now combined the Social Security Board, the C.C.C., the National Youth Administration, the United States Employment Service, the Office of Education and the Public Health Service. Mr. McNutt accepted; his appointment was sent to the Senate and, on July 13, confirmed.

The appointment caused a sensation. Mr. McNutt wants to be President, and is frank about it. Report says that his full and varied career has always pointed toward 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D. C.

At twenty-three he began to practice law in his native Indiana. Soon he was teaching at the Indiana University Law School, of which he was dean by the time he was thirty-four. Though he never shouldered a musket with the A.E.F., he did play an active part in the American Legion. Legionnaires made him their National Commander in 1928. Four years later he was Indiana's Governor.

The term at Indianapolis ended with talk of "McNutt for '40." His balance-sheet showed such assets as these: (1) A State New Deal in social security and labor laws; (2) a State government reorganized in the interests of efficiency; (3) a State treasury with a surplus; (4) a reputation for administrative ability; (5) a winning personality. Among the liabilities were: (1) charges of dictatorship, born of the use of troops in Indiana labor troubles and of laws railroaded through a McNutt-dominated Legislature; (2) the "Two-Per-Cent Club," which levied 2 per cent of the salaries of State employees, presumably to build a political campaign chest.

Duffy—Baltimore Sun

Lesson No. 1.

More than a year ago Mr. McNutt, home on visit from the Philippines, staged a cocktail party in Washington so stupendous that capital citizens, when the effects wore off, hardly knew whether to take his Presidential ambitions seriously. But the boom continued. Into the preliminary campaign by his friends was suddenly dropped this appointment as F.S.A. head.

What did it mean? President Roosevelt told reporters to forget about politics, that no political significance could be tied to Mr. McNutt's latest job. But reporters had their own opinions. Some suspected that the President had found an heir apparent. Others concluded that Mr. Roosevelt would run for a third term with Mr. McNutt as his running mate. Others thought Mr. Roosevelt wanted the Hoosier hopeful where he could watch him. Still others said outright that Mr. McNutt was a good administrator, that was what the F.S.A. needed, that was why he got the job, and that was all there was to it.

U. S. and the Next War

On the ground floor of the Capitol in Washington is a small room, lighted by a great, ornate chandelier, where twenty-three senators meet periodically about a green-baize-covered table. They do not gather for the poker games famous in Washington. They are members of the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and they come here to discuss matters of state.

In this room two decades ago Senators fought Woodrow Wilson and killed his plan for our participation in the League of Nations. In this same room a few weeks ago, some of the anti-Wilson senators, reenforced by younger allies, fought Franklin D. Roosevelt and his anti-embargo policy which is supposed to favor Europe's so-called anti-aggression front -Britain and France.

The President and the senators joined issue over the Neutrality Act, first enacted in 1935 to keep the United States out of the next war. Isolation—that traditional American attitude since the days of George Washington and before—dictated the law in part. Influential also was the disillusionment after the World War, born of a belief that the United States had fought, not for its own skin, but for some one else's The munitions also had influence, since it had tended to show that our sale of war materials to the Allies had given

Fitzpatrick—N. Y. Sun

Congress Couldn't Spare the Time.

us a financial stake in an Allied victory.

The Neutrality law contained one section that President Roosevelt and the State Department criticized from the start. It was this: On the outbreak of any foreign war, as soon as the President shall announce the existence of a state of war, munitions shipments from the United States to the belligerents shall be embargoed. Over this mandatory embargo the Administration and its opponents on foreign policy have argued for four years.

Europe's deepening crisis made the argument the hotter. Administration spokesmen insisted that the embargo encouraged the aggressors, since in advance they knew that, if they could not obtain munitions in the United States, neither could their foes, even though these foes controlled the seas. If the aggressors knew that their foes could buy all the guns and planes and shells they wanted in the United States, then, so the assertion ran, the aggressors would pause. Isolationists took another position. They demanded that the embargo principle be retained, declaring that it alone would keep us out of war and adding that, between some of the aggressors and some of their foes, there was little choice anyway.

Even the House, usually more amenable to the Administration's wishes than the Senate, refused to bow to its demand for repeal of the arms embargo. Isolationist senators went further; they threatened to filibuster should embargo repeal appear likely. In the midst of Washington's tropical summer, a bitter fight over foreign policy loomed.

At that point senators on the Foreign Relations Committee went into a huddle in the little ground-floor room. By one vote the committee finally postponed action on the law until the next session of Congress. The arms embargo remained on the books.

Though President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hull immediately went into action, Washington observers hesitated to prophesy the outcome. Possibly only a Presidential swing around the circuit would decide whether or not isolation, as expressed in Congress, was the prevailing public mood.

But many observers did risk any prophecy. They predicted that, should Europe actually come to war, the neutrality law would be quickly revised to permit the sale of arms to Britain and France. Public opinion, the prophets declared, would change so abruptly once fighting started that the United States would not long be neutral either in thought or in deed.

Strikes in the W.P.A.

PINK SLIP, N. *A notice of termination of employment. Usually sent by mail to W.P.A. workers. Slip lists worker's name, identification and project, also cause for dismissal.*

Pink slips have been showering on W.P.A. workers lately, with the reason stated usually "failure to report for work." The Work Projects Administration had trouble on its hands, with promise of more to come. The underlying cause was the new Relief Act that had shaken the old W.P.A. violently.

When representatives and senators sat down to write this law, after listening to all sorts of testimony about the W.P.A.'s workings, they refused to consider the jobless problem as a permanent illness. Rather they looked upon it as a temporary headache, certain to pass—the same attitude that has been taken throughout the New Deal period. Congress, however, did alter the law that had given the W.P.A. four years of life. Projects were lopped off. Restrictions were applied to the spending of the money ($1,477,000,000) appropriated for the fiscal year ending next June 30.

The box of troubles was thus opened. Actors bombarded Congress because the curtain had been rung down on the W.P.A.'s Federal Theater Project. The A.F. of L., its skilled workers hit by a new W.P.A. ruling against the "prevailing wage," invoked direct action. By the thousands they went on strike.

Ever since the W.P.A. started, the "prevailing wage" had caused controversy. Its origin lay in the demand by union workers that, lest wages on private projects be depressed, unemployed union workers should receive on W.P.A. projects the prevailing union wage rate. When the W.P.A. agreed, union unemployed were paid the relatively high "prevailing wage," but because the W.P.A. weekly wage was low, they worked only a few hours a week. Abuses were then alleged to have crept in. One in particular was alleged: Workers took private jobs on their days off.

Under the new law even skilled workers are compelled to work thirty hours a week, with no advance in wage rates sufficient to maintain even the fiction of the "prevailing wage." Union workers and their leaders protested. Then they walked out, and soon thousands of the strikers began to receive the famous W.P.A. "pink slips," sent automatically to W.P.A. workers absent five days from employment. Union spokesmen hurried

to Washington. They buttonholed congressmen, urged the need to revise the newly passed law, talked darkly of the traditional A.F. of L. practice of remembering friend and enemy at the polls.

Congress, aware that public opinion was none too friendly toward what wits called "mutiny on the bounty," made no answer to labor's demand. President Roosevelt summed up the Administration's attitude in this warning: "You cannot strike against the government."

In labor circles outside the skilled, there were other resentments against the law. One arose from a requirement that all workers who had been on W.P.A. for eighteen months should be laid off temporarily by September 1. Law-framers presumably wanted to open the W.P.A. rolls to men and women previously on home relief. They wanted also to end any idea that there was a "career on the W.P.A." But the law's clause made it probable that 650,000 out of the 2,100,000 on the W.P.A.'s rolls would be dropped. Pink slips for some of those individuals were already in the mails.

At the W.P.A.'s Washington headquarters the Relief Act brought an all-pervading gloom. Some office workers faced dismissal. Others saw days and nights of figuring in an attempt to meet the law's requirements that geographical differences in W.P.A. pay be abolished, that differences instead be based on the cost of living—a fundamental consideration.

Fitzpatrick St Louis Post-Dispatch; New York Times

Sliding Scale.

The Bridges Case

Harry Bridges, thirty-nine-year-old C.I.O. leader on the Pacific Coast, has been a storm center ever since he led the 1934 maritime strike that tied up San Francisco's Embarcadero and developed into a paralyzing general strike. A slight, wiry man, Australian by birth, speaking with an accent almost cockney, he has been a familiar figure around the 'Frisco docks for years; some coastal sailors remember that for a time he was a shipmate. Yet outside this circle of longshoremen and sailors he was, until 1934, practically unknown.

The maritime strike gave him a West Coast and a national name. A radical, a "Red," employers' associations called him, fearful of his power and the strength of his burgeoning longshoremen's union. He did play along with Communists and talk Marxian doctrine, and in labor quarters then, as now, there were men who suspected he was actually a C.P. member. It mattered little that he had been raised a Catholic, that once he had considered studying for the priesthood, or that he denied Communist membership. A "Red" he was labeled, and the label stuck.

Organization after organization, some, like the American Legion, politically powerful, adopted resolutions demanding Bridges' deportation, for despite years of American residence he had neglected naturalization. Twice he had taken out papers. Twice he had let them lapse, even though as an alien he was presumably, under the immigration laws, liable to be sent back to Australia if proved a Communist. The Department of Labor hesitated, in part, some thought, for fear of antagonizing the C.I.O., and explained its hesitation thus: Before the Supreme Court was a case, the so-called Strecker case, which, it was hoped, would decide the question whether an alien Communist could be deported under existing law.

Last spring the Court handed down its decision. Only one thing was settled. An alien, once a Communist but a Communist no longer, could not be deported. Thereupon the Department of Labor moved to prove Harry Bridges he was christened Alfred Renton Bridges—a Communist.

On July 10 the C.I.O. leader, accompanied by his fourteen-year-old daughter, boarded the little government steamer that runs between Pier Five in San Francisco and Angel Island, the immigration station in the

bay. The long-delayed hearings on his alleged Communist membership were about to begin. The hearing-room—it had been the station's dining hall—was too small for general admission, but the press was allowed to attend, even though immigration hearings are usually closed.

Dean James M. Landis of the Harvard Law School presided, sitting at a table behind which was an American flag. A picture of the Capitol in Washington hung on the wall. "Are you a member of the Communist party?" Bridges was asked as the hearings opened. "No," he replied, and it then became the government's job to prove he was.

Scandal in Louisiana

Louisiana State used to be a small-time Southern university with nothing more exciting in its history than the fact its first president had been William T. ("War-is-hell") Sherman. The late Huey Long changed all that. Under his prodding the university leaped into life. It built itself up, acquired a formidable faculty, and attracted students by the thousand (over eight thousand last year). It had a football team, and a band that Huey himself was proud to lead. When Senator Long was assassinated in 1935, L.S.U. mourned with the rest of the State, but kept on booming.

Responsibility for some of the boom rested with Dr. James Monroe Smith. He pushed the construction of magnificent buildings. His wife pepped up campus social life. But a few weeks ago "Prexy" Smith went to jail, and L.S.U. became the focus of a state-wide political scandal.

Dr. Smith—Huey Long once said he had "a hide as tough as an elephant's"—was charged with speculating in wheat with the university's credit. Reports alleged he had lost close to $1,000,000. That charge, coupled with "Prexy" Smith's flight to Canada, his arrest and return to Baton Rouge gave the State plenty to talk about, and at a time when there was no lack of other conversational—and controversial—topics in the bayou country.

The university scandal coincided with the resignation of Governor Richard W. Leche—for reasons of ill-health (arthritis)—and the accession to power in Louisiana's skyscraper Capitol of Lieutenant Governor Earl K. Long, brother and one-time foe of the late Huey P. The new executive took as the text for his administration: "Better is a little righteousness than great revenues without right."

As he took the oath of office and quoted Scripture, government agents swarmed over Louisiana seeking to learn something about the "great revenues" State officials seemed to have been enjoying. Ugly stories about the use of P.W.A. and W.P.A. funds were first whispered, then almost shouted. Arrests and indictments began to hit the political machine created by Huey Long and passed along to his successors. Corruption, long suspected, often charged but never proved, threatened now to be uncovered in all its obscenity. Investigators suspected they might have a long summer's job on their hands, and as they got to work a smell arose in Louisiana that was not the smell of the State's oil refineries or even of its sulphur mines.

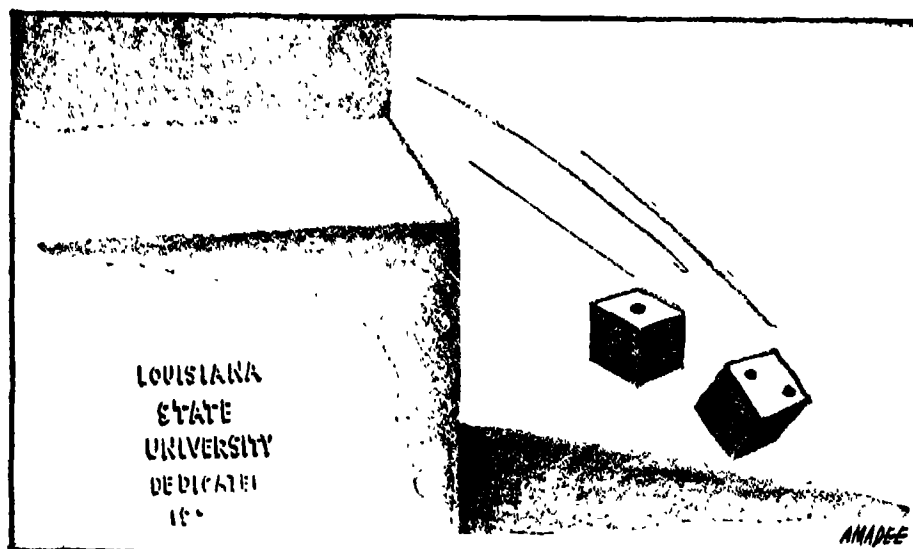
Amadee—St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Craps in the Cloisters.

"Peace Front" Rumors

Throughout Europe, and particularly in its eastern reaches, the psychological climate of July was ominously reminiscent of the atmosphere prevailing there exactly a quarter of a century ago. Then, a process of fifty years had gone to make the Continent inflammable, and the detonation occurred after a fortnight of misleading and surface inactivity: on July 28, Austro-Hungary declared war on Serbia; on July 29 the German war-lords at Potsdam decided to move simultaneously against Russia and France, hoping desperately that Britain would remain neutral. Two days later, Russian mobilization was complete, and by midnight August 4, when German troops were already on French and Belgian soil, Britain was in the conflict.

Since then, a formidable array of World War scholars have argued that, had England not hesitated to inform Germany she would fight, the lives of ten million men might have been spared, and our universe might not have been brought to its present woeful state. That question may be academic now, but there is nothing academic about the current reports that the Chamberlain Government is not wholeheartedly behind the so-called collective "peace front" of 1939.

Prime Minister Chamberlain cannot be held responsible for "reports," but when they persist in semi-official quarters they inevitably carry a degree of weight. Throughout much of July, blame for the failure of Britain and France to draw Russia into a pact against aggression was generally placed on the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, the unhealthy and dangerous impression was strong both in Berlin and in Paris that Chamberlain was bluffing (and none too expertly), that he had other and more important irons in the fire than the conclusion of a mutual-assistance pact with Moscow. It was reported in Warsaw that British officials were exerting pressure upon Poland to enter upon negotiations with Hitler (who recently denounced the German-Polish non-aggression treaty), to the end of circumventing another Serajevo in Danzig that, at this writing, is apparently approaching and that might easily involve Britain. Further reports had it that, while in eastern Europe Britain is pushing Poland toward a reconciliation with

Hitler, in western Europe the Chamberlain Government has instructed its French office-boy, Foreign Minister Bonnet, to inform the Reich Ambassador at Paris that, should Poland "disloyally" deal independently with the Fuehrer, all bets will be off—"there could be no question of the operation of the Anglo-French security pledges to Warsaw," in the language of the London news-service, *The Week*.

A straight denial of such reports, if there is morally place for it, would clarify the air and calm reasonable suspicions over the seemingly unnecessary blundering in the attempt to conclude a pact with Moscow. The atmosphere might be further cleared, and fears of a second Munich dissipated, if Chamberlain were to answer forthrightly a leading question put to him in the House of Commons: Will Britain feel relieved of her pledge to Warsaw if Poland, for any reason whatever, moves into Danzig militarily and thus appears to be the *de facto* aggressor? The Prime Minister's refusal to answer that inquiry in July fostered a belief that Britain is seeking a waterproof, legalistic "out" for possible use if an explosion occurs in Danzig.

Wang Ching-wei Again

Meanwhile, in the Far East, as the Sino-Japanese conflict entered its third year, the British found themselves barricaded by Japan behind their concession at Tientsin. In Tokyo negotiations over the situation were delayed as the Japanese Foreign Office insisted that it was necessary to discuss "broader issues," principally those of foreign (British) rights in China, and British support of Chiang Kai-shek.

However, there were indications that peace is not too far off in the Far East. One such indication was the announcement from Shanghai that Wang Ching-wei, former Premier and one-time vice-chairman of Chiang Kai-shek's Supreme National Defense Council, has accepted the leadership of a new Nationalist Kuomintang) Party.

Wang, as one of the most trusted confidants of the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen, founder of the Chinese Republic, has long had a considerable following. If Wang consolidates the two provisional Japanese dominated regimes at Peking and Nanking and establishes a bona-fide government, the Chiang regime to all intents and purposes would be "outlawed" in the Western Hills.

It was on December 29, 1938, that Wang addressed a plea to Chiang and the members of the embattled Kuomintang at the Generalissimo's second provisional capital in the mountain fastnesses of Western China. Chiang refused to consider any cessation of hostilities as Wang advised, and the latter, branded a traitor, was forced to flee. He found a haven in Indo-China, where several attempts were made on his life. Then on the eve of the second anniversary of the Sino-Japanese war, he announced his intention of helping to bring about the New Order, at the same time repeating on the radio his previous plea for peace.

When Wang threw in his fate with the Japanese in a bid to continue his political aspirations it recalled the stormy days of 1925 when he and Chiang Kai-shek, the favorite disciples of Sun Yat Sen, fought for the mantle of their then departed leader. Chiang, with the aid of Borodin and Galen, the Communist advisers, who had organized a Red Chinese army in Canton after Sun had written to Lenin for "advice," won out in a particularly vicious civil war during which the streets of Canton ran with blood. Politics eventually brought Chiang and Wang back together again after Chiang had renounced Communism. Then Wang's peace plea of December 29, 1938, Chiang's refusal to consider it, Wang's flight and on January 1, 1939, his expulsion from the Kuomintang.

In now assuming the leadership of a New Kuomintang, Wang Ching-wei will replace the aged Wu Pei-fu, the famous war lord who retired to a monastery some years ago and who last year was sought out by the Japanese to govern over a New Ching. Wu emerged, pondered, promised, and then dropped out of the picture. Nothing has been heard of him for many months. It is believed that he has once again retired to his monk's cell to forget the world's travails.

Low—Manchester Guardian

"But isn't it the Chinese you're supposed to be fighting?"
"Yes, please, but no can beat Hon. Chinese."

Delay and Postponement

In the troubled world of international affairs July was largely a month of postponements. Talks between the British and Japanese over their recent clash at Tientsin were postponed for several days, the Danzig question was postponed for an uncertain period, and the Moscow-London negotiations dragged on endlessly. By mid-July the Soviet Union had rejected no fewer than fourteen British proposals for an anti-aggression pact between London and Moscow, and France sent a high-ranking military leader to aid in the negotiations. At the same time, however, London spiked proposals to dispatch Anthony Eden to help persuade Foreign Commissar Molotov to sign the British-French proposals. One reason advanced for the Soviet attitude was that Dictator Stalin plainly distrusts Prime Minister Chamberlain.

Another, less easily authenticated reason for the delay was found in persistent reports of unrest within the Soviet and a fear in the Kremlin that Stalin was headed for a catastrophe. Russian workers and *Kolkhozniks* (collective farmers) were said to be "boiling like a kettle." Furthermore, many military leaders were reported convinced that, following the purge of the Red Army leaders with the consequent elimination of a debated percentage of commissioned officers —the Soviet's army of eleven million men (with reserves) is incapable of fighting efficiently, lacking adequate leadership.

Hitler and Hungary

Even at this late day, the possibility is recognized that Hitler may be exploiting the Danzig imbroglio as a smoke screen behind which to complete acquisitive plans elsewhere. His agents have stirred such dissidence in Hungary that it may be ripe for the imposition of another German "protectorate"—à la Bohemia-Moravia—of the sort Count Stephen Bethlen, former premier, has repeatedly and sadly predicted.

With Britain, France, Poland and Soviet Russia now flexed for a Nazi coup in Danzig, what simpler than for Hitler to move quietly overnight into Hungary- -in his admitted vision another essentially "Germanic Land" —and thus add to the Greater Reich a rich agricultural region of some 45,000 square miles? That would measurably shorten the distance between German territory and Albania, which was recently conquered by Italy, and which for all practical military purposes today is as much a Nazi outpost as a Fascist jumping-off place.

And with Hungary and Albania both under German control, the subsequent fate of Yugoslavia, temptingly lying between, would scarcely stump a backward schoolboy. Hitler and Goebbels would find it intolerable that the 505,000 German-speaking inhabitants of that Balkan kingdom (one twenty-sixth of the population) are not contentedly taxed under the domain of their "cultural leader."

Presumably Yugoslavia's southeastern neighbor, Bulgaria, which was one of the wartime Central Powers, would fall next to the Nazis. Already German commercial and industrial enterprises dominate that small powder-keg of Europe. In recent weeks, various Nazi officials of high rank (Economics Minister Funk, Hitler Youth Leader Baldur von Shirach, *et al.*) have visited the country in the interests of a "friendly survey."

It should be noted that, while Britain has pledged herself to aid Poland, Roumania and Turkey in the event of aggression, in practical effect these pacts are largely dependent on the success of the Anglo-French-Soviet negotiations for a treaty against aggression — negotiations now in their fourth month.

Ciano in Spain

In mid-July Count Ciano, Italian Foreign Minister, appeared in the harbor of Barcelona, escorted by the formidable Seventh Naval Squadron of the Italian fleet. The diplomatic interpretation was that he was politely returning the visit to Rome in June of Franco's brother-in-law, Serrano Suñer. International bankers had another, more realistic explanation to the effect that Ciano was on his way to collect four billion lire ($180,000,000) which Rome figures was the cost of maintaining Italian troops in the Spanish Civil War, and of materials supplied by Italy to Franco.

At the same time, the matter of Spanish finance continued to occupy other than Italian minds. For one thing, the amount of Spanish gold held in French banks is considerable, and it is supposed to be this refugee gold that is being dangled as a bait to Franco not to join the Rome-Berlin axis. Meanwhile, Franco, using prospective *Spanish* co-operation with Germany and Italy as a threat, is attempting to force France and Britain to help finance the rebuilding of his war-torn nation. Partial success of this attempt is seen in the formation of a "semi-neutral" financial syndicate headed by an Amsterdam banking firm and including Paris banking houses among its members for the purpose of handling new Spanish investments.

DANZIG THROUGH HISTORY

—From an editorial in The Baltimore Sun.

The Free City of Danzig (area, 75 square miles, population 407,500), on the left bank of the western arm of the River Vistula, about 250 miles from Berlin, 175 from Warsaw, has a long, troubled history.

It was separated from Poland in the first Polish partition of 1772, but retained its autonomy. In the second partition of 1793 it was ceded to Prussia. In 1807 Lefebvre bombarded and captured the city and became Duke of Danzig; and by the Treaty of Tilsit the same year Napoleon made Danzig a free city under the protection of France, Prussia and Saxony. In 1814, after Napoleon's defeat, it was restored to Prussia and autonomy was denied it. The Paris Peace Conference, therefore, followed historic rhythm when it denied Poland's claim for outright annexation of Danzig and by Articles 102-104 of the Treaty of Versailles proclaimed the city's freedom under a League guarantee.

Under the city's constitution, adopted November 1920, and the Danzig-Polish agreement of 1921, a Danzig-Polish customs union was established. Poland was given free use of the port and control of railways, post, telephones and telegraph; the port administration was vested in a board of five Danzigers, five Poles and a neutral chairman; the city was to remain a neutral, demilitarized base; and it was to enjoy self-government in domestic affairs with a Diet of 120 members (reduced in 1930 to 72) elected every four years, and a Senate, chosen by the Diet.

Subsequent history was unhappy, especially after 1932. The Poles built their own "miracle city" of Gdynia, diverted much of their trade to it. Danzig, ninety-five per cent German in population, gave the Nazis their first majority in the 1933 elections—thirty-eight seats out of the total seventy-two. Since this was not the three-quarter majority needed to alter the constitution, the Nazis voted dissolution of the Diet in February, 1935, and in the May elections placed forty-three members. They "suspended" the opposition or forced it to accept "guest membership." The Diet now votes as 70 Nazis, 2 Poles.

Third Term For Roosevelt?

This observer does not believe the President will defy tradition for the sake of extension of power

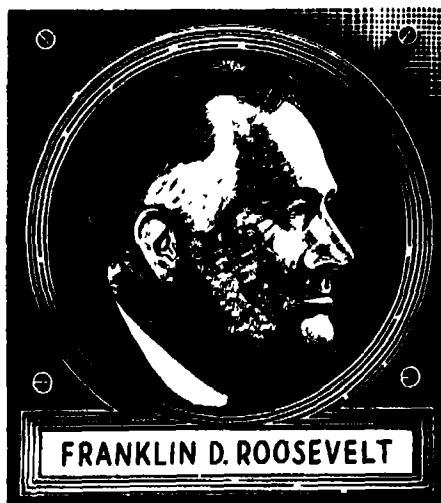
RAYMOND CLAPPER

THE urge to power and glory, more familiarly known as the Napoleonic complex, is an overwhelming thing when it takes hold of a man who has risen high in public affairs. In our time we have seen it degenerate abroad in several instances into a lust that knows no bounds. Only recently we have seen Hitler and Stalin seeking to entrench their regimes by every ruthless means. We have seen men who had been their old comrades put out of the way by execution, assassination or exile because they were feared as actual or potential obstacles to perpetuation in power. Modern history reeks with this lust of leaders for power.

Does not this, then, make it all the more remarkable that, of the thirty-two men who have held the office of President of the United States and exercised its great power, only one—Grant—definitely sought a third elective term? Add in Theodore Roosevelt, who, although he refused almost certain re-election in 1908, did seek the Presidency in 1912, and the record still stands as an inspiring example of self-restraint and respect for the deep instincts of the American people.

Repeatedly, American presidents, having tasted the exhilarating nectar of great power, have voluntarily forsworn it, returning to private life willingly, often without even seeking to continue their power indirectly through successors of their own selection. There is something in this aspect of our history that comes forward especially now to buttress one's faith.

As a people we always have been alert to the dangers of excessive power. The founding fathers were as alert as are the American people today. Much of the discussion in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 concerned ways and means of checking undue power. In this the question of presidential tenure figured

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

conspicuously; it was one of the most difficult questions before the convention.

Discussion began on the fourth day of the convention, as between the Randolph plan for a one-term president and the Pinckney plan leaving the incumbent re-eligible. The convention reversed itself a number of times. Once it agreed upon a term of seven years, with the question of re-eligibility left open. Then the term was reduced to six years and an amendment providing that no president should serve more than six in any twelve years was rejected. Some days later the term was changed back to seven years with no re-election. Washington voted against this. Several other changes were made. Finally, two days before final adjournment, the four year term was adopted with no restriction concerning re-election.

Throughout all this reversing and revising the method of election was a companion question, the convention shifting back and forth from election by Congress to election by an electoral college. Members were influenced by fear of monarchy, by fear that a president might entrench himself in office indefinitely, by fear of making him totally subservient to the legislature, by fear of making him too powerful, and finally by fear of cutting off prematurely the services of a competent chief executive. The effort was to strike a safe balance between the extremes, but differences of view were so great that the Constitutional Convention left behind it no binding action nor governing tradition regarding the number of years a chief executive should serve.

Although Thomas Jefferson was a strong advocate of rotation in office, Washington appears to have had no decided feeling on the subject of restricted tenure. Indeed, he is recorded in a letter to Lafayette as differing from Jefferson about rotation in the presidency. It did not seem wise to him to preclude the services of any man "who in some great emergency shall be deemed universally most capable of serving the public." His own retirement at the end of his second term was prompted by personal desire to be relieved of the burdens of public office. He indicated in his Farewell Address that he had wished to retire at the end of his first term; international conditions caused him to continue in office. Popular sentiment was such that Washington probably could have been re-elected for a third term. But he insisted upon going back to Mount Vernon.

If the two-term practice thus begun by Washington was the outgrowth of personal and accidental considerations, Jefferson undertook to fix it as a matter of policy and governmental philosophy. On record time and again in favor of rotation in office, as a general principle applicable not only to the presidency but generally, Jefferson announced immediately after his second inauguration that he would not be a candidate to succeed himself again. Despite this, a third-term movement developed two years later and legislatures of five states urged him to become a third-term candidate. Jef-

The Case For a Third Term

By

SENATOR JOSEPH F. GUFFEY of Pennsylvania

(Self-styled "100 per cent pro-Roosevelt New Deal Democrat," in a recent radio address before the National Radio Forum, Washington, D. C.)

THROUGH the country the tide for the third term has set in. Now it is running strongly. It is irresistible and will calmly push back all the King Canutes of big business and fat banking who try to order it not to obey the laws which govern the political universe.

I am a life-long Democrat and I want the Democratic party to win the next election. It is the liberal group, the non-party group, the group represented by men like Harold Ickes and Senator George Norris, which will hold the balance of power in 1940. So, as Democrats, we must pay attention when they say that Roosevelt is the only man who commands their enthusiasm and enlists their support.

I'm for Roosevelt as a Democrat because it's the way to win the next election, hands down; no "ifs," "ands" or "buts," no alibis and no double-crossing. As a lifelong member of the Democratic party, I want my party to win. I'm for Roosevelt as a practical politician because anti-third term talk is bad politics. A quarter of the Senate has served more than two terms, and another quarter of the Senators are serving their second term and hoping for a third. Three-fourths of the members of the House of Representatives are in the same position, and, of course, we appoint our judges to serve all their lives. That's all right. I believe in experience.

I'm for a third term for Roosevelt because I am a liberal and I believe in democracy. The judges and the lawyers cheated the people out of President Roosevelt's first term. The ingrates and the middle-of-the-roaders robbed the people of President Roosevelt's second term.

If the Tory politicians and the big business magnates succeed in bamboozling the American people for a third term, in 1940, then there's going to be an upheaval which will sweep away all politicians and all big business. I don't kid myself that the American people love their politicians. As I study the election returns, I see the American people getting sick and tired of political machines and political wire-pulling.

If the people are short-changed again by politicians in 1940, then there won't be any 1944, politically speaking. There will be dictatorship or civil war to take the place of shell-game elections between a Republican Tweedledum and a Democratic Tweedledee, or perhaps I should say between a Republican Tweedledum and a Democratic Tweedle-dumber.

I'm for Roosevelt for a third term in 1940, as an American, because I know what he has done to save America, our people, our peace, our free institutions and our faith in God and man. When the worst that can be said of Roosevelt's W.P.A. is that perhaps the New Deal relief system gave hard-working, decent Americans jobs which could have been done cheaper by machinery or by sweated labor, then I know that Roosevelt has been everlastingly right and that the opposition has been and is everlastingly cheap, timid, mean-spirited and small of soul.

And I know that the love and the trust of millions of loyal Americans for that stout-hearted, loyal man in the White House is a national asset worth countless billions of dollars. For if we do not despair of the Republic we can face any calamity which may befall us. But if we lose our trust in each other, our faith in democracy, we have nothing left but brute force and brute necessity to hold our society together.

That's a job for a butcher, not one for a free man. And if the Tories and the ingrates succeed in breaking the people's faith in Roosevelt, I tell you that America, as we know and love it, will be done for.

In these times of real danger to America, danger from within and from without, we need a real leader, someone who can really represent our democratic will to survive. And we know that we have such a leader in the White House now—Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

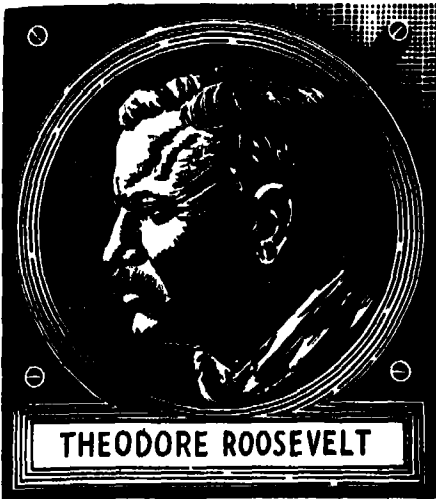
ferson addressed a letter to the Vermont legislature, December 10, 1807, which is the documentary foundation of the two-term tradition. Jefferson said:

"That I should lay down my charge at a proper period is as much a duty as to have borne it faithfully. If some termination to the services of the chief magistrate be not fixed by the Constitution, or supplied by practice, his office, nominally four years, will in fact become for life, and history shows how easily that degenerates into inheritance. Believing that a representative government, responsible at short periods of election, is that which produces the greatest sum of happiness to mankind, I feel it a duty to do no act which shall essentially impair that principle, and I should unwillingly be the person who, disregarding the sound precedent set by an illustrious predecessor, should furnish the first example of prolongation beyond a second term of office."

Jefferson's two successors, Madison and Monroe, protégés of his, each voluntarily retired after two terms. Thus four Presidents rooted a two-term tradition into American practice so deeply that, throughout the years, it has continued to have force amounting almost to a written constitutional provision. Jefferson believed that this precedent, so deliberately entrenched by him, made an amendment to the Constitution unnecessary. He thought it even better than his original proposal for one seven-year term.

"The practice adopted," Jefferson said, "is better, allowing continuance for eight years, with a liability to be dropped at halfway of the term, making that a period of probation."

Jefferson passed on, but soon another leader was to pick up his tradition and drive it even more deeply into the American mind. For after Monroe, and after one term by John Quincy Adams, came Andrew Jackson. In his very first annual message, Jackson recommended direct election of the president and abolition of the electoral college coupled with a single term limitation of either four or six years. Year after year, in his annual messages, Jackson renewed this recommendation. Though loyal friends would have had him run for a third term, he refused. But Jackson picked his successor, Martin Van Buren, as Jefferson picked Madison and thus, in a sense,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

saw his influence upon the affairs of the national government continue to some extent by remote control.

After Jackson, it was to be many years before the third term question recurred, for there was a succession of one-termers until Lincoln, whose assassination early in his second term removed occasion for discussion of the matter. Following Andrew Johnson's ill-fated portion of a term came the election of Grant, the only man in our history who actively has sought a third elective term.

Half-way in Grant's second term, word began to circulate that he wanted to run again. His own party rebelled. The Republican state convention in Pennsylvania adopted resolutions expressing strong opposition to a third term for any man. That incensed Grant into writing a historic letter. He said he did not want a third term any more than he wanted the first, but he pointed out that there was no two-term restriction in the Constitution. He did say that he would not accept the nomination "unless it should come under such circumstances as to make it an imperative duty—circumstances not likely to arise." The letter was generally interpreted as giving his supporters latitude to insist upon Grant making the sacrifice.

But the whole affair was ended when Congress reassembled. The House adopted the famous Springer resolution stating the sense of the House as follows: "Resolved, that, in the opinion of this House, the precedent established by Washington and other presidents of the United States, in retiring from the presidential office after their second term, has become, by universal concurrence, a part of our Republican system of government, and that any departure from this time-honored custom would be unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions."

The language has become historic, as will appear in a moment. The House adopted the resolution 234 to 18, with 38 not voting. Garfield, later to be President, voted for it. Of the eighty-eight Republicans of Grant's own party who participated in the vote, seventy were recorded for the resolution. Talk of Grant for a third term was heard no more for several years. But it was revived after his successor, Hayes, had announced that he would not run for a second term. Many of those who earlier had opposed a third term for Grant now offered no objection to his returning after four years out of office. However, the third term argument still carried such great force that the Grant candidacy, although holding the lead for thirty-five roll-calls in

CALVIN COOLIDGE

balloting at the Republican national convention, was finally broken and Garfield was nominated.

This would have seemed to clinch the two-term tradition. A few years later Cleveland, in accepting his first nomination, made a guarded statement expressing concern over the temptation that eligibility for reelection held out to presidents in use of patronage and other powers, "the most serious danger to that calm, deliberate and intelligent action which must characterize a government by the people." But he did run for a second term, and being defeated once, returned four years later, the only President to return to the White House after four years out of office.

Next to renounce more than eight years in office was McKinley. Three months after his second inauguration, and shortly before his assassination, McKinley took cognizance of third term talk by issuing a statement which said: "I regret that the suggestion of a third term has been made . . . I will say now, once for all, expressing a long-settled conviction, that I not only am not, and will not be a candidate for a third term, but would not accept a nomination for it if it were tendered me."

It is idle to speculate on whether McKinley, had he lived, could have been elected for a third term. The important point is that he moved early to remove himself with finality from consideration, as had a number of his predecessors.

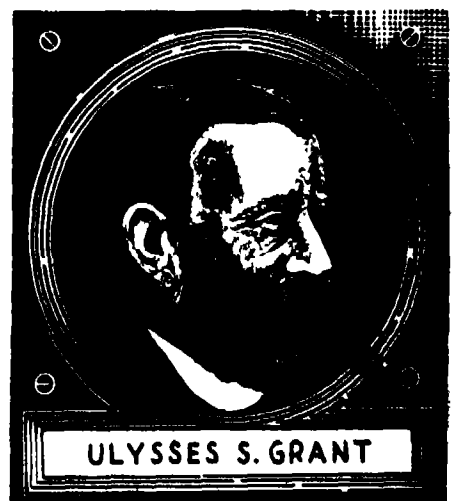
Even the impetuous, precedent-breaking Theodore Roosevelt remained for a long time under the spell of our number one political tradition. McKinley had served only six months of his second term when he was cut down by an assassin's bullet. Theodore Roosevelt thus served almost the complete term. Yet on the night he was elected President in his own right, he issued a statement to the country which ended as follows:

"On the 4th of March next I shall have served three and a half years, and that three and a half years constitutes my first term. The wise custom which limits the president to two terms regards the substance and not the form, and under no circumstances will I be a candidate for or accept another nomination."

Nevertheless, pressure for another term developed. But Theodore Roosevelt remained firm. He wrote to a friendly editor: "You are authorized to state that I will not again be a candidate for the office of President of the United States. There are no strings to this statement. I mean it."

At Roosevelt's insistence, William Howard Taft was nominated.

Up to this point in the nation's

ULYSSES S. GRANT

Goldberg—*New York Sun*

history, no man except Grant had permitted himself to be considered for more than eight years of service. However, Theodore Roosevelt became so embittered toward his own hand-picked successor that he disregarded his earlier pledges not to seek the presidency again, saying they had no application whatever to the candidacy of a man who was not in office, whether he had or had not been president before. While the tradition against a third term played a part in the campaign of 1912, the result was not decisive because the Republican vote was split between Roosevelt and Taft.

Woodrow Wilson, in that election, ran upon a Democratic platform which favored a single presidential term and pledged the candidate to urge a constitutional amendment to that effect. But Wilson did not really believe in the proposition and ignored it. Toward the end of his second term there were many rumors that he desired renomination in order to carry his League of Nations fight into the election. Notes written by Senator Carter Glass in 1920 and published in a recent biography of him by his secretary, Rixey Smith, quoted several intimates of Wilson as saying that the President wanted to run for re-election. As he was a very ill man during that period, Wilson was not seriously considered even by strong partisans. His friends sought to discourage the idea. All circumstances considered, the incident has little historical significance. Wilson was too feeble to have undertaken the campaign and there is no indication that he did anything more than talk to bedside companions about running.

As has frequently been the case with popular presidents, or those whose administrations have been marked by prosperity, Coolidge was urged to run again at the expiration of his elected term. He took occasion, about a year before the Republican nominating convention and on the fourth anniversary of his succession following the death of Harding, to make his cryptic statement: "I do not choose to run for President in 1928."

His strong partisans refused to accept this statement as final and continued to agitate for his nomination. Finally Senator Robert M. La-Follette offered in the Senate a reincarnation of the old Springer resolution which had been adopted in the House to stop a third term for Grant. The language was identical. The Senate, on February 10, 1928, adopted it fifty-six to twenty-six. Counting pairs and announcements of position, forty Democratic senators were recorded against a third term. Only four refused to deplore it. Republican senators divided, twenty for the resolution and twenty-four against it.

That vote found the present Republican leader of the Senate, McNary of Oregon, against the resolution and the present Democratic leader, Barkley of Kentucky, for it.

Thus the cumulative record, throughout the years, erects a forbidding barrier against a third term. It is a barrier to give pause to any president under any circumstances. The Senate vote against Coolidge for a third term is especially significant because it was directed at a man whose first term was less than four years, who had shown no itch for power, who had been restrained in his conduct of his office, whose Administration was then enjoying the prestige of exceptional national prosperity, and who had himself stated that he did not choose to run again.

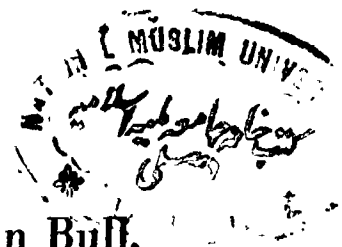
Those presidents who made clear their positions usually have done so long in advance. Jefferson spoke immediately after his second inauguration, McKinley three months after his, and Theodore Roosevelt on the night he was elected to his second term. Coolidge spoke a year in advance of the conventions.

Franklin D. Roosevelt's most specific utterance on the subject of his future plans was made in his address at the Democratic Victory Dinner on March 4, 1937, a few weeks after the beginning of his second term. He said:

"My great ambition on January 20, 1941, is to turn over the desk and chair in the White House to my successor, whoever he may be, with the assurance that I am at the same time turning over to him, as President, a nation intact, a nation at peace, a nation prosperous, a nation clear in the knowledge of what power it has to serve its own citizens."

Later in an authorized interview he said he had no third-term ambition. He has told callers that he expected to return to Hyde Park when his present term was over. But he

(Continued on page 55)

Japan *vs.* England

Though moving toward a showdown with John Bull, Japan is reluctant to force the issue with United States

HALLETT ABEND

DURING the last few months, Empire-bent Japan has furnished two dramatic illustrations that her long campaign of "Asia for the Asiatics" is moving out of the talking stage. In March she seized French-owned, strategically located Spratly Islands in the South China Sea. In June she established a blockade of the British-dominated foreign concessions at Tientsin. Electrified barbed-wire was run around the foreign areas, Chinese who tried to smuggle in food were shot, Britons were searched and humiliated, and it appeared that a *casus belli* was in the making.

Although Japan claimed that the blockade was caused by British failure to surrender four Chinese described as anti-Japanese "terrorists," tension between Britain and Japan has existed ever since the undeclared war against China broke out more than two years ago. Japan protests that the British encourage anti-Japanese propaganda in schools and on the air, that Communists are harbored in the foreign concessions, that concession trade is carried on in Chinese currency, that, in short, England has thrown sand into the Japanese machinery of war.

It was not until June 28—exactly two weeks after she ran her ring around the Tientsin concession—that Japan announced her willingness to discuss the dispute with the British in Tokyo.

IF American interest in foreign affairs were not concentrated on the struggle in Europe between the democracies and the totalitarian states, the challenge Japan has flung at Great Britain in the Orient would be realized for what it is—an amazing piece of daring and effrontery and an example of the new way power politics is being played in the world today.

Think back five years, or even two years, and try to imagine the gravity of the crisis which would have developed overnight had the soldiers of any foreign power presumed to strip and search British men and women, and then slap them in the face. Imagine what, until last September's "Munich crisis," would have been the result if alien soldiers had fired upon British ships—if a foreign general had insultingly refused to receive a courtesy call from a British general.

And yet these things have been occurring in Tientsin, in China, since June 14, with no British reaction except formal protests and reiterated hopes from the British government that the affair could be settled by negotiation as a "local issue."

Japan has dared to do these things, to blockade the British Concession at Tientsin, to surround it with arrogant sentries and a web of charged electric wires, only because Italy and Germany—her partners in the anti-Comintern Axis—have been threatening to upset the peace of Europe. It is out of the question for Britain to send warships, airplanes or soldiers to China while the safety of the North Sea and the Mediterranean are in doubt.

Japan cleverly antagonizes only one of the great neutral powers at a time. Her stand in the Tientsin affair is entirely inconsistent, for she declared at the opening of British-Japanese parleys in Tokyo over the Tientsin affair and allied subjects that it is only Britain's aid to China which is enabling General Chiang Kai-shek to continue his war of resistance against the Japanese invaders.

American aid to China has been as great as that from Britain, but at the moment Japan does not wish to antagonize the United States. Hence, she takes the illogical stand that Britain, by helping China, is stupidly or intentionally playing Russia's game of weakening Japan by forcing her to spill blood and treasure upon a thousand Chinese battlefields.

American aid to China bewilders the Japanese leaders, but British aid infuriates them. They envision American policy as being inspired largely by sentimental sympathy for the underdog. They believe British policy is coldly calculating, even sly.

"American world policy has always favored the existence of one strong, stabilizing power in the Far East," one eminent Japanese diplomat said to me. "But does Washington not realize that if Japan crashes there will be no first class power in East Asia except Soviet Russia? That would be a grave peril to world politics, regardless of what one's opinion may be concerning Communism or Russia's political organization. China, of course, will be a ruin for a long time, so far as becoming a great power is concerned, even if the war were to end today."

This same diplomat told me it was the belief of his government that England, probably without being aware of the fact, is being used as Russia's catspaw in the China conflict.

"It is Russia's considered policy to prolong this undeclared war by every possible means. Russia hopes to see it end with a ruined Japan and with a sovietized China. But Russia does not mourn over the fact that prolonging hostilities is ruining China too, for that would leave the Soviet the undisputed giant of all Asia. Consider carefully the fact that Russia is today

the only country in the world which is smiling over the hostilities between Japan and China. All the other nations are either deeply worried about their trade and other interests in China, or else are merely sympathetic because of the vast human misery which the conflict entails."

This same informant expressed the conviction, also held by the government at Tokyo, that, if Japan were to withdraw from China immediately, the Chinese people and government would immediately revert to basic anti-foreignism. "And you would see," he concluded, "that they would be anti-British first of all, anti-American second, anti-French third, and anti-Soviet last of all."

Japanese leaders all believe that, if by any unimaginable turn of fate China should win this war, there would be nothing left for anybody in East Asia. But they are actually too confident to admit even a remote possibility that Japan will not emerge from the struggle a complete and decisive victor. That is why they call British policy "contradictory"; they fail to see that Britain probably envisages a Japanese defeat.

"England is so foolish and shortsighted," a prominent Japanese said to me. "She tries to prolong the war, hoping thereby to safeguard her interests in China, and eventually to expand them greatly. But if this policy is continued Britain will simply lose all she has out here, for Japan will certainly win. Young and vigorous nations cannot lose—old nations eventually must. Britain should try to stop the war and thereby save what is left to her out here. Naturally British interests, having been predominant in China, have suffered. We Japanese have an ancient proverb: when the wind blows strongly the tallest trees must either bend or break. So far England has shown no signs of being willing to bend."

There is no doubt that the Japanese are now strongly, even violently, anti-British in thought and feeling. And this bias has deep historical roots—a fact which is made plain when a Japanese is asked why Japan harbors such deep resentment over British loans to China, whereas American loans and credits to the Chungking regime apparently arouse little or no Japanese hostility.

"Why has the American credit of U. S. $25,000,000 to China not angered Japan," I asked, "while Britain's loan of £5,000,000 almost exactly the same sum, has aroused a storm of anti-British denunciations?"

The reply was that America's whole attitude had been "fundamentally different," not only since the beginning of hostilities in China in July 1937, but for many years before that now historic event.

Since the outbreak of this undeclared war, the Japanese say, the attitude of the American Navy in the Far East has been impeccably correct. Not that our Admiral of the Asiatic Fleet, Harry E. Yarnell, has been soft with the Japanese. Quite the reverse is true. Admiral Yarnell, from the first, has been stern and unyielding when American interests are concerned. But he has been just and fair, in the view of the Japanese, whereas they accuse the British Navy of being prejudiced, peevish in its attitude, and, time and again, of adopting a pose of superiority.

It is not a coincidence that Japan settled promptly and in full, without a quibble, for the sinking of the *U.S.S. Panay*, whereas thus far not a penny of settlement has ever been made for the loss of life and damage on *H.M.S. Ladybird*, which was shelled from shore at Wuhu on the day the *Panay* was sunk—in mid-December 1937.

One important Japanese spokesman phrased the situation to me in this fashion: "The policies of the British and American Navies have been absolutely different from the very start. The American Navy realizes that, whether wisely or unwisely, a big war is going on, and that shells and shrapnel might reach rash or careless bystanders. But the British attitude is different. They insist that, since there has been no formal declaration of war, they can go anywhere at any time, and when their ships sustain casualties or damage, the British Lion emits a frightful roar.

"The temper and temperaments of the American and British governments and public are basically different. Even when the *Panay* was sunk by a Japanese bomber there was no discussion of active reprisals; instead, members of Congress, newspapers and many prominent leaders advocated the withdrawal of all Americans from the vicinity of hostilities."

Japanese friendship for America goes farther and deeper than reason would justify. The Japanese still recall with bitterness the fact that England withdrew from the Anglo-Japanese Alliance at the Washington Conference of 1921-22, although Japan had been an irreproachably loyal ally of Britain during the World War. Japan was in difficulties when this pact was cancelled, and considered herself distinctly let down. Actually, however, the Washington Conference was called by President Harding and Secretary of State Hughes, and although the initial secret suggestion for it came from Downing Street, America's main aims at that time, aside from naval reduction, were to divorce Japan and Britain and to oust Japan from Shantung province in China, where, under the Treaty of Versailles, she had gained what was considered a dangerous foothold. Yet, paradoxically enough, Japan nourishes no ill will toward America for this stroke of diplomacy.

Japanese believe that the British have studied and understand China thoroughly but have not bothered to understand Japanese psychology. In support of this charge they cite the number and tone of British protests

New York Times

to Japan, and the fact that these protests are often made without previous inquiry into the facts and possible justification of Japanese acts.

For instance, after the Japanese resumed traffic on the Shanghai-Nanking Railway, in which British bondholders have a very large interest, all station signs carrying the names of towns and cities in English and in Chinese were torn down and were replaced by signs giving only the Japanese names—and in Japanese characters.

The British protest was loud and violent. Here, they said, was a flagrant anti-British act, and an attempt to Japonize China. But as a matter of fact the old signs had been torn down because they could be read by Chinese terrorists and guerrillas who might travel on the trains in disguise and make notes on distances from various towns and cities to bridges and tunnels which might be dynamited. When the Japanese deigned to explain, which was not immediately, the British were mollified.

British and other foreign investors in Chinese government-owned railways are now feeling somewhat easier in their minds, for they have been reassured that, even though these railways are being taken over by Japanese-controlled companies, foreign investors in them eventually will be protected. But this must await the conclusion of hostilities. I learn, indirectly, that whatever Chinese government finally evolves from the present chaos will, under the ultimate peace settlement, be obligated to pay Japan for railway damages and losses, and that although title to these railways will be vested in Japanese companies, Japan will reimburse foreign bondholders and creditors from the payments she expects to receive from the Chinese government of the future. This unique arrangement probably will be based upon the unique argument that China started the war, and forced the fighting, and that the destruction of railways was merely due to the fact that Japan had to take up the challenge.

Japan professes to desire perfect independence for China. She declares that, among other aims behind the current hostilities, is her determination to free China from her "semi-colonial" status in relation to the Western powers.

This "semi-colonial" argument is based upon the fact that the Chinese Maritime Customs is heavily staffed with foreigners of many nationalities, with a Briton always in the post of Inspector-General, and a majority of the Customs Commissioners at various ports being British. To this the Japanese add the continuance of extraterritoriality privileges possessed by Occidental nations in China, and foreign control of the Shanghai Municipal Council. The continued existence of the International Settlement at Shanghai, and of various concession areas, is also listed as evidence of China's partial subjugation, as is the fact that many key positions in the Chinese Posts are held by foreigners, mostly French.

Here the historical roots of Japan's fundamental anti-British attitude come to the surface. Japanese leaders complain that British control of the Maritime Customs has brought about a condition under which "other than British trade with China has existed merely on sufferance." They make no charges of illegal activities

STATEMENT *issued by the Japanese War Office before the opening of the British-Japanese conference at Tokyo to discuss the recent clash at Tientsin and associated questions:* "The ultimate question is Britain's attitude toward the China incident and her recognition of the actual situation. . . . The hostile attitude of the British authorities at Tientsin only reflects the British policy of assisting Chiang Kai-shek . . . . The army only asks that Britain change her hostile policy and cooperate with Japan for the construction of the New Order [in China]."

Subsequent statement by Colonel Moriaki Shimizu, director of the Japanese Army Information Bureau, as the Chinese-Japanese War entered its third year: "Japan and Britain were destined to become enemies the day the British-Japanese Alliance was abolished. [It was superseded by the Four-Power Pacific Treaty drawn up at the Washington Conference in 1921-22.] . . . .

"Even if British assistance to Chiang Kai-shek should end immediately, no one could guarantee that those who lost brothers, fathers or husbands on the China front would be able to change their feeling.

"Never in history have the Japanese people borne in their hearts such hatred for Britain as exists today."

on the part of Britons in the Customs service, but complain that the official languages of the Customs have always been English and Chinese, as they have always been in the International Settlement at Shanghai, and that, at all the open ports in China, the two posts of most dignity, and usually the two buildings of most prominence, have been those of the British consular service and the Customs Commissioner.

"America's basic policy in the Far East, the Open Door and equal opportunity in China, actually have been dependent upon permission of the British for their partial functioning," said one Japanese diplomat to me, with considerable bitterness.

Unquestionably Japan is now bent upon redressing wrongs and slights, real or imagined, suffered at the hands of Great Britain in China for many years past. Japanese in the Customs service have had their status and pay raised; Customs import forms may now be filled out in the Japanese language, and in the International Settlement at Shanghai Japanese members of the police force have recently enjoyed a substantial raise in pay and in status, though even so, they do not yet receive full equality of treatment with the police force of the white races.

If representative Japanese spokesmen are asked frankly if they do not envision at least half a century more of "semi-colonial status" for China, but with Japan acting as the guiding and dominant power, they are apt to reply: "By no means. That would be possible only if we kept our Army in China, and such a thing is impossible if China is to be our friend. We envision China as friendly but enjoying complete independence."

And yet, General Itagaki, Japanese Minister of War, last winter told the Diet that Manchukuo and China, in future, probably would permanently garrison most of Japan's regular Army.

To the question whether Japan plans on including in eventual peace terms a demand that China conclude a mutual defense pact, similar to that under which Japan can send to or keep within Manchukuo any number of troops her General Staff deems necessary, the Japanese reply nearly always is in the negative. However, it is coupled with the definite assertion that China must join the Tokyo-Berlin-Rome anti-Comintern axis.

Japanese leaders are under no illusions as to the difficulty of winning the friendliness of the masses of the Chinese people. They themselves say, and firmly believe, that the Chinese, as a race, lack patriotism, in the sense in which patriotism is cherished and honored by Japan and the

Western world. The Chinese fight, they say, not because of love for their own country, but because of hatred for their enemies, and for aliens in general.

One of the most unusual phases of this undeclared war is the fact that the Japanese do not seem to hate the Chinese people. The Chinese hate the Japanese; of that there can be no doubt. And it is not to be wondered at, in view of the widespread bombing and destruction of Chinese cities, and the fact that upward of thirty million people have been forced to abandon their homes and farms as the lines of battle have been pushed steadily inland.

Even during the first weeks of the fighting, late in the summer of 1937, Japanese civilians were literally torn to pieces by frenzied Chinese mobs in Shanghai's foreign-controlled areas, and no doubt it would be a grim fate that would befall any Japanese who was set down unprotected in any inland Chinese city today.

Yet even now, after more than two years of warfare, nearly eighteen thousand Chinese civilians continue to reside in Japan. They are not only not molested, but they have no passports, are subject to fewer police regulations than are other aliens, and do not suffer even the suggestion of a business boycott. Most of these Chinese in Japan are shopkeepers, restaurant owners, tailors and barbers. The Chinese restaurants, serving Chinese food, do a roaring business.

Nagasaki, a city of about 250,000 population, offers a good illustration of the way Chinese are treated in Japan today. This seaport, the closest major Japanese city to the China coast, is only twenty-seven hours from Shanghai by express steamer. More than five hundred Chinese civilians reside peacefully in Nagasaki. They have their own schools for their children, and the Chinese and Japanese schools hold friendly athletic meets. They also have their own Chinese Buddhist temples at Nagasaki, and two of them are of such antiquity and architectural beauty that they have been listed with Japan's "national treasures," and enjoy protection and a measure of financial support from the government.

In Osaka, where there is a large Chinese colony, the Bank of China branch continues to operate without

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Silver's Last Stand

Silver's end is in sight when it becomes a mere article of political trading, says this expert

SRINIVAS WAGEL

Economist and author of several volumes on banking and currency.

S : has ever been spectacular. The recent exploit of the silver bloc in the United States Senate which voted twice in a week with no regard to any other consideration but that of raising the price of silver, was both dramatic and instructive.

Fearful lest the Treasury lower the price of domestic silver, the silver bloc, on June 26, made a trade with senators who were against renewing the President's authority to devalue the dollar, voted against the Administration money bill and had the price of domestic silver bought by the Treasury raised from 64.64 cents to 77.57 cents an ounce. On June 30, after further negotiations and an assurance of 71.11 cents for domestic silver, most of the bloc was ready to vote to renew the authority of the President, as he requested. The bill passed by the Senate on June 26 prohibited the further purchase of foreign silver, but the bill as finally passed removed that prohibition.

So silver's latest "victory" occurred for no other reason than because the President needed the votes of the silver Senators to keep his power of devaluation. One cannot avoid the feeling that the end of silver is in sight when the silver problem becomes so plainly a mere article of political trading—and so plainly nothing else.

In earliest known times, thousands of years before the Christian era, silver was used as money along with gold. Silver coins were minted as far back as 400 B.C. In fact, from the dawn of civilization up to 1819, there was no period in which silver and gold did not jointly perform the functions of money. Even after that, up to 1872, except at certain periods within the boundaries of Great Britain, the reign of silver was universal.

But the downfall of silver, which started in 1872, was sudden, swift and complete. By 1900, the only two countries left on the silver standard were China and Abyssinia, and even these two gave up before 1936.

Senator Key Pittman of Nevada—a leader of the silver bloc.

Bimetallism was dead as a doornail in 1872. Bimetallism was a condition under which gold had a fixed value in terms of silver, and vice versa. For centuries the ratio was sixteen to one. In other words, sixteen ounces of silver were equal to one ounce of gold. Gold and silver were both legal tender for payment of debts and taxes in unlimited amounts. This ratio, although theoretically constant, did vary with the scarcity or abundance of either metal at particular periods. Sometimes gold was driven out of circulation; at other times, silver. But there was always a satisfactory adjustment.

Two important developments, the discovery of gold in California and Australia around 1850, and the advent of industrialization in the same period, were responsible for the discarding of silver and bimetallism. The wealth of the world was increasing so rapidly that silver became too small and too unsatisfactory a measure of value. Simultaneously, there was an abundance of gold, particularly when South Africa started to deluge the world with the yellow metal. The doom of silver became inevitable.

The world came on a monometallic standard, i.e., on gold.

But since the days of Cortez and Pizarro, America has supplied the world with silver. Since the latter half of the nineteenth century American corporations have controlled most of this output. Naturally, they opposed the discerning of the product on which they made a profit. That is why America alone of all countries has fought for silver; that is why, even today, we have these extraordinary exhibitions like the one in the Senate during the last week of June. The silver Senators are merely doing their chores.

Since 1872, when the world, leaving Bimetallism, turned definitely to gold—with the adoption of the gold standard by Germany in the first flush of the receipt of $1,000,000,000 indemnity from France—silver has staged a comeback three times. From 1896 to 1900, Bryan put new life into silver, electrifying the country with his "cross of gold" speech. Bimetallism might have won the day if Bryan had not been defeated for the Presidency. As happened thirty-five years later, there was then also a wasteful silver purchase; our government bought silver and coined $550,000,000 worth which people refused to take because they did not think the metal was as valuable as it was represented to be in dollars. The coins had to be stored and silver certificates issued against them. President McKinley placed a quietus on further silver agitation by definitely committing the country to gold in 1900.

The next silver revival occurred during the World War when the price

rose to $1.29, at which price one ounce of gold exchanged for 16 ounces of silver, a relationship which the bimetallists demanded as a permanent fixture. With the end of the war, and when the Hindus no longer refused to take British paper money and so relieved the Indian government of the need of making large purchases of silver for coinage, the price of silver declined rapidly.

The third attempted comeback occurred in the early years of the depression, when every crackpot scheme received respectful attention in the United States, and when the remonetization of silver was offered as a panacea for all our ills. The Thomas amendment to the Agricultural Administration Act of 1934 made mandatory silver purchases by the government a definite part of our monetary program. The theory was that an advance in silver prices always coincided with a rise in the price of commodities—the President's primary policy then being to induce higher commodity prices, especially for our farm products. Many experts considered the theory absurd and untenable—as it has since been proved; but its sponsors had the votes.

Since then we have accumulated over 2,000,000,000 ounces of silver from everywhere. The whole world, including China and India, soon started unloading on us. The silver price rose to more than 83 cents.

At an early stage, the government cut down its losses somewhat by arranging to pay a lower price for silver from foreign countries. The silverites were indignant; but they could do little to change the situation. Last year, the Administration also lowered, from 77.57 cents to 64.64 cents, the price at which domestic silver was taken by the mint. Now, however, in view of the recent action in Congress, domestic producers will receive 71.11 cents, for a short while at least.

Government purchase of silver, however, has done not a thing it was supposed to do. It did not bring prosperity to anyone, not even to the countries that produce silver. It did not raise the price of commodities. It did not help increase the money supply of the world. In fact, silver was thrown almost completely out of the monetary systems of many countries, which stopped minting silver even for token coins, making increased use of aluminum and bronze —and paper small denominations.

Our purchase of silver did effect one remarkable change. When it started, China and Abyssinia were classified as countries with silver as the standard of value. Now there is not a single country in which silver is money, or legal tender in unlimited amounts for payments of debts or taxes. Abyssinia was absorbed by Italy. And China found itself unable to stay on silver because of the very legislation that was supposed to help increase the prestige of silver as a money metal.

The purpose of our legislation was to raise the price of silver, which it did in China as in the United States. The consequence was that values of all products in China depreciated heavily—one-half to one-third of those prevailing before the passage of the law by Congress. Furthermore, everything that China imported, from cotton cloth to typewriters, doubled and trebled in value. All business was paralyzed; and so China turned to gold. So that today not a single government or people is really much interested in silver; and that includes the United States.

Only recently Senator McCarran of Nevada spoke of South America and the Orient as both silver areas—even though it is elementary that there is no silver country in the world today. However, there is a widespread misconception about the status of the Orient. Decades ago, some one set the fashion by calling India the "sink of precious metals"; and China, being a neighboring country, obtained the same reputation. However, before 1890 neither China nor India had any unusual stocks of gold or silver. But during the forty years from 1890 to 1929—when the depression began—the Orient was such a large exporter of raw materials that, in spite of heavy charges against them and profits of European entrepreneurs, there was a large balance in their favor. That had to be settled in gold and silver. It is almost comical today to note that the British forced gold on the Indian wheat farmer, who at first took it unwillingly, because there was too much gold being produced and they wished to keep it out of circulation. Few realize that India and China took silver—in those years 80 per cent of the world output—because they had to.

But there has been a fundamental change since 1929. Partly owing to competition from South America and partly because of the general slackness the world over, European purchases of Oriental raw materials have declined in the past ten years. Another unlooked for development was the industrialization of the Orient, which bought less and less from Europe and America, forcing them to sell less and less. So much so that today the balance of trade in the Orient is in favor of Europe, and India and China have been shipping precious metals to serve the balance of international payments. India has shipped more than $1,500,000,000 in gold in the past eight years.

Another new factor is that, with industrialization, and an atmosphere surcharged with nationalistic ideals, the Orientals have acquired a truer perspective about money; they want to use gold and silver to advantage and not bury it. In the past, even up to the first decade of this century, it was customary for Orientals to hoard gold and silver, or convert them into jewelry for women. They had no banks in which to deposit their money or industries to invest in. But in the past quarter of a century all that has changed. Orientals now are more eager to have machines and a higher standard of life than mere gold and silver. Hence, they have been sending out all they can lay hands on—especially as the United States has been silly enough to pay fancy prices for silver. Anyway, why should they care for gold or silver? They are not producers.

Silver is the problem of the producers, and we are the producers par excellence. American corporations own or control more than 85 per cent of the output of the white metal all over the world. It is a matter of business for them to sell it—no matter to whom. And western politicians in the Senate have been very accommodating.

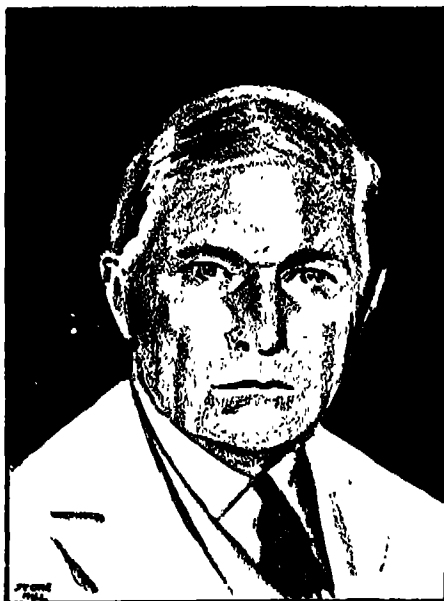
The metal-mining companies have

no interest in bimetallism—practical or theoretical; they would not want to be found dead in the same room with the crackpots who think that $1.29 an ounce for silver will save the world. The latter, nevertheless, have proved useful.

However, despite the fact that the Senate's recent decision to stop the purchase of foreign silver was rescinded a few days later, sentiment in the Senate, in business, and in banking circles is so overwhelmingly against such purchase that early reconsideration is probable. Informed persons feel certain that it is only a matter of months before our purchase of foreign silver will be stopped. If this proves true, the stoppage will be serious for mining corporations—most of them American. The output of silver in 1938 was 270,000,000 ounces; the small quantity used in the arts was more than supplied by exports from China and India. Of this total of 270,-000,000 the United States output was about 72,000,000. But, in addition, the larger American companies make and sell to our government altogether about 100,000,000 ounces of foreign silver, which they mine in Mexico, Peru, Chile, Australia and Canada.

Any decision not to buy foreign silver would have repercussions not alone on mining corporations—American and foreign—whose profits would be jeopardized, but on the foreign governments themselves. Mexico might be seriously affected as she is shipping 6,000,000 ounces a month to us and obtaining a state revenue of more than $3,000,000 annually. Although most of the producers in Mexico are United States corporations, Mexico benefits in the employment of Mexican labor and taxes paid to the state. Peru would suffer also, although not as seriously as Mexico. And so would Chile and Honduras. Canada had a silver output of about 20,000,000 ounces in 1938. Although, comparatively speaking, the loss for Canada therefore would be inconsiderable, a few of her mining companies might be seriously injured.

The crux of the situation is that there is no demand for silver, not the slightest possibility of a resuscitation of demand for it in the near future. Developments in China, India and the Orient make it unnecessary for them to import silver; if necessary they could ship more out without inconvenience. Whatever their political changes, Oriental lands are in for several decades of industrialization. The nature of their trade must change before its volume increases appreciably. And it is a matter of common knowledge that these countries, as has been said, accounted for more than 80 per cent of the unusual demand for silver in the thirty years prior to 1930.

It may, perhaps, be argued that,

Silverite Senator Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma

even if China and India are no longer markets for silver, there are other countries in the world, and richer too in the bargain. Unfortunately, all the countries in the world, including the United States, can together use, at the most, not over 50,000,000 ounces a year—both for the arts and coinage. As has already been pointed out, silver subsidiary coins have been replaced by aluminum in England, Germany and most of the rest of Europe. We ourselves could not exhaust our stock of 2,000,000,000 ounces of silver in a hundred centuries. And meanwhile silver production itself has jumped from under 100,000,000 ounces a year in 1910 to 250,000,000 ounces in 1929 and 270,000,000 ounces in 1938. The output is unpredictable because the bulk of it is by-product of other metal mining. Heavy demand for copper, zinc or lead might shoot up the volume of silver available for sale.

To be sure, researches are being conducted in an effort to find new uses for silver, chemical or industrial. So far little has come of these activities. To obtain a suitably wide market, silver would have to sell by the pound, instead of the ounce. If it sold better than copper and nickel, silver should fetch something in the neighborhood of 50 cents a pound. Who knows but that, if a great deal of use were found for silver, a future administration in Washington might dump the stock cluttering West Point cellars at a loss of 90 per cent or more, and be glad to get rid of it? Who knows but that mining companies might then object to government competition with business, which would tend to reduce the value of their current output?

Yet, in spite of its basically poor prospects, silver will continue to be the football of politics for quite a while. The so-called silver states of Nevada, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Idaho, Montana and Washington have, under our Constitution, sixteen Senators; in other words, less than 3 per cent of the population has a representation of 16.66 per cent in the Senate. Poor and sparsely populated as these states are, the comparatively small value of their silver output looms large in their eyes. It means a living for many of these Senators' constituents. Backed by the mining companies, and by other constituents in their States, the silver Senators have a formidable nuisance value. When there is a close vote on measures in the Senate, they can make their power felt very heavily indeed, and they can always filibuster at inconvenient times. There is no question of conscience or morals in it. Their philosophy is that, first and foremost, they represent their constituents.

They will watch every opportunity to make a comeback and mulct the taxpayers again—assuming that no further purchases of silver, domestic or foreign, are made, say, after 1940—which is likely, in view of public sentiment. However, they are growing weaker as the years go by. They can no longer revive bimetallism or convince the public that silver will save the world. They have no base to start from, as the Orient, by simply ignoring silver, has cut the ground from under their feet. Europe or South America will hardly listen to them, or participate in a monetary conference in which silver enters as a factor. Back of all their efforts, the idea will persist that they are merely salesmen of a commodity for which there is no demand.

Even so, the silver Senators and

(Continued on page 62)

Waging War With Words

The international short-wave propaganda battle has a new and important participant—Uncle Sam

EDWIN MULLER

TODAY the radio broadcasting stations of Europe are being fortified with bombproof concrete and anti-aircraft guns. For the nations have come to realize that missiles fired from radio transmitters are as destructive as high explosives.

Propaganda, of course, has long been used in war. In the Middle Ages scrolls were wrapped around arrows and fired into beleaguered castles. During the American Revolution we circulated handbills in the British trenches offering each grenadier $7 a month and a good farm to desert. But not until the World War was propaganda systematically used.

When American troops moved up to the front in July 1918, the Germans opposite began to fight with suddenly increased fury. Soon, from captives, the Americans learned the reason. German officers had been telling their men that American soldiers invariably killed their prisoners. Intelligence got busy and soon little balloons went drifting out across the German lines. At intervals leaflets fluttered down. Printed in German, A.E.F. Order 106 was quoted, prescribing that all prisoners should have humane treatment. Then followed the typical fare served to prisoners—beef, white bread, beans, and butter. The effect on German soldiers, who had been drawing in their belts through four long years of war, was immediate. At different points along the front Germans appeared, their hands in the air: "*Kamerad.*" As they were marched to the rear each produced his leaflet, pointed urgently to "beef, white bread, beans- -" And they were duly served.

This marked an advanced stage of the battle of words. At first the Allies had used trench mortars to fire pamphlets into the opposite trenches. But that was psychologically unsound. A soldier sprayed with old iron at one moment is not in a receptive state of mind to literature delivered by the same weapon at the next. Nor

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Asked by CURRENT HISTORY *for some information about himself, Mr. Muller sent the following:*

Born in Louisville, Kentucky. Father a clergyman. Lived in Kentucky until I went to college—Princeton. Was in business for ten years and did fairly well though nothing to boast of. Have been a writer (I sometimes think) for about five years. Like to climb mountains and have managed to get up a good many in different parts of the world. Fell off one once but my guide held me on the rope and asked me please not to do it again.

Have one wife, one son, and one puppy--all of the best quality. Live in Kent, Connecticut. Hope to go on writing and climbing mountains. Author of *They Climbed the Alps.*

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were airplanes satisfactory, for the Germans began to hang every pilot taken prisoner with pamphlets in his plane. The use of propaganda was more nearly unforgivable than any other method of war-making.

At last the Allies settled on free balloons carrying bundles of pamphlets which were released by fuses. This method spread to all fronts and was used by both sides.

The best results came when leaflets could be delivered to solitary German sentries or to soldiers in small groups. If they fell among large groups the men would be likely to turn them in to their officers, as there was a heavy penalty for keeping them. However, toward the end of the war a surprising proportion of the prisoners captured had pamphlets in their possession.

British propaganda was directed by Lord Northcliffe. The brilliant journalist built a large staff of writers who made a thorough study of the German people—their psychology, what they read, how they could best be appealed to. At the front prisoners were questioned sympathetically by members of the staff who had lived in Germany, who could talk to them about their homes and their families.

The leaflets were simple and direct. "Don't be slaves of the Junkers and the Hohenzollerns. The Allies have no hatred for the German people. The war may go on for years if you continue to follow your selfish leaders. Your families are starving at home; the best way for you to help them is to lay down your arms."

One pamphlet showed a photograph of a German just captured, thin and ragged and worn, and another of the same man two months later, contented and grinning. That leaflet made a great impression on the German side. Sometimes the Allies sent over postal cards which the German soldier could mail to his family after he was captured, telling them that he was safe and well.

Through their spy service, the British got the names of 150 U-boats that had been sunk, with the lists of officers and men of each. These lists, suppressed in Germany, were circulated widely in the home ports of the U-boats, breaking down the morale of the crews.

The Germans, too, tried their hand. They prepared for the first American Negro troops at the front a breezy little pamphlet beginning: "Hello, boys, what are you-all doing over here?" It urged them to abandon a country that specialized in lynchings and Jim Crow cars and promised that the Germans would give all Negroes in the United States equality with white men. But, because of a shift in the wind, the balloons landed in a section occupied by French poilus.

Most of the Germans' propaganda, less skilful than that of the Allies, was a defense of their methods of war. One leaflet bore a photograph of a jovial German soldier feeding a fat and contented Belgian baby which he held on his knee. Another told of a woman holding a baby who appeared at the rail of an English freighter, about to be sunk by a U-boat. The

humane U-boat commander, unwilling to war on women and children, brought his craft up to rescue them. When he was alongside, the "woman" threw the "baby" down on the deck of the U-boat, where it exploded, killing the chivalrous officers and all his men.

In one series of American pamphlets, showered by the hundred thousand upon German soldiers conscious of their own dwindling reserves, the number of American troops in France was represented by little black figures of soldiers. Week by week the rows increased until at last they covered the page: "1,900,000 Americans are now in France and more than ten times as many stand ready in America."

Even more effective was the statement of our war aims, directed to German civilians. The Allies had already tried this, but after the Germans got hold of the terms of Allied secret treaties agreeing on a division of German colonies and territory, it was hard to make them sound convincing.

The Americans, however, appeared to be in the war without self-interest. We stated that we wanted neither German money nor territory, that we fought to make a world in which justice would prevail. The effect of these sentiments in 1918 was immense. It is hard to say what part our propaganda played in winning the war, but Germany undoubtedly yielded sooner than she would have otherwise because her people had lost their will to fight.

But it was the revolution in Spain, recently ended, that most effectively demonstrated the present and future power of wartime propaganda—particularly by radio. When a town was captured, the first soldiers to enter raced for the radio station, engineers rushed to repair any damage done by the retreating enemy, and the conquerors began to broadcast almost before the last of the defenders had been dislodged. The first program was a "welcome home," a paean of thanksgivings by the inhabitants that the brave Nationalists (or Loyalists, as the case might be) had taken possession of this town that had so longed for their coming. Usually the mayor made the address—with a bayonet at his back to see that he didn't mumble his words.

Nebelspalter, Zurich

Propagandist Goebbels

To confuse the defending forces a transmitter behind the attacking lines would pretend to be the local station and make false news announcements. Sometimes spies inside the town would raid the station, hurriedly make false announcements, then smash the works and flee.

Loud-speakers in the front lines continually shouted invitations to the enemy to mutiny, to desert. Back of the lines, listening to the other side had to be done with great secrecy. When Franco's police heard a Loyalist program being received they shot to kill.

In China today the scarcity of receiving sets limits the use of radio propaganda. But the Japanese invaders have installed public loud-speakers in many of the villages and programs are broadcast regularly from Tokyo, urging on the Chinese the advantages of co-operating with the new regime. The Japanese troops, however, hold the territory so thinly that it is hard for them to watch over all the loud-speakers. Often the villagers use the enemy's facilities to listen to "stand fast" addresses from Chiang Kai-shek.

As for Hitler, he has won wars and annexed territory with propaganda alone. Austria, Sudetenland, Czecho-Slovakia, Memel—in each case the technique has been the same. First, by radio and by literature smuggled in from Germany, there is a period of build-up to win confidence. Underground organizations are created to spread propaganda. Then the people are told of the might of Germany, how smoothly everything works there, how bad are conditions everywhere else in the world. Then the propaganda becomes aggressive. The local rulers are denounced as brutal, criminal. The Fuehrer will soon take action against them. And presently the ground is prepared for the tanks and the steel helmets to move across the frontier.

With the United States, the Hitler-Goebbels peacetime propaganda concentrates its fire. Germany's newspapers contain an extraordinary volume of anti-American material, combining exhaustive research and lavish use of the imagination. Half of the front page may be devoted to a historical account of persecution of the Indians, of the Mormons or of the Mexicans. Another story describes the typical American girl as a person of easy virtue who dominates the effeminate males of her acquaintance. A favorite topic is lynching, with drawings that show the distorted features of Negroes hanged or burned at the stake, one story explaining that lynchings are a recognized form of public entertainment including bus service to the scenes.

Outside of Germany the Nazi attack on the United States centers in Latin America. There the campaign goes on every day in the year through

SHORT WAVE "BIG BERTHA"

ENGINEERS were making ready today a short wave "Big Bertha" for action against Germany and Italy in the "war" for control of the South American radio lanes. The "Big Bertha," this country's first 100 kilowatt short-wave station, is the brain child of research at the General Electric Company's plant. Scheduled for use almost a year ago, the station was torn down and reconstructed to eliminate tube defects, and will soon be ready to fire a news barrage at fascist propaganda.

A recent increase in power by a German government station "blanketed" some of the Schenectady stations' Latin American broadcasts, but the "Big Bertha" will set the pace for a new offensive on the air. Lined up in the combat are the major American short-wave operators, including General Electric, Westinghouse, National Broadcasting Company, Columbia Broadcasting and Wide World (Rockefeller Foundation) and Great Britain's B.B.C.

In the opposing camp are the government subsidized broadcasting stations of Germany, Italy and Japan. Russia, although a competitor on the European Continent, is a negligible factor in South America.

"All types of programs are broadcast," an American short-wave station executive explained, "but news is the most important factor to South American listeners." Foreign language expert announcers born in South America work in shifts to translate the news into Spanish and Portuguese as impartially as it is presented in this country on long wave. "We tell the truth," said the executive, "even if it hurts."—*Condensed from an Associated Press news dispatch from Schenectady, N. Y., under a July 4 dateline.*

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a well co-ordinated system that uses radio, press service, and propaganda agents.

Radio is most important. In 1936 the Nazis built at Zeesen the most powerful short-wave station on earth. The world was divided into six zones, each in charge of an important member of the party. South and Central America are one zone, and every day programs are broadcast to all sections of the continent, partly in German, partly in Spanish or Portuguese. The propaganda gets increased circulation as local newspapers pick it up and publish news and comment from the broadcasts.

Constantly this news and comment reiterates one theme: Germany leads the world, enjoying peace, prosperity and contentment under her great leader. The democracies, on the other hand—the United States in particular—are rapidly decaying; their people are miserable, their rulers are thieves, they are on the way to collapse. Every story of strikes and violence is made an example of conditions everywhere in this country. "The United States is truly repulsive to all honest people," concluded one recent broadcast.

Sometimes this propaganda is directed toward immediate trade objectives. Suppose Germany is competing with United States firms for a steel-rail contract. Then the heat is turned on our steel industry, with the air waves full of exaggerated stories of steel strikes tying up production from Gary to Bethlehem. The inference is: order your rails from Germany, where Hitler doesn't allow strikes, and you are sure to get delivery.

Finally, the Nazis attack us in our own country. They broadcast to us six hours a day, but there are no violent denunciations of the United States. Instead they harp on the greatness of the Nazi regime and the absence of unemployment in Germany. On the whole, their broadcasting to us is nothing that a free democracy need worry about; we can take it in our stride.

It took us a long time to wake up. Nazis and Fascists hammered at us for years before we began to defend ourselves. But now we have an organized counter-propaganda to tell the world the truth about the United States.

Just as radio has been the chief weapon of Nazi-Fascist attack, so it is also one of our best arms of defense. When the matter was first discussed, two years ago, there were those who argued that radio counter-propaganda should be in the hands of our government. The German government was attacking our people—our government should defend them. Bills were introduced in Congress to give federal authorities control of the short waves, to set up super-stations to broadcast to Latin America and other countries. That plan was shelved. Let totalitarian nations control their radio and press—we will leave ours free as long as we can. So our radio counter-propaganda remains in the hands of private companies.

International programs are sent out by the National Broadcasting Company, Columbia, World Broadcasting Company, General Electric, Westinghouse and others. The strongest campaign is that of N.B.C. Like the German Ministry of Propaganda, N.B.C. has divided the world into zones, placed each in charge of a man familiar with it, and now broadcasts daily in the languages of the countries aimed at. To Latin America go nine hours in Spanish or Portuguese. Like those of Germany, these programs are rebroadcast by local Latin American stations. Village dwellers along the Amazon in Brazil and ranchers on the pampas of Argentine now at least have a choice whether to listen to Berlin or to New York.

There is evidence that our broadcasting to Latin America is overhauling that of Nazi and Fascist. Mail response to N.B.C. has risen from thirty letters a month to two thousand, and they show keen appreciation. Observers report that American programs have increasing influence, that Nazi and Fascist programs are decreasing in popularity.

Broadcasts from the United States are almost entirely news and entertainment. Also there are descriptions of the two World's Fairs, cross-sections of life in city and country, presentations of the American idea of freedom and justice. But it is not maintained that all wisdom and truth reside with us.

Most important is the broadcasting of news—straight news, uncolored. If it is news of strike violence it is played up as it would be by the managing editor of a good newspaper, not as it would be by a propagandist seeking either to magnify or to belittle it.

The Nazis try to quarantine their country against ideas from outside. Their own propaganda machine pumps an unending flood of words, printed and spoken, into every corner of the land, yet they strive to shut

out every piece of news or opinion from elsewhere, or to select and edit it to fit their own purposes.

Of course there is determined and persistent effort, from within and without the frontier, to break down that barrier. An underground Communist organization distributes leaflets all over Germany—leaving them in letter boxes or on beer-hall tables, handing them to people whom the agents think they can trust. Russian stations near the frontier broadcast regularly in German. The Nazis beat tin pans on the Russian wave lengths, make it a criminal offense to listen; yet many Germans do listen.

An American went into a German grocery store where he knew the proprietor well. A radio inside seemed to check as he opened the door and then blared forth with a Beethoven piano sonata. "Oh, it's you," said the proprietor, grinning. And he promptly switched back to Moscow.

Then there was the unlucky fellow who fell asleep at an open window on the ground floor, with his radio playing. When he woke up it was giving a Russian program and two Gestapo agents were listening outside the window. He went to a concentration camp.

There have been several fugitive stations inside Germany, moving from place to place in trucks, broadcasting short, violently anti-Nazi programs, then hurrying away. One of them used an ordinary passenger car and toured Berlin for weeks until the police used detector vans to run it down. Three men in the car were arrested and disappeared.

Straight news programs are sent into Germany from England and from Strasbourg, across the Rhine in France, and there have been other propaganda efforts along the western front. A privately financed group in England has leaflets printed which state the case for democracies—the sort of thing whose circulation would be permitted in a free country. These are dropped over Germany by planes flying at night from Belgium, Holland and Switzerland.

In this counter-propaganda directed at Germany the United States has begun to take part. We fight back because we are attacked. The Nazis tell their people lies about us—we want them to know the truth. Every day an hour's program goes from the United States to Germany over the short waves: entertainment, talks about America, addresses of leading Americans. But most important is the news, an attempt at an honest picture of world events and of the American point of view.

So far the Nazis have not dared to make it a crime to listen to American and British programs. They do so with Russian programs, which are biased and hostile propaganda urging acceptance of a creed which most Germans do not want. But it is not so easy to shut out news that is a sincere attempt to tell the truth.

Some of this truth begins to force itself into Germany, as in the case of President Roosevelt's message of April 15 to Hitler and Mussolini. He said that the people of the United States are opposed to Nazi-Fascist conquest by force but not opposed to Germany and Italy gaining markets, raw materials, room to live—that we would help them to gain these things by peaceful means. That message was addressed primarily to the German and Italian people, literally forced through to them by means of the air waves. German and Italian newspapers ignored the message or gave garbled extracts. But it was broadcast into Germany and Italy from New York, from London, from Strasbourg and elsewhere. Next day the German and Italian papers were ordered to publish its full text.

If in the future Hitler finds himself involved in a war of blood and iron as well as words, his plans are well laid to defend himself from propaganda such as that which broke the German will in the last war. Experts predict that one of the first decrees will be the confiscation of all private receiving sets in the Reich. The people will be commanded to gather at stated times around public loud-speakers to hear official propaganda.

In the first weeks of a great war the air waves of the earth would be in chaos. Each nation would be jamming the channels of its enemies, bombing their transmitters. All the ether would be filled with confused and clashing noises. In the end, as a modern Napoleon might put it, God would be on the side of the biggest stations.

GERMAN CENSORSHIP OUTWITTED BY RADIO

GERMANY'S walls of Jericho came tumbling down this week. Incessantly bombarded by the British Broadcasting Corporation since the Munich capitulation last September, they cracked as the B.B.C. intensified its poundings and fired the blast of the British Labor Council to the German people:

"We beg of you to do whatever you can to make it known to your government that you want peace and not war."

Not a line of the appeal was published by the Nazi press but radio leaped the barriers of censorship. Germans own eleven million radios (despite the $9.80 tax on each radio). Half of them can hear short wave. Half of them actually listen to foreign broadcasts, even to America.

For two years America's N.B.C. has been hammering at Nazi censorship, broadcasting one hour a day in German to Germany by directed short-wave beam. The program is timed to hit Germany at eight P.M. The first fifteen minutes consists of news in contrast to the deafening propaganda that echoes in German ears from local stations.

That N.B.C. is getting results is indicated by the average of two hundred letters a month it is receiving from Germany. Most of the responses are guarded. About as much as the Germans dare write is: "The objectivity of your press news is generally very much appreciated here" and "Your news service is objective for our needs, though too short, as we are starved for the truth."

So effective have been American broadcasts that the Nazi regime this April decreed:

"Whoever repeats, as news, information from foreign stations, will be punished with up to two years in prison . . . . If the news is published, the punishment is from three months to five years in prison." This law is a feather in N.B.C.'s cap.—*From an article published July 5 in* The New York Daily Mirror.

Juan Hangs Up His Gun

If Mexico's Juan Sanchez takes to education, he may become one of Uncle Sam's best customers

WILLIAM PARKER

Foreign newspaper correspondent recently returned from Mexico.

FOUR HUNDRED and twenty years a revolutionist, and still politically baffled, economically inefficient and perpetually broke. So Juan Sanchez has at last hung up his gun. In its place he awkwardly grasps a lead pencil in his grimy fingers, to see whether the pencil is mightier than the rifle in arriving at a solution for his national problems and personal minus.

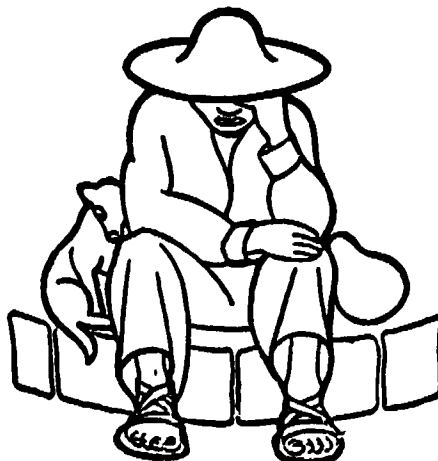
That Juan is relentlessly pursuing his quarry to the uttermost margin is eloquently voiced by statistics. He had worn out only 253,000 lead pencils during the whole of 1938; but for the first quarter of 1939 he used up 285,000. That would mean a quota of 1,140,000 for the year 1939. Something of a record for a man who a few years ago could neither read nor write.

Go about Mexico anywhere today and you will come upon Juan scrunched over a desk, vigorously at work with his rubber-tipped pencil, striving to erase some of his inherited errors and write down a new social equation.

Objective observers in Mexico are wondering whether Juan has become soft or gone wise. Hitherto in his long history he has proved that he would rather die gloriously at the butt end of a gun, a revolutionist, than live prosaically, in economic security, at the end of a hoe.

At this time of year, the hot summer months, schools in the United States are closed, with America's youth frolicking at the seaside or in cool mountain camps. Father and mother take long week-ends in the country. Not so in Mexico. Everywhere on the milder plateaus and all through the lowlands, barefoot peasant children are trudging cheerfully, unmindful of the tropic heat, to the Escuela Primaria Rural Federal (government rural school), gratefully to drink at a new fountain of knowledge. At night earthy peasant fathers and mothers bend over the same desks. Round and round they draw the rudimentary scroll, gradually forming it into laborious A B C's, 1,2,3,4,5. . .

Juan Sanchez is an odd specimen of humanity. An outstanding characteristic is his baggy, whitish pants. When the Spanish conquerors came to steal Juan's gold and enslave him and his family, they were esthetically shocked at Juan's nakedness. So they tossed him some Spanish cotton underdrawers and ordered him to make pants for himself. He did. And for more than four centuries he hasn't gotten around to streamlining the ancient model. Over his thin, bent shoulders Juan drapes a gayly colored serape whose ancestor was a Spanish horse blanket.

IN character Juan is baffling. He is congenitally superstitious and chronically suspicious. He has "not fully developed a consciousness of nationality . . . democratic in sentiment but cannot yet conceive of national problems in national terms." The quotation is abbreviated from a public address by Professor Antonio Vargas, chief of the Office of Propaganda of the Party of the Mexican Revolution, the dominant political party of Mexico.

Juan and his family sleep on mats, on uncarpeted floors, always in the grip of catarrh and pulmonary ailments. During the influenza epidemic in the spring of 1939, one-half of Mexico's total population was simultaneously ill, according to Mexico City newspapers.

In the national life of Mexico, Juan Sanchez occupies about the same position as that of the Average Man in the United States. America's Average Man is the theoretical norm from which stems all purchasing power, political decision, and national production. He is the X representing the unknown quantity in America's complex economic and political algebra. In similar fashion Juan Sanchez represents the unknown quantity, X, of Mexico's future.

Where Juan stands as a consumer will be found in the following figures supplied by a foreign importer and exporter, long a resident of Mexico:

First category: Those able to purchase a Ford, or its equivalent in other merchandise	500,000
Second category: Those who can afford the price of a radio	3,000,000
Third category: Those whose expenditure does not exceed twenty-five pesos ($5) per month (Juan Sanchez)	16,500,000

And as a purchaser of any sort of imported products, Juan Sanchez simply has no existence.

Leaning back in his swivel chair the American manufacturer thinks—examines a production chart on the wall over his desk. His slightly bewildered gaze follows the downward trend of twin graphs which show production and sales. Last week he had regretfully laid off twenty-five workmen. Possibly twenty-five more will go this week. "Go where—with their wives and children?" he wonders. "Likely become public charges, the

great American dole. My production goes down, my taxes go up. What is the solution?"

Swinging his chair around, this American manufacturer looks pensively at another wall where hangs a large map of the world. Over it is a placard: "Possible New Markets." His eye lights on Mexico. He was there once, as a tourist, and came away with the impression of a country of sombreros, gay serapes and a vast population of amiable people walking leisurely about in sandals. "A potential, entirely new market of 16,500,000 persons," he muses. "But how—?" The problem baffles him. He recalls what H. G. Wells once said about education running a race with civilization. Practical minded, he substitutes "economics" for "civilization." Summoning his foreign trade manager the manufacturer says: "Tell me about Mexico."

E Carrasco

A student at Mexico's "Children of the Army" school, this girl is shaping the proverbial "tortilla", a corn pancake, by means of a machine. She and five companions can produce 6,000 a day, whereas a housewife, working by hand, would take six hours to make enough for a family of five.

LIGHTING a cigar, he sits back to listen. He learns that Mexicans, almost tribal in their instinct, are a far more closely knit family group than are Americans. The first thing a Mexican father does on earning money is to outfit his family. A presentable wife and children—dresses, shoes, stockings—is the pride of his existence. Next he wants furniture, beds so the family can get up off the floor, a table on which to eat, chairs to sit on. After that he is keenly desirous of good food. Then he wants a radio, and later, dream of dreams, a small automobile.

"You see," goes on the foreign trade manager, "Mexico used to be a week's journey away. But now, via plane, I can eat my dinner in New York City and my lunch the next day in Mexico City. A great program of rejuvenation of the Mexican peasantry is under way down there."

"Look into that Mexican sales problem, Jim," instructs this American manufacturer. "I think you've got something there."

"But," hesitantly begins the foreign sales manager, "there are certain international political problems in Mexico—"

"Sh-h." The manufacturer dismisses them with a gesture. "Stay out of foreign politics, Jim. Political problems have a way of adjusting themselves." He points outside, where factory chimneys are long cold from disuse. "What we want is smoke coming out of those chimneys, more plant production, more industrious men on our payroll and fewer loafing on the government's."

Thus it is that realists and practical sociologists see Mexico's Juan Sanchez as an Ultimate Consumer.

Economists let their gaze rest on Juan's *calzones*, which is the name for his baggy pants that are the joy of his life, though made only of cotton. Juan's *calzones* are wearing thin these days from sitting around doing nothing.

Time was when Juan, with a little extra effort, would raise some surplus corn and beans and trade them in at the village *bodega* for a new pair of *calzones*. But Juan is so far behind in his farm work that during 1938 and up to April 15, 1939, his government, in order to feed him, imported from the United States 57,000 metric tons of wheat, 26,000 metric tons of corn and 300 metric tons of rice. From Japan came 4,100 metric tons of beans, and from Chile 645 metric tons of beans.

In looking at Juan's *calzones*, economists note that the day of replacement is overdue. When it is an American economist, he shifts one eye from Juan's *calzones* to eleven million bales of cotton which the government at Washington holds as security for loans to farmers. At this point he feels some one stepping on his toes, and discovers it to be an Asiatic gentleman who has been stepping on the toes of American economists regularly in recent years and without so much as the traditional, "So sorry!"

The actual material which goes into the making of Juan Sanchez's *calzones* is manta cloth, woven in Vera Cruz, Mexico, out of cotton imported from the United States. The American economist is worrying whether Japan will find a way to make Juan's *calzones* in Japan and

Mexican Leaders View U. S. Trade

***PRESIDENT CARDENAS** on International Trade (1938):*

. . . Only last year our country bought industrial equipment and all kinds of agricultural machinery from the United States to the amount of 45,000,000 pesos, which sum represents nearly 10 per cent of our normal income . . . purchases to harness the works of the new irrigation projects, for railway and road construction and for replacement of the National Railway of Mexico's equipment.

Lazaro Cardenas

LOMBARDO TOLEDANO, General Secretary, Confederation of Mexican Workers' (C.T.M.), Mexico's largest labor group:

Forces in the United States hostile to the Mexican New Deal should realize that a prosperous Mexico with a widely distributed buying power would be an important market for the industrial products of the United States.

sell them to him cheaper than those now manufactured in Mexico from American cotton.

A disquieting moment for the American economist is the elaborate suite of offices Japanese interests have opened recently in Mexico City as an exposition of Japanese products that fall within the range of Juan Sanchez's purchasing power.

The lead pencil with which Juan strives to figure out where to get a new pair of *calzones* -and, incidentally, enough to eat -is given free to him by the federal government of Mexico, a government which has developed education into one of its biggest national industries. Along with the pencil, Juan receives a free copybook and a primer for illiterates. The giving of these, together with *huraches* (sandals), milk, free meals and mattresses in some instances, is called the National Campaign to Fight Illiteracy, and is directed by the Department of Popular Education.

The 1930 census listed 6,962,417 illiterates in a population of 16,552,-722, the percentage running as high as 79 in the state of Guerrero and as low as 23 in the Federal District, which is the City of Mexico. Of the illiterates, 48.35 per cent were women.

The government's pet ambition, shared by our American manufacturer, is for Juan Sanchez to buy a radio, which he cannot afford just now. While Juan is thus being entertained, the government figures that it could slip him oral propaganda to make him more active in his corn patch. A real bed with the necessary blankets would follow, and a bath tub, a flush toilet and a wash basin so the death rate will be lowered. Mortality in Mexico is 22 to 1000 living persons, as against 11.2 in the United States. Twelve Mexican infants under ten die to twenty-six adults. The American death rate per 1000 live births is 55; in Mexico, 135 babies die per 1000 live births. One out of three Mexicans who contract pneumonia dies; In the United States one out of five. Pneumonia and childbirth constitute Mexico's greatest mortality. The expectation of life, at birth, in Mexico is 57 years, in the United States 63.4. Malnutrition is the principal cause of death among Mexican children.

SUCH is the Mexican government's problem, utopian in vision, practical in application. The answer lies wholly with Juan Sanchez. Juan's distrust is more than just peasant shyness. He thinks that this program of his government might have a catch in it somewhere. Nobody has done anything like it before for him. And, too, no end of people nowadays are dropping a paternal hand on Juan's emaciated shoulder looking him straight in the eye and pledging eternal political fidelity and perpetual prosperity—with a side glance at Juan's gun hanging on the wall.

Juan's well-wishers at the moment are three: his government, the Communists, and the totalitarians. The government quotes to Juan an inscription on the workers' frieze in the huge court of the Education Building in Mexico City, which reads: "The true civilization will be unity of men with their country and of men among themselves." The Communists warn him that General Franco, having captured Spain, will next, with the assistance of the totalitarian powers, go after Spain's lost colonies, beginning with Mexico. The totalitarians whisper in his ear that foreign Jews already control the silk and clothing industries in Mexico and are pressing the Germans hard for control of drug and hardware stores. These Nazi-Fascists tell Juan to join up with them (bringing along his gun) if he wants future mental peace and national prosperity.

In one form or another Juan Sanchez has been hearing the same sort of stuff ever since Cortez sallied into Cozumel back in 1518 and—with the aid of his sweetheart, the treacherous Indian girl, Malchini - stole Juan's land and gold and instituted feudal slavery.

As Juan debates some of his government's radical socialistic measures, he is inclined at times to believe that no matter how adroitly the gestures in his behalf are garnished the taste still is reminiscent of the same old political tortilla. It is purely a point of view: his inherent distrust of everything and everybody. He looks for the traitor in the chaparrel bush.

Juan is well aware of how and why he arrived where he is today: oppression and false leadership. Insufficient food coupled with unscientific diet and poor living conditions, due first to slavery and later low wages over a long period, have combined to reduce his daily life to a miserable existence.

The German savant, Baron von Humboldt (1769–1859), who visited Mexico, studied the records of the clergy and learned that the Indian race is one of the healthiest in the world in an equable clime such as Mexico. But due to malnutrition and consequent susceptibility to disease the increase in population was far below normal expectation. The first recorded statistics, von Humboldt

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Cartoonist Kirby

The three-time Pulitzer Prize winner has changed to a home where his crayon enjoys its old freedom

KENNETH STEWART

ON the clammiest of summer mornings a few weeks ago, Rollin Kirby showed up to do his first cartoon for *The New York Post.* His new quarters weren't ready for him; his materials and files hadn't been uncrated. Kirby shut himself up in a stuffy cubicle, stripped to his shorts, sat down to a makeshift drawing board and aimed his crayon once more against his old enemy—reaction.

Three times a Pulitzer prize winner, creator of the sour-faced character that helped laugh prohibition to death, generally recognized as a leader of his craft in this country, Kirby had been idle for a little more than three months after twenty-seven years of continuous daily drawing.

Since 1931 he had been political cartoonist for *The New York World-Telegram* and before that for the famous old *New York World.* For some months, however, the editorial atmosphere of *The World-Telegram* had been increasingly uncongenial to Kirby, who, for one thing believes in the New Deal, parts of which that newspaper opposes. When his contract expired on April 1 he and *The World-Telegram* parted company, with Kirby explaining that he had been "reluctant to support a point of view which seemed many times to be unfair."

Soon afterward George Backer, American Labor Party member of the New York City Council, took over *The New York Post* from David Stern, its former publisher, and signed up the cartoonist on a two-year contract.

Kirby was restored to his old position of four-column prominence on the editorial page, which had slipped away from him while relations were strained on *The World-Telegram,* and given pretty much of a free hand in the choice and treatment of his subjects. "As much as I ought to have," he says. Although his salary has not been stated, presumably it compares with the $23,310 which, according to this year's Treasury list, was his yearly salary on *The World-Telegram*—a salary which is certainly in the top brackets for a political satirist, if not a staggering sum when placed alongside the believe-it-or-not $149,777 received by Robert L. Ripley, a newspaper artist of a different school, but certainly in the top brackets for a political satirist.

W.P.A. strikes over the relief wage scale were the big news of July 10, the day Kirby began work for *The Post,* but he chose to aim his first satirical blow at the Republican economy attack on the New York state budget. Here he could present in a few simple strokes an idea that "explodes at first glance." For that, to him, is the secret of a good cartoon.

The relief question held for him its "ifs" and "buts"—all right for an editorial but no good for a picture. Kirby does not see all public questions in terms of black and white. He is, in short, a liberal—a *cum laude* graduate of that school of liberals which grew up under Editor Frank I. Cobb on the old *New York World.* But when he does light on a subject for direct attack the victim is likely to feel the sting. Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, Hague, Tammany, the G.O.P., prohibitionists, imperialists, fascists, the Ku Klux Klan and others of his many targets have felt it through the years.

Although his cartoons are decidedly not without humor and good will, Kirby reserves most of his virulence for the drawing board. Ordinarily he talks and writes—verse, editorials, reviews, articles and a couple of short plays must be stacked alongside his paintings and drawings in adding up his output—with an agreeable grace.

To meet Kirby you might not guess his unusual spunk any more readily than you would guess his age. At sixty-three he is lanky and limber, tanned from tennis and fishing, polished from his shoes to his iron-gray hair. Casual in manner, he is nevertheless smooth and dignified, with a bit of the professor and a bit of the clubman in his appearance. His quizzical expression, which can quickly become grave or fiery or jovial, marks him as the constant commentator on life.

The simplicity and clarity of his cartoons are a reflection of the way he works and plays. By the time he arrives at his New York office from his home in Westport, Conn., forty-five miles away, he has read and digested the morning's news and has found an idea for illustration. The idea is the all-important thing, he thinks: "A bad drawing never spoils a good idea, but a good drawing can never save a bad idea." The idea, or a rough sketch of it, is submitted to an editorial conference and then Kirby sits down to make those strong, sure strokes.

After work he may linger downtown to talk things over with his fellow members of the American Newspaper Guild; or drop in at the Players Club to play pool or fondle a highball; or visit with his daughter, Mrs. Langdon W. Post, wife of New York's former tenement house commissioner; or return to the country to play tennis, war on the insects in his garden or lounge around his pleasant home in Westport, literary and artistic commuting colony.

But, whatever he is doing at any given moment, you can be sure that it is being done quietly and deftly, without fanfare.

Kirby achieved his success the long but sure way. Without much formal education in Galva, Ill., where

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Rural Zoning

Six states have taken a leaf from Wisconsin's common-sense approach to its farming problems

SAMUEL LUBELL and WALTER EVERETT

Two former newspapermen who have made a first-hand study of economic and social America.

SIX YEARS AGO twenty-three counties in northern Wisconsin were on the verge of bankruptcy. Taxes were going unpaid on from one-fourth to one-third their lands; nearly half of their farmers were on relief. Today those twenty-three counties are financially sound. Relief rolls have been slashed; some four hundred submarginal farm families have been resettled; tax delinquency has been reduced to a minor irritation.

It sounds like an economic miracle. Incredible as it may seem, all this was accomplished by having these counties lop one-third of their lands from the tax rolls. They zoned off 5,000,000 of their 14,500,000 acres as unfit for farming. Cash on the line won't buy a new farm in those restricted zones. And every acre taken off the tax lists has been like money found.

Ordinarily, years must elapse before any program of land planning yields tangible results--particularly in a rural slum whose ills represent years of abuse and neglect. These twenty-three counties are cut over counties, once covered with majestic forests, now pockmarked with submarginal farms. Picture "Tobacco Road" in a northern setting and you will have a fair idea of the harsh poverty of the region, the crude log cabins or tar paper shacks in which these families live, the unyielding barrenness of the soil, the difficulties in bringing land and people into balance.

Yet in a few years zoning has struck at the root of all these ills and laid the basis for the economic resurgence of these counties. It has solved, for northern Wisconsin, some of the nation's most perplexing agricultural problems, problems which still plague the rest of the country. Applied to other regions in other states, rural zoning promises to save farmers millions of dollars annually.

Zoning in cities, of course, is an accepted commonplace. This is the first time the idea has ever been applied to agriculture. So spectacular have been the results that six other states—Michigan, California, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Washington and Tennessee—have passed laws to permit their counties to do likewise. In Michigan four counties have seized this opportunity and have enacted zoning ordinances. Other counties in other states can be expected to follow suit. Easily the most important land-use idea born of the depression, rural zoning may yet become the foundation for the new national land policy we have been struggling to develop in place of our antiquated homestead laws.

A little simple arithmetic by a humble county agent inspired this pioneer experiment in rural zoning. In 1933 the agent in Oneida County, Wisconsin, was Louis Sorden, chubby, congenial, middle aged. Part of his job was to pass on all sales of lands which had reverted to the county through failure of its citizens to pay taxes.

Late one afternoon a farmer strode into his office to buy a backwoods farm abandoned some months before. Sorden got out his map and figured how much it would cost the community to furnish this farmer and his family with schools, roads and other services. He found the county would have to spend more in a single year than it could hope to collect in taxes in ten or even twenty years. As he checked his calculations, Sorden asked himself how many states had disposed of tax delinquent lands cheaply, just to return them to the tax rolls, unaware they were losing money on every sale? How many farms in Wisconsin and the rest of the country were costing the community more than they were yielding in human and material benefits?

"We're not selling that land," Sorden told the astonished farmer.

IT was a bold decision. At that time, one-third of Oneida County's lands were tax delinquent. The county was teetering on the brink of bankruptcy. Frantic townspeople and farmers were clamoring, "Sell the delinquent lands; sell them for anything and get them back on the tax rolls." It was a cry that has echoed in thousands of communities through the depression. Other communities chose the easiest way out, and heeded those cries. Fortunately Sorden had faith in his arithmetic.

Sorden knew too that only stern measures could save Oneida County. The delinquency that plagued Oneida and other cutover counties in northern Wisconsin was not of the "emergency" sort that could be corrected with a rise in farm prices. It was evidence of the region's economic collapse. Lumbering was dying and these counties simply could not support the cutover land left behind.

Cutover farming, at best, had never been more than a part time affair. Here and there the erratic glacier deposited from forty to eighty acres of fertile, stone-free soil. Lucky was the man who got such a farm. Generally the lands were so rocky that few farmers could clear sufficient

Widowed, living alone on 40 acres, she toils hopelessly against a ravaged land.

ground to overcome the grave handicaps of a short growing season, distant markets and severe winters. Huge rockpiles, shoulder high and ten to twenty feet long, stud all the farms in the region, but most of the fields are still strewn so thickly with boulders that a plough cannot be driven eight feet in a straight line. As one despairing settler put it, "Rocks are the one crop that never fails."

While lumber mills and logging camps boomed, cutover farmers could find supplementary employment—that was where most of their cash income came from—and carry on the tragic farce of "farming." So long, too, could the counties absorb the excessive costs of haphazard settlement.

Many cutover farmers settled in the backwoods, miles from the civilizing influences of neighbors or towns. In clearing their lands they often started disastrous forest fires. Roads had to be run out to their farms; school transportation had to be provided for their children. In Lynne Township in Oneida County a road was built for one settler at a cost of $1,200. It was used just once—when the farmer moved out of the county.

Some settlers deliberately went into the wilds to get school transportation money. One man in Ashland County built up quite a home industry that way with twelve children, until zoning put him out of business.

OFTEN the total value of these farms was less than their yearly cost to the community. One family in Forest County lived seven miles from the nearest school, nine miles from town, twenty-five miles from a railroad station. It cost the state $350 a year to maintain a road to the farm. The county paid out probably twice that sum for relief and school transportation. When the land was zoned off, the family was bought out for $400.

As tax delinquency increased it became impossible to maintain such an uneconomic pattern of settlement. Lumber companies were dropping their cutover lands as they "ran through" their timber stands. Many farmers, with their chief source of outside employment gone, began to abandon their farms. Like crops in a drought, the tax base of these counties was shriveling away. The excessive costs of local government fell on steadily fewer farmers. Cutover farmers were paying two and three times the tax rate of prosperous farms in southern Wisconsin. To many settlers these higher taxes proved the last straw, driving them into default. Delinquency was proving a cancer which threatened to spread to the thriftiest farmer.

A major surgical operation was necessary. Sorden knew that. In the months that followed other persons tried to buy isolated, delinquent lands. Sorden would figure the cost to the county against the possible return in taxes and usually refuse to approve the sales.

The county commissioners stood by Sorden but found it politically difficult. The county couldn't go on refusing to sell tax-delinquent lands and letting it go at that. Some policy had to be formulated.

"Why not zone off all these lands as unsuited for agriculture?" Sorden suggested. "We can return them to forest land, for which they are naturally suited, build up their resort and recreational value and make money at it by closing off roads and shutting down needless schools."

Several years earlier a far-sighted legislature had amended the State zoning law to make just that possible. Walter Rowlands, head of the State county agents, was called in to help draft a model ordinance. Assisting him were George Wehrwein, land economist, F. B. Trenk, forester, and F. G. Wilson of the State Conservation Department. They were careful to draft only the legal sections of the ordinance, leaving details as to which lands were to be zoned off to the county officials.

"We had two methods of zoning open to us," Rowlands recalls. "We could have made a soil survey and marked off every farm below a certain standard. That would have been too expensive and wouldn't have accomplished what we set out to do. Instead we zoned off those portions of the county where farming was unprofitable, the tax yield next to nothing, yet the expense to the community pretty high. Whole areas could

One of many—a boy of Wisconsin's "cutover," ill housed, ill clothed, ill fed.

be blocked off and considerable economies in costs of local government effected. We could justify every restriction imposed, on a dollar and cents basis. County officials and farmers could take pencil and paper and decide exactly which farms were worth more *off* the tax lists than on."

THAT was the argument used to sell the program. In every township a meeting was held, generally with Rowlands in charge. There was no refuting the arithmetic of the argument. Farmers who came to the meetings openly hostile were converted. One group of settlers planned to break up a meeting. They were to swing into action at a signal from their leader. So absorbed did he become in Rowlands' explanation that he forgot to give the signal.

Oneida was the first county to zone off its lands. Within two years twenty-two other counties had approved similar ordinances. Nowhere was the idea voted down. Lands were divided into two general categories, those suited for farming and those whose use was limited to forestry and recreation. Farmers in the restricted zones were to be bought out as funds became available—about two thousand still are left—and no new farms could be started in those zones.

How much these twenty-three counties have saved in six years is impossible even to estimate. They have been spared thousands of dollars of expenditures for roads and schools which would have been required had new settlers not been barred from certain isolated areas. Actual savings realized through resettling some four hundred families already in these areas must run well into six figures.

Typical are these economies:

Marinette County bought up nine farms for $7,200, zoned off the area they occupied and within three years slashed its budget by $7,000.

The town of Morse spent $150 to move two backwoods settlers out of a restricted zone and was spared the cost of building a new road and of transporting four children six miles to and from school.

Some counties swapped farmers public lands for their isolated farms. Several years ago a Chicago real estate firm took a would-be-farmer's last $500 for a "farm" in Langlade County, worthless swamp land. The man went on relief. The county swapped him a decent piece of land for his swamp. Today that man is self-supporting.

In seven counties thirteen schools were shut down, and their pupils transferred to other schools, with an annual saving of $15,000. One school was being used by five families. It cost the county $2,580 to buy out those families—which shows how little their lands were worth. In that case, the county is saving something like $2,000 a year in school, relief and road maintenance. So much for the financial saving. There is no way of measuring what it has meant to these families in non-financial terms to get off land that could not support them.

Most of the resettlement work was done by the Farm Security Administration. Roughly $100,000 was made available by the F.S.A. in Washington for submarginal farm purchases in the area. Zoning laws are not retroactive and all the farmers moved out went voluntarily. F.S.A. agents would visit settlers in the restricted zones, explain the aims of the program and offer to buy them out. There was no fixed yardstick for measuring the value of the farm. How much was paid for each farm generally depended on who was the better horse-trader, the settler or the F.S.A. agent.

This is the kind of land from which settlers are being removed by the Farm Security Administration.

FARMERS probably got a little more than their farms were worth, the F.S.A. being eager to help them get a new start. But there was little overpaying. Most of the cutover farmers were only too anxious to be bought out. The F.S.A. now has a "waiting list" of farms on which it has options and which will be bought as funds become available.

Where farmers who were bought out wished to continue farming, the F.S.A. helped them locate suitable land and, in most cases, started them off with a small loan. About one-third of the families, however, decided they had had their fill of farming. They took their money and went into the cities or left the State. Of the three hundred-odd farmers moved by the F.S.A., three-fourths were on relief. More than one hundred of these

farms have become self-supporting.

Sorden, who supervised the F.S.A.'s purchases, has compiled figures showing that in the five years before zoning was started these three hundred families drew about as much in relief of all kinds, from W.P.A. to drought and seed loans, as was paid for their farms, or roughly $100,000. In ten years, Sorden estimates, Uncle Sam will net savings, on relief alone, about equal to the cost of these purchases. The counties meanwhile will be several hundred thousands richer in having fewer schools and roads to keep up.

Less tangible than these savings but perhaps of more lasting significance is the fact that zoning has prevented the creation of hundreds of new submarginal farms and that it is aiding in building up the timber and recreational resources of these counties. Lumber companies, after stripping the merchantable timber, often unload what is left as "farms," frequently of little or no value for farming purposes. Such cutover "farms" still are being sold in the South Atlantic, Gulf Coast and Pacific Coast lumbering regions and in northern Michigan and Minnesota. In Wisconsin lumbermen must sell the "farms" to the Forest Service to be turned back into forests.

Even if the stones have been carted away and the stumps pulled, potato plants struggle feebly in a stubborn, impoverished soil.

Already three-fourths of the restricted area in northern Wisconsin is back in forest land. Steadily the stands are being improved so that in the future they once more will support a lumber industry. Meanwhile the growing forests provide an ideal setting for a thriving recreation trade. Some counties are realizing taxes from zoned off lands through these recreational uses. Zoning can have its positive as well as negative side.

Until rural zoning is tried by other states there is no way of judging its ultimate importance. For sparsely-settled, maladjusted land areas like cutover regions, it has already proved its worth. Wisconsin's zoning experts see it reaping dividends in firmly-settled farm communities with good soils. Rowlands and Wehrwein contend that zoning can be used to accomplish any—or all—of the following objectives:

1—Halt the spread of submarginal farming. Zoning off unsettled areas with poor soils will prevent the creation of new "slum" farms.

2—Prevent the sale of worthless lands to unsuspecting farmers. Lands can be plainly classified and restricted to the uses for which they are best suited.

3—Serve as a valuable guide for resettlement and submarginal farm purchases. If whole areas can be bought up and blocked off, economies in government can be effected.

4—Provide a blueprint for directing new settlement into compact, efficient farming communities. If a new area is to be opened, say the region around Grand Coulee Dam, the lands can be divided into several zones depending on their accessibility to existing community services. One zone can be opened at a time. Schools and roads already in existence would be utilized to the utmost, and the tax burdens of the new settlers would be kept to a minimum.

5—Check over-expansion of such community facilities as schools and roads. Controlled settlement should eliminate haphazard road and school construction.

6—Set up a formula for the business-like disposition of the millions of acres which have reverted to states and counties in recent years because of tax delinquency. At present these lands are parceled out indiscriminately to anyone who wants to buy them. Through zoning, lands that are community liabilities can be withheld and the farms disposed of in order of soil quality and nearness to roads and schools.

THE National Resources Committee has estimated that in Montana $60,000 a year could be saved on schools and another $50,000 in road maintenance and poor relief if eleven hundred families were moved out and their lands shut off from settlement. In Minnesota a special survey conducted by a committee of experts appointed by former Governor Elmer Benson listed economies totalling $900,000 a year that would be made possible by zoning off twelve million acres and resettling five thousand farmers. No estimates are available as to the savings zoning might bring in other states.

That these savings would be tremendous becomes clear if a single

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What's YOUR Opinion?

Conducted by

GEORGE V. DENNY, JR.

Moderator of America's Town Meeting of the Air

MR. GEORGE V. DENNY, JR., is away on vacation, but will resume his department *What's YOUR Opinion?*, in the September issue.

Because many letters to Mr. Denny were received too late for publication in the July CURRENT HISTORY we are taking this opportunity to print those which were unavoidably omitted. To insure prompt consideration all letters should reach CURRENT HISTORY by the 15th of the month.

If you have not already done so, please register your choice of subjects on the questionnaire on Page 37. Returns are now being tabulated and will be used by Mr. Denny in selecting topics for presentation in the fall.

To the Editor: It is impossible for business and government to co-operate now. The relationship between them has become basically antagonistic, and that antagonism must continue. Government may, for some time to come, compromise with business, but it will not cease to extend its control over the nation's economy. Regardless of which party is in office, the feature of our time will be the struggle between business and government for economic control.

Economic control is the basis of all other forms of control. Because government in this country formerly exercised comparatively little economic control, it has been generally assumed such control did not exist, and should not exist. This is a mistaken assumption. The nation's economy did not manage itself. It was managed by business, and in such a manner, and to such an extent as to make business the dominant power in the nation.

Government here has long been a henchman of business, but now a reversal of that situation is taking place. However well business may have managed for a time, under its management the nation's economy finally collapsed, and government was obliged to take control. How well government can or will perform the task, remains to be seen. But it can not shoulder the responsibility, and still leave to business the power.

Naturally, business is extremely loath to relinquish the power which it wielded for so long. It stoutly maintains government is unfitted for the task at which business itself failed. It will struggle with government as long as it can—until government wrenches from the grasp of business the last remnant of power to which it still clings.

JOSEPH PHILLIPS

To the Editor: I don't believe that business will voluntarily co-operate with Government to bring about the reform measures which the present National Administration has offered. It appears to me that most business men are antagonistic to these reform measures and will never co-operate to make them successful unless laws "with teeth" are passed to force them to do so.

I have no panacea to offer. However, I believe the NIRA would have done the job, could it have had some changes made in it, and business would have co-operated. I fear that unless something is soon done to correct the condition that exists in our country today, we will soon find ourselves in a far worse condition, one which all true liberty-loving Americans will not like to see. Selfishness and greed is, as we know, the cause of our troubles. It is too prevalent in all classes, rich and poor, as well as saint and sinner. As a constant reader of CURRENT HISTORY and with best wishes for your new department. . . .

URY HOWARD

To the Editor: "Can Business and Government Co-operate Now?" That is one of those trick questions which can not be answered fully in 300 words or by yes or no. What is "Business" and what is "Government"? A spot of defining seems to be in order before we go any further with the business. This personifying of the word business is overdone, and the word itself is getting ragged and badly worn. The word as used for the present discourse, meaning an entity, is pure fiction, for there is no such animal; and the personifying of the word government is often misleading. What makes the thing still more un-real and complicated is that the term "Business" is collective, containing a number of other imaginary personifications such as, "Industry," "Corporation," "Trade," "Railroads," "Banks," who all at various times have dealings with the "Government." (At times, I speculate on what language is used.) Business is everything and, therefore, nothing, and the word itself is the most over-worked word in the American language. I intentionally write "American language," for this use of the word is nearly exclusively American. Certain men in England may agree or disagree with the British Government as represented by Mr. Chamberlain, but British Business does not speak, agree, or oppose to or with the British Government in anything approaching what, according to the newspapers, American Business does here. The Swedes are even worse off; not only is "Business" dumb there in Sweden, but they have no all-inclusive word to designate the concept. That may be the reason why the question heading this letter would be considered absurd in Sweden, because the only question of co-operation there is between the Swedes and their Government. In other words, they co-operate with themselves.

However, the *men* who run the various activities called BUSINESS in this country should not only co-operate with but obey the GOVERNMENT; which is the Constitution, the Courts and the law, and the duly elected officers entrusted with the execution of the laws, that *all* men should obey.

N. W. KAUNITZ

To the Editor: Can Democracy put men back to work? My answer is NO,—unless big Business will cooperate with the government. And apparently the business machine cannot do this because it is not geared to run that way. This machinery has been created to make profits. It runs by itself, is steered by robot professional executives and efficiency engineers, and has no more loyalty to the United States or patriotism than a steam shovel.

"But," you say, "boards of directors control the machine, great lawyers and public spirited, prominent citizens, just as patriotic as you or any one else." I agree with you, as individuals they may be, but as directors they cannot be. In that capacity, each one is only a figure head representing proxies for so many shares of stock. And no individual director or even a group can alter the set policy of the machine, any more than a few ants can stop a steam roller.

No one of the separate states can regulate our great business machine. That is admitted by everyone. And now the authority of the national government is being challenged. For over a billion dollars in legal taxes were evaded by our great corporations in each of the last three years, and up to this time only a few individuals like Capone have been caught. And now the machine is demanding protection. From what, pray tell? Why from a benevolent government and from a Congress of its own selection. What a situation!

Let me explain why the machine is afraid. There are ten million American Voters who are really on strike. If I, for one, were to go back to my old position, which paid me fifty dollars a week, and agree to work for fifteen, and teach my children the virtues of thrift and to be thankful for small favors, I have no doubt that I would be re-hired at once. And there are millions in a similar situation. So I say that we are all really out on a strike or perhaps a lockout. But I know that no matter what party is in

Washington, the government will continue to give us assistance.

The United States Chamber of Commerce bluntly says, "remove all restrictions from business, reject the New Deal and all its works, and WE will end unemployment at once." (Perhaps by starvation?) Quite an effective idea, but a little dangerous. Because our American system of education has taught us the power of the vote. And then perhaps we may find it necessary to "legally" break a few of the great machines. This is why big business is a bit afraid. For FREE MEN, we have been very patient, but as AMERICAN CITIZENS we might get to be very stubborn.

WINFIELD S. WARDELL

To the Editor: Democracy CAN put men back to work, but it WON'T. Contrary to prevailing opinion, Man is a very stupid animal; intelligent as compared to beasts—yes; but from any practical standpoint, very unintelligent. Nowhere does our stupidity appear more pitiful than in our bungling with ideas that are new to the human race—in this particular case, economic ideas.

For example, there seems to be no disagreement among the leaders in this discussion that Capitalism could be made to work much better than it is now doing by giving capital an increased incentive to work. It is universally recognized that capital is taking refuge in tax-free government bonds, rather than taking the risks inherent in a profit motivated business competition. But has the obvious remedy been applied? Have our "leaders" taken away this tax-free privilege, so as to help drive capital out of government bonds into legitimate economic enterprise? Our leaders may fear that such action might endanger government credit—especially in these times of runaway debt increase, which none seems to know how to stop or even to control.

There are any number of similar common-sense measures that might be taken, which collectively would do much to ameliorate conditions, but we are too stupid to take them. For example, the Richmond plan of unemployment relief; which plan, despite its title, started in Ohio, I believe, and worked well, until BUSINESS "got scared" that it might succeed too well, and so lead us into State Capitalism. Why should we care what a thing is called, so long as it "works"?

ANTHONY BRUCE COX

To the Editor: I have received my first copy of CURRENT HISTORY. I like it very much. There is so much good to be worked out and your magazine can help tremendously.

Yes—I believe the Townsend Plan should be adopted by the United States. I believe it will do for this country all it claims it can.

Jobs for our young people, more buying power by our older people, and through better paid jobs for the younger means homes, more food consumption, better living, happier people, less crime, more love for our neighbor and so the circle goes, ever widening.

I do not believe we can ever have prosperity by government borrowing. Only one class prospers, the money lenders.

We have a vast market here in our own America; you only have to look around a little to see the need of modern conveniences, better living supplies, homes painted, and better kept which we could have if we could have a buying power such as the Townsend Plan offers. But with the present methods, young people are so discouraged, no job security, no working at the kind of work they enjoy doing, it's work at what ever job they can find, for what—to just exist. And our homes are getting more shabby, we as a whole are losing our pride, where will we end?

Yes, I believe the people should vote on whether we go to war. After all it's not the war lords and makers of war who sacrifice so much—it's the common people and their sons and daughters and they should have a voice in such a crime as war. I believe if the profit was taken out of war there would be no wars.

MRS. BEN JOHNSON

To the Editor: My opinion about, should a declaration of war be voted upon by the people. When we carefully consider the cosmic factors in relation to our past experiences in butting into a European war, we arrive at the conclusion that the power to declare war should be vested in the people by popular vote. If democracy means anything, it means that government action that may result in millions being killed, should only be taken after being approved by popular vote. We should remember that a declaration of war may compel a very drastic change in our system of government, followed by possible humiliating defeat. Past experience has taught analysing people that aggressive organized minority pressure groups caused us to be dragged into the last war. Although at that time we had a president that had gotten himself reelected on the slogan: "he kept us out of war." Our butting into war in 1917 on the side of Britain and France, winning it for them, then letting them dictate the most foolish peace, that was absolutely contrary to cosmic law in relation to human behavior reactions, was the direct cause of the production of fascism and Nazism on the European continent. It will require the death of many millions on the European continent in order to unscramble the present uncosmic conditions now existing there. If the American people permit themselves to be used as suckers in another European war, under the false purpose of making the world safe for democracy; a cosmic analyse indicates that they will suffer the horrible consequences of suckers. From a cosmic point of view the peace of Europe and the world would be advanced by the absorption of Poland and all the other Balkan nations by Hitler and Mussolini. The reasons that there have been so many wars in the past in Europe, are that there are too many nations for the area of available land in relation to modern technological advances.

DANIEL KAISER

To the Editor: Can Democracy Check Unemployment? No: For during unrivaled business rule democracy was not able to do so and not interested even. After 1933 government tried unsuccessfully to fight against business. It took advantage of all the power within the constitution and of a little more. In order to remain democratic it sought business co-operation but did not get it. What it got was business' boycott of recovery measures and unemployment grew.

As government will be unable to offer profits adequate to business demands no co-operation is in sight. Labor's prog-

(Continued on page 59)

Future What's YOUR Opinion *departments will feature an important section devoted to letters from readers. We invite you to participate and urge you to begin at once. Send us your comments on this month's subject. What do YOU think? Can Democracy Put Men Back to Work? What's YOUR Opinion?*

What's YOUR Opinion?

Which of the following subjects would you like to have discussed in Mr. Denny's department during the coming months?

Note: This is not a ballot. Do not vote for or against the proposed questions.

. . . Should the Townsend Plan be adopted by the United States?

. . . Should work relief be returned to the states?

. . . Should a declaration of war be voted on by the people?

. . . Should the Wagner Labor Act be revised?

. . . Should the Neutrality Act be amended?

. . . Should the immigration laws be amended to permit entry of all genuine refugees?

. . . Should fingerprinting of all citizens be compulsory?

. . . Should the government take over the railroads?

. . . Should income from federal, state and municipal bonds be subject to income tax?

After marking your choices, please cut off this column and mail it to CURRENT HISTORY, 420 Madison Avenue, New York City —and don't forget to send us any suggestions of your own, together with your name and address.

NAME ....

ADDRESS ....

CITY ....

STATE ....

THEY SAY
Quotations from the World Press

How Accidents Happen —and How Many

—Condensed extracts from the 1939 edition of Accident Facts, *statistical yearbook of The National Safety Council.*

Old Man Accident let no moss grow under his feet in 1938. Accidental deaths occurred as follows during 1938: 1 every 5½ minutes; 11 every hour; 260 per day; 1,800 each week. Some 94,000 persons were killed in accidents during the year.

Non-fatal injuries in accidents—8,900,000 injuries for the year—occurred at an even more startling rate: 1 every 3 seconds; 17 per minute; 1,000 every hour; 24,000 each day; 170,000 each week. The Council audited the cost of last year's accidents at $3,300,000,000. This sum covers the cost of all accidental injuries, plus property damage from motor vehicle accidents and fires.

Falls and motor vehicle accidents killed 63 per cent of the 94,000 persons who died in accidents last year. These two types of accidents, claiming 59,100 dead, more than equalled the combined toll of life taken by drownings, burns, railroad mishaps, firearms, poison gases, other poisons, and so on.

The question, "Are more men and women killed in accidents while they are at work or while they are not at work?" The answer in the 1939 edition of *Accident Facts*, just off the press, is that more are killed while they are NOT at work. Last year 94,000 persons died in accidents. Deaths of employed men and women contributed 37,500 to the total. Of these, only 16,500 were due to work accidents. The remainder, 21,000, resulted from accidents that occurred away from work.

Of the *not-at-work* fatalities suffered by employed persons, 13,000 resulted from motor vehicle accidents, 8,000 from non-motor vehicle accidents.

More people are killed in the course of farm work than in any other one industry. The agricultural accident death total in 1938 was 4,300, or 26 per cent of the all-industries total of 16,500.

There were 4,000 accident fatalities in trade and service industries, 2,700 in construction work, 2,000 in transportation and public utilities, 2,000 in manufacturing and 1,500 in mining, quarrying, oil and gas well operations.

In addition to the deaths there were 1,350,000 work accident injuries. The total of deaths and injuries represented an economic loss of about $650,000,000.

"Oh it's nothing, just a scratch . . . ." But "just a scratch" and comparable small cuts and lacerations were a million dollar item last year for organizations that pay compensation to employees.

The National Safety Council's statistical yearbook notes: "One out of ten compensated occupational injuries involves infection. Many of these cases begin as small scratches or lacerations that would have resulted in no disability if proper medical treatment had been given promptly."

If all states had similar proportions of infections and paid compensation on the same basis as four states in which a survey was made, the national compensation total for infected occupational injuries in 1938 was about $11,000,000.

Surprise: The bathroom isn't the most dangerous room in the house. Despite legend, rumors and old wives' tales, in 4,600 home accidents occurring in Chicago the bathroom actually was the scene of fewer home accidents than almost any other room in the house.

Accident Facts ranks the rooms of the average house with respect to the number of accidents that occur there, as follows: stairs and steps, 23 per cent; yard, 19 per cent; kitchen, 18; living room, 9; porch, 7; bedroom, 7; basement, 6; others (dining room, bathroom, pantry, etc.), 11.

"However," the National Safety Council's experts say, "don't let the figures fool you into believing there isn't a real danger of electric shocks, falls, slipping in the bathtub or gargling from the wrong bottle when you're after the mouth wash."

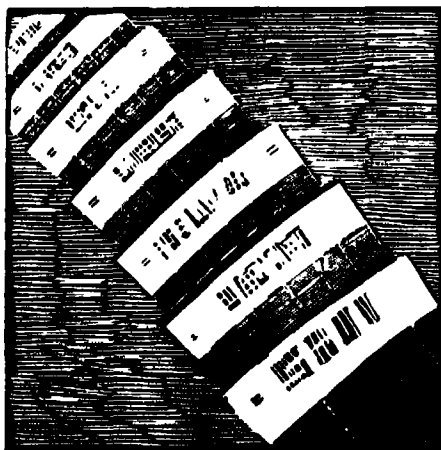
Youth has been charged with going to the dogs and other places, but, whatever its destination, America's young men and women progressed more carefully during 1938 than their older critics.

Accident fatalities among young adults, between fifteen and twenty-four years of age, were 18 per cent fewer in 1938 than in 1937. In the twenty-five to sixty-four year group fatalities were 14 per cent fewer. They were 12 per cent fewer for children between five and fourteen years and 1 per cent fewer among children up to five.

Travel by scheduled domestic airlines was safer in 1938 than in any other year during the history of commercial aviation. In 1930 there were 28.6 accident deaths among passengers per 100,000,000 passenger miles flown by scheduled domestic airlines. In 1938 the rate had dropped 84 per cent below the 1930 figure, to 4.5 passenger deaths per 100,000,000 passenger miles.

The safety of airplane travel increased steadily through the nine year period. From 1930, there was a yearly drop in the death rate to 4.6, the figure reached in 1933. The rates jumped in 1934 and 1936, but 1937 saw another drop in the rate, and it hit an all-time low in 1938.

Approximately seventy-five hun-

dred persons drowned in 1938, almost exactly 50 per cent of them during June, July and August. About five thousand of the drownings occurred while the victims were swimming. Two of every five drowning victims (both male and female) were under twenty years of age. And, men, listen to this: Five of every six drowning victims were men and boys!

R. S. V. P.

—*From an article in* The Washington Post.

It appears that the Rev. Mr. D. H. Whittaker, an evangelist, of Nashville, Tennessee, has eaten nothing for twelve days because he has not had an answer to a letter that he wrote to the president. Mr. Whittaker says he will not break his fast until the answer is delivered to him and then only if it is the right kind of answer.

Mr. Whittaker refuses to divulge the contents of his letter, and we dare say Mr. Roosevelt found it something of a poser. Suppose Mr. Whittaker said, "What are you going to do about the deficit?" or "What about all this third-term talk?" But these might have gone automatically into Mr. Early's famous "below the belt" bag.

Anyhow, we think Mr. Whittaker is putting an exceedingly dangerous notion into people's heads. He says he has written to the President before, but that the answer he got was "not the kind I wanted." Suppose people in general should take to writing letters like the following:

> Dear Mr. Editor: I beg to inform you that your letter stating that while my poem, "Baby's Blue Booties," had been examined with interest, it is unfortunately not suited to your present needs, is not the kind of answer I wanted from you. I am returning the MS with warning that I will accept no nourishment until I see my poem published in your magazine."

Or like this:

> Dear sir: I call your attention to the fact that it is several months since you have paid us anything on your account, and our patience is exhausted. You are hereby notified that neither I nor any member of our entire credit department will touch food or drink until your check for the unpaid balance is received.

We shudder to imagine what, under those circumstances, the death rate from malnutrition would be!

Herblock Nea

Peace Marches On.

Senator Ashurst on Ghost Writers

—*Condensed from "Ghost Writing" by Senator Henry Ashurst in* The Congressional Record.

Recently an article appeared in a current magazine which went on to say that ghost writing had its origin about the beginning of the twentieth century, but the fact is that ghost writing has been practiced for many centuries.

It was among the Greeks that public speaking as an art had its development. In its flower, it produced the models of eloquence for all succeeding orators. In the days of remote antiquity the theory prevailed that every citizen should be his own advocate in settling his disputes.

For this reason one Corax, in the Greek city of Syracuse, in the fifth century B. C., set up a school to instruct or coach private citizens how to urge their rights and claims before magistrates and juries and thus assist those persons lacking in forensic skill.

After Corax there flourished in Athens a speech writer, one Lysias, who adapted his compositions to the character and station in life of the man or client who was to deliver them.

Among the Greeks eloquence was an end in itself, but among the Romans eloquence took a more practical turn. Gaius Gracchus, whose eloquence was much praised by the ancients, was charged by his opponent as having employed a ghost writer to compose his speeches.

It seems to be definitely established that the speeches delivered by the Roman Emperor Nero were written by his Prime Minister, Seneca.

Press dispatches have just an-

nounced the discovery of the tomb of great Cæsar's ghost writer, one Aulus Hirtius, who was born 90 B. C. and died 43 B. C. Hirtius was a distinguished historian, and, while it cannot be affirmed with absolute certainty, it is more than probable that Hirtius wrote some portion of Cæsar's *Commentaries*, dividing with Oppius, another ghost writer of that day, the credit for authorship of the eighth book of the Gallic Wars.

It is the opinion of this writer that, unless the beautiful flower of gratitude has withered and perished, the American ghost writers of the present day, who are "thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brooks in Vallombrosa," will remember Hirtius' name with thankfulness for having modestly furnished so excellent a *pattern of ghost writing*.

Uncle Sam's Map-Maker

Condensed from The Boston Evening Transcript.

You'll look a long way before you find a more unusual job than the one held by C. E. Reubsam, who works for the Department of the Interior in Washington

Mr. Reubsam spends all his time bringing the official map of the United States up to date. It's a job that never ends, because as fast as he gets one set of corrections made they bring him a lot more Names change, towns spring up or vanish, rivers shift their courses, boundaries are altered and there are some millions of acres that have never yet been properly surveyed.

All of this comes down on Mr. Reubsam. He is the engraver who makes the big copper plates from which the master map of the United States is printed. He does it all by hand, and he has to do it all backward. The whole thing is just about the most exacting and painstaking job I ever had a look at.

The 1938 edition of the official map is being issued by the General Land Office of the Interior Department. It comes in a big sheet seven feet wide by five feet high, and as far as the government is concerned, it is the map of the United States.

They don't make new plates for each biennial issue of the map; they just make changes in the old plates. Mr. Reubsam has been on the job since 1922, and he says he's still using the plates that were in service when he started.

Right now he is finishing a job that has kept him busy off and on for a year and a half—making a new map of Utah, to insert in the next big United States map. A lot of park and forest boundaries had been changed in Utah, and new and official surveys had come through; he figured he couldn't make the necessary changes in the old plate without spoiling it, so he started in from scratch to make a brand-new one.

Now, when you figure that every single feature on this map has to be put on the copper plate by hand, including all of the lettering, the shaded mountain areas, the land range lines, latitude and longitude lines, railroads and so on; and then when you add the fact that this is all done backward, and that every tool-prick on the map has to be put in just exactly the right location--then you begin to see why this little map of Utah has kept Mr. Reubsam busy for eighteen months.

Although every word on the map is hand lettered, Mr. Reubsam has to keep up on type fonts one kind of type being used for big cities, another for smaller towns, another for rivers, and so on.

Dream Highways

Condensed from an article by Richard L. Strout in The Christian Science Monitor.

The Federal Government may shortly start building mile-a-minute "dream highways" in the form of toll roads, under the proposed lending-spending program, that may open up a brand new phase of transportation and a brand new phase of financing.

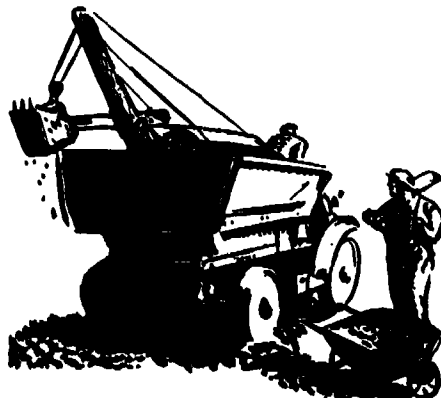
The highways would be the answer to the motorist's dream. They would be magic carpets of cement. They would be four-lane, divided affairs, by-passing cities, rolling out nobly over the countryside, slicing short cuts over the map, jumping or tunneling less ambitious thoroughfares. They would be the roads of the future. The lending bill sets aside $750,000,000 for "self-liquidating express post roads and highway improvements," and proposes to spend $150,000,000 of this amount in this fiscal year.

This April the Federal Road Bureau's detailed consideration of such a program was sent to the President, who transmitted it with a message to Congress. It found one major route where the "road of tomorrow" on the toll basis proposed might be self-liquidating. This route stretched approximately along the Atlantic seaboard from Boston to Washington, through America's area of deepest traffic density.

The study of toll road possibilities was a fascinating estimate of America's highway needs in the year 1960 —for this was taken as the basing point of America's highway of "tomorrow." How many drivers would pay extra for a superhighway? How many would use it? What traffic would be necessary to support it? Where would such traffic be found? To these questions the modern crystal gazers of America, the engineers, made a series of inspired guesses with the aids of slide rules and graphs.

For toll they picked 1 cent a mile for passenger cars, and 3.5 cents for busses and motor trucks. The latter would be on a ratio of 1 to 4 with the others, it was estimated, making an average toll rate of 1.5 cents per vehicle-mile.

But who would use these toll roads? Half of all families with cars have annual income of $1,500 or less, and a toll of 1 cent a mile would appear as a 100 per cent increase in cost of operation. Not more than a third of normal drivers it was decided, if that many, would be willing to pay for the speed, driving comfort, and safety of these cement marvels. Even so, on the one-third basis, congestion is such that the Atlantic "Route No. 1" might well pay for itself, it was estimated.

As proposed, the superroad would not use existing facilities. It would duplicate them and transcend them. Looked at in the draftsman's notebook, the road makes the driver's mouth water. There must be people who would pay cash for such travel, the experts sapiently comment, for observe, when drivers now have a

chance to go fast on big highways they do so, though it may increase gasoline cost 50 per cent. The new mile-a-minute super-highways would make fast travel safer it is urged. Right hand traffic would be separated from left hand and there would be no cross traffic at all. It would be a highway without stop signals; a green light all the way from Boston to Washington and step on the gas every minute! Do you shudder at the prospect? Well, it would be next thing to flying on land, it is argued, and high speed safety would really be enhanced.

The plan has been thought out in detail, but there is one hitch in it. Do Americans really want toll roads back again? In their first form they passed out of the picture with the Conestoga wagon. A strong argument may be made either way. Some people will maintain that all roads, like schools, should be free. Others will deny the validity of the analogy, and point out that these toll roads would deny nobody existing facilities, but would proportion taxation to luxury use, at the same time that it set men to work on a major undertaking.

Mr. Gifford's Private Secretary

Condensed from an article in The New York World-Telegram.

Elizabeth Taylor's hand shook when her new boss began dictating. It was her first day as stenographer to Walter Gifford, then vice-president of the Bell Telephone system, the biggest business enterprise in the world. Mr. Gifford's New England tones flowed mildly along, slowing occasionally to let his stenographer's pencil keep pace with his words. That was fifteen years ago. Now, Mr. Gifford is president of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company, and his former stenographer is his private secretary. Mr. Gifford has charge of 250,000 employees. His salary is $206,250 a year.

Even fifteen years ago, Walter Gifford was a man an employee might well stand in awe of, for he was already being mentioned as next president of the corporation. His first job, at nineteen, had been with the Western Electric, a subsidiary of the Bell system. At twenty-five, Theodore Vail, then president, appointed him chief statistician of A. T. and T., also part of the Bell system. Eight years later, the federal government commandeered him to prepare a statistical analysis of 27,000 manufacturing concerns whose facilities could be used in national defense.

During the last six months of the World War he served as secretary to the American group of the Inter-Allied Munitions Council in Paris. After the Armistice he returned to the telephone company as comptroller.

L'Humanité, Paris

"What is a globe?"
"It is the Rome-Berlin axis, surrounded by vital space."

Le Canard Enchaine, Paris

"What is an island?"
"It's a British concession surrounded on all sides by Japanese."

When Miss Taylor applied for a job with the Bell system in 1921, Mr. Gifford had been executive vice-president two years.

Like him, she has never worked for any other company. The year she was graduated from a Brooklyn secretarial school, she went to work as stenographer in the legal department for the American Telephone Co.

Her home in Brooklyn is a comfortable three-story red brick house at 854 East Thirty-ninth Street. The house belongs to her father, John Taylor, who is connected with a dairy concern. He was born in Orange County, New York, where her mother grew up.

Miss Taylor leans toward simple things for business, but thinks a girl should be as feminine as possible when it comes to evening dresses. She has never bobbed her hair. It is very pretty—a light brown with gold glints. She is also steadfast in her choice of restaurants and lack of vices. She doesn't smoke, drinks seldom, and then only wine. She starts buying Christmas presents in October. On the whole she likes men better than women.

"They have traits I admire tremendously," she explained.

Two of her interests duplicate those of Mr. Gifford. She likes mathematics and antiques. Difficult problems in arithmetic fascinate her and she can't pass a secondhand store. Now she is collecting early American glass. When she went on a Scandinavian cruise she bought silver in Copenhagen. She'd like to go back to Copenhagen again.

Mr. Gifford has a new bell-in-the-box telephone in his office. It probably will be put on the market next year. He and a few other executives of the company are trying it out. As a rule, however, telephone bells don't ring in Mr. Gifford's offices. Lamps flash instead.

Miss Taylor doesn't take dictation.

"The job has changed," she said. "Mr. Gifford has assumed so much more responsibility. Naturally the work has had to be readjusted.

"It would be impossible for him to see all those who call. I talk to the people first, send them to the department they really want, or if it is something in our office, turn them over to Mr. Gifford's assistant, Mr. O'Connor. Every time a phone gets out of order the first thing a subscriber does is try to get hold of Mr. Gifford."

Miss Taylor handles all of Mr. Gifford's personal accounts, makes out his income tax, pays his bills, takes care of the five servants in the town house at 113 East Seventieth Street, and the six in the Gifford country home at Armonk, New York. She also keeps track of the two sons, Sherman and Richard, in a financial way. Their mother, who was divorced in 1929, died in 1937.

Miss Taylor gets to the office every morning at nine, about the same time that Mr. Gifford arrives. He usually stays long after five. In the fifteen years she has worked for him he has never been late for an appointment, but she doesn't take that credit entirely to herself.

"Even if I weren't here to remind Mr. Gifford, he wouldn't be late," she said. "He isn't that type of a person."

Asked what she thought of him, she said it was too bad there weren't more men like him.

She thinks he would make a great President of the United States, but she is afraid to voice the idea because she doesn't know what A. T. and T. would do without him. Like Mr. Gifford, she is a Republican.

She said he could see the other fellow's side. When a profile of him appeared in *The New Yorker* he was more interested in other people's reaction to it than his own.

Mr. Gifford has never once praised her work, but when she questioned her ability to take charge of his affairs the day she was promoted from a stenographer to private secretary, he said: "I have confidence in you."

Chain Store Survey

-From an article in The Christian Science Monitor, *Boston.*

All chain stores lumped together as a whole operate at lower expense ratios, pay higher average wages, show greater sales per employee and have a faster rate of stock turnover than do independent stores as a whole; but such factors as the usually greater size of chain stores, their location in larger towns and cities and their frequently limited services make accurate comparisons difficult and render dangerous any judgment as to the inherently greater efficiency of one type over the other.

These findings and conclusions are set forth by a special research staff of the Twentieth Century Fund which has just completed a survey of the cost of distributing goods in the United States.

Summing up the general influence of chain stores on our merchandising system the survey says:

"The chains inaugurated new methods of buying and selling and demonstrated new advantages and economies which woke up hundreds of thousands of independent merchants and their customers to the

need for better shopkeeping and a speed-up in the flow of goods. In many a country village the presence of a modern systematized chain store has jolted the local storekeeper out of his easygoing habits to the benefit of the whole community.

"Although chain methods have their disadvantages, they have clearly demonstrated the benefits of mass buying under central supervision, careful stock control, rapid turnover, central warehousing, intelligent display and store arrangement, standards of cleanliness and quality, effective use of part-time employees, systematic selection and training of the selling force and elimination of non-essential services. It was soon discovered that many of the advantages of the chains could be adopted or achieved under independent management by better co-operation between retailers, wholesalers and producers. Economies were effected by other types of business operation which have made them better able to compete with the chains. Consumers as well as business interests have been at least partially influenced by the lower price levels of the chains to establish co-operative enterprises to cut the price spread between the production cost of goods and the ultimate selling price."

The English Schoolboy Losing His Tails

—Condensed from a dispatch from London, by Ralph W. Barnes, to The New York Herald-Tribune.

"Gad, sir, this is intolerable!" Colonel Blimp, proverbial retired British officer with walrus mustache, can be imagined jumping from his club chair on learning that Repton School, Derbyshire, one of England's exclusive institutions for boys in their 'teens, has abolished tails and striped trousers as the student uniform. Until a few weeks ago the Repton School catalog prescribed: "Boys are required to wear 'Marlborough' coats and turnover collars or morning coats and tails, according to their size."

For many decades boys in English schools of this type have been obliged to affect costumes resembling those which their elders discarded long ago, except on formal occasions. Black has been the conspicuous feature of nearly all school uniforms. True, the broad white "Eton collar" softened the mature effect in the dress of younger students. Although silk hats are the rule, a few schools combined tails and striped trousers with low-crowned straw hats, presenting a humorous effect except to Englishmen imbued with the traditions of the "old school tie."

For older students—of the age of juniors or seniors in American high schools—the formality is extended to obligatory "butterfly collars." Often the costume is carried out to the rolled black umbrella, prescribed for English gentlemen long before Prime Minister Chamberlain made it famous. A flower in the lapel is also a common affectation.

Repton School, founded in the sixteenth century, has now made bold to challenge these hoary traditions. H. G. Michael Clarke, forty-year-old head master, announces: "The governors have decided to abolish the present school uniform of tail coat and striped trousers and to replace it by some kind of cloth made up so as to allow greater freedom and less to divide the Reptonian from his fellow countrymen. My decision was confirmed by the way the boys furtively enveloped themselves in mackintoshes to hide their tail-coat suits when venturing outside the school gates—even on the hottest summer days."

Mr. Clarke insists on treating tradition realistically, discarding that which no longer fulfils a function. Undoubtedly some Repton alumni felt that he lowered the dignity of the school when, last year, he permitted Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer to employ two hundred students as extras in filming on the school grounds "Goodbye, Mr. Chips," which portrayed life in one of these institutions as it was several decades ago. Mr. Clarke himself appeared in one of the shots. Decked out in stovepipe trousers, fustian waistcoat and

ed side-whiskers, he acted as lines-an for a rugby football match as ayed in the 1870's.

When abolition of Repton tails as decreed, *The London Daily Mail* owled editorially:

"It will be a bad day for Eton hen top hats are no longer worn ere, and for Harrow when flat gray aw hats cease to be the badge of distinguished tribe. Many people ill regret that youth should be ught this early to disregard sar-orial appearance. The value of for-al clothes is not that they may ake a man look better, but that ey will make him feel better."

The consensus of the boys at Rep-on seems to be that dress reform is a jolly decent idea." One of them uggested that a fellow "looked a bit f a chump walking over the Derby-hire moors in tails and striped rousers." But this spark from Rep-on is unlikely to set off a revolution n attire for boy students. Take the entiment at Westminster School, ondon, founded by Queen Elizabeth, oiced by an older student, himself n top hat: "It's tradition, man, these niforms," he said, with serious face.

Only a few years ago Mr. Clarke's redecessor, John Traill Christie, ersuaded Repton governors to sub-titute the ample Marlborough coat or the short-cut, close-fitting Eton acket, until then prescribed for ounger students at the school and till obligatory for those of like age t Eton and similar institutions. The Eton jacket," he said, "is either comfortable nor convenient, nd hygienically it leaves off where ought to begin."

The head master of Sherborne chool, a similar institution, came ut on Mr. Christie's side: "This acket exposes both the kidneys and he liver, and it is not good even to ok at."

The confraternity of "old boys" rom the aristocratic "public schools" f England (which are really private chools) is the object of derision in uarters which feel ostracized. Labor ircles are especially sharp in their riticism of "public school exclusive-ss" and labor leaders charge that he old school tie runs the country."

A good part of the Chamberlain abinet consists of "old boys" of he "public schools." Mr. Chamber-lain himself was at Rugby. Eton aims Viscount Halifax, Foreign ecretary; Lord Stanhope, First ord of the Admiralty; Oliver Stanley, President of the Board of Trade, and Earl de la Warr, President of the Board of Education. Harrow claims Sir Samuel Hoare, Home Secretary; the Marquis of Zetland, Secretary for India, and Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith, Minister of Agriculture.

Inside Britain's Foreign Office

—Condensed from an article by Sir Robert Vansittart in The Listener.

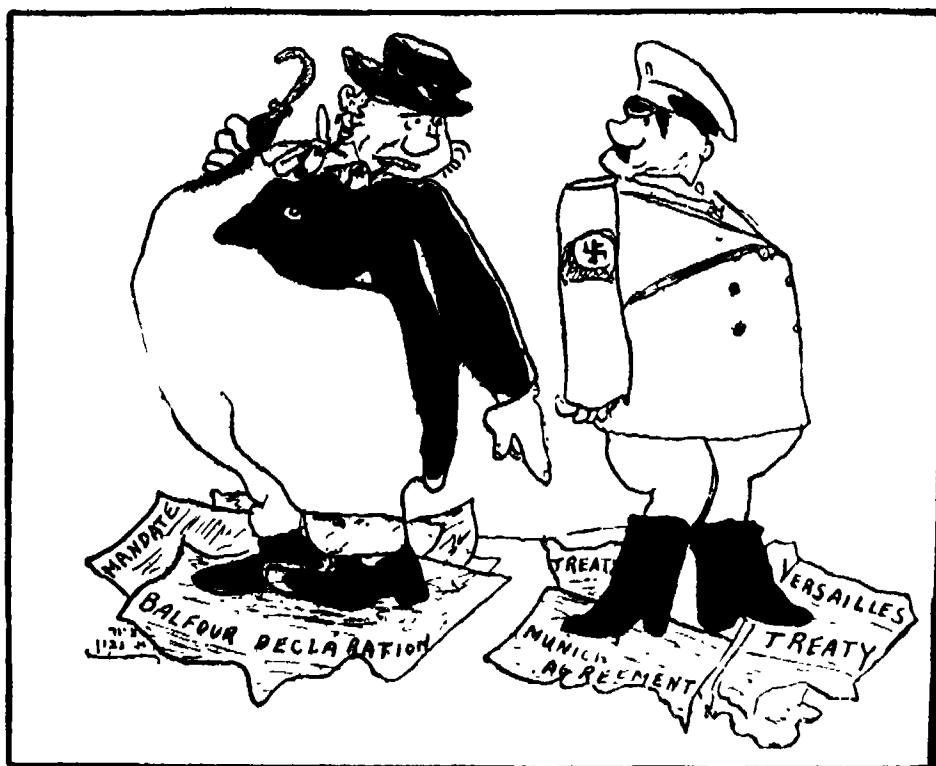
I first joined the Foreign Office thirty-seven years ago. We used to turn up at twelve, adjourn at one-thirty for lunch, and break up at six. And only a few years earlier one young man—I admit that he got the sack—used to drift round the departments in the afternoon with two packs of cards in his tail-pocket. We mostly used to wear frock-coats and top-hats in those days.

In 1902, the year in which I joined the Service, there were received some fifty-four thousand dispatches, telegrams, and letters to be dealt with officially, and the same number of communications were sent out of the Office: in 1938 the number of receipts was nearly a quarter of a million; and the outgoing communications amounted to at least five times the number of incoming papers.

You may ask how the staff of the Foreign Office has grown to meet this great increase in business. In 1902 the Office contained about 150 persons all told (of whom only eight were women, and they were typists): at the present time we have about 420 men and 350 women. The department of Overseas Trade contains 300 men and 160 women. The reasons for this great and enduring blizzard of papers are obvious: you have only to look round at the condition of the world today; and what a world!

The Foreign Office and the Diplomatic Service are now one. There was always a small interchange between the two—I spent all my younger years in the Diplomatic Service—but now they are merged, and a young man on his entry goes backwards and forwards between the two for a good many years, probably until he reaches the rank of Minister. A former requirement that a young diplomatist should have a little money of his own has now for some time been abolished (it was never a rule in the Foreign Office) and there are many who live entirely on their official salaries. Entry into the combined service is by way of open competition. Before candidates sit for the examination they must appear before a Board of Selection—drawn from men of experience in all walks of life—which meets once a year, and decides whether candidates have *prima facie* suitable qualifications for entry.

Candidates for the Consular Serv-

Frsha-Baerev, Palestine

"Excuse me, sir, aren't you treading on something?"

ice and the Commercial Diplomatic Service take the same examination as candidates for the Foreign Office and the Diplomatic Service. Members of these services are well paid, and there can hardly be a better life for a young man anxious to see the world.

It is a curious profession because it is the only one of which people outside are so often convinced that they know more than those inside. Our profession looks so easy, because it is dependent on the imponderable background of experience. If ever you hear that I have written a book on astronomy or gynecology, you will know that I am only imitating some of the eminent persons who write letters to *The Times*, and that imitation is the sincerest form of flattery.

Come to Canada

—From an article by Stephen Leacock in Canada.

When I say "Come to Canada" I am not inviting pushing young men and penniless young women. We have lots of them already—alas! pushing like blazes. What I am advocating is that people of moderate means in England, whose means are now being reduced by taxation and expenses below what "moderate" used to cover, should come out to Canada—means and all—take a "little place," and live on it and "off it" ever after.

I am not saying that they will make money. They will lose money, but lose it as gently and as gradually as the vigor of life fades into old age. And in the meantime, as the Lord and the Lady of a little Manor, their means will last out their life, and their children grow up in what will sooner or later be again a country of advancing glory.

A little place? Shall we say ten acres? That's not really enough—twenty or forty is better—with an old brick farmhouse on it that somebody built out of Crimean War wheat; outhouses, stables and barns—a little dilapidated, but think of the fun of restoring them—some huge old trees—elms, of course, and perhaps acacias—a lawn wide and sweeping but all ragged and overgrown, and flower-beds planted with the old-fashioned flowers of the England of a hundred years ago.

Are there such places in Canada? Can we find one? My dear sir, drive with me from Kingston on Lake Ontario to Windsor opposite Detroit, and I'll show you a thousand. Are there any for sale?—yes, practically they're all for sale. These were the homes set up by the "gentlemen farmers" who came out from the Old Country in the days of the Canada Company, say from 1825 to 1865, in just the way I describe, on just the terms that I propose—came and brought their money and their chattels and their dependants and so lived out their lives. For the time being large-scale immigration of people without means is off. It is off because, for the present, all business is off in Canada. Prices and wages and profits are dislocated and won't come together. Add up wages and they amount to more than what you sell the product for. Then hand them to the workman and let him add them up, and they come to less than what he can live on. Queer, isn't it? It's like the famous sixteen puzzle of the little blocks in the box. And if you put in an extra block called "taxes" the whole puzzle jams tight.

Hence we hark back to the earlier idea that used to be the basis of land settlement—namely, that people can live on and off the land. If I raise a hen and eat the hen, I don't need to worry about the price of the hen. If I have two cows on our little place of which we speak—see them down there in the shade of the big trees beside the brook, up to their knees in grass? co-boss! co-boss!—If, I say, I have two cows and I drink the milk, the price per quart is nothing to me, nor the price per pound of butter.

You'd be surprised at the things that come off a little place. At the present moment, for example, the hired man on my place (I write in February) is cutting and storing ice for next summer's use: great blocks of it out of Lake Couchiching, two feet by two feet by eighteen inches. Lift that, which costs nothing, and *then* read the prospectus of a frigid air company and laugh!

But, remember, you must never, never try to sell anything. That's the devil in the Garden of Eden: that way lies ruin: that way lie patent little machines, gasoline, costs—in short, business. You must only sell things that you happen to have over for which there is a price without extra costs. Even at that, your receipts from sales in the course of a year—but no, don't let me talk of it! *Vade retro, Satanas!* I tried growing *one mile* of staked peas two years ago, and feel the pain yet.

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Now we come to the final step. How do you get this "little place"? I'm taking for granted that you'll be content with about thirty acres—on the water if possible, but that comes higher—with fine old house *in bad repair* (that's where you get your fun), a quarter-acre of lawn, four acres of garden and grain, a "bush" —exactly. . . .

You can get that for $4,000, up to, say, $20,000, carefully avoiding urban areas where your taxes would queer the whole thing. Canada is bound in taxes as tight as Laocoon with snakes.

Your children, their education? Fine, all right. I was educated here myself.

You don't like to desert England when war might come? You don't need to; that's the beauty of it. With the children safe in the pasture meadow you can be home in England in five days, raising hell for somebody. Or no; better still, you can send the hired man.

Anyway, think it over. Behind these paragraphs are over sixty years of experience (I came in 1876), and an affection for life on the land that has grown with every year of it. For once I know what I'm talking about.

Chivalry of the Desert

—From an article in The Daily Mail, *London.*

The Arabs have frequently cut the pipe lines between the oil wells and Haifa. Each time a couple of experts have been compelled to go out in

the desert and mend them. Recently they found themselves surrounded by Arabs who wished to know what they were doing. It was an ugly moment, but they explained their mission quite frankly. The Arabs were most interested, admitting freely that they were the people who had been cutting the pipes.

"But why do you do it?" they were asked.

"Oh, we are paid five English pounds each time we do it," was the reply.

"Does it really matter where you cut them?" asked the Englishmen.

"Not a bit."

"Well," said the Englishmen, "if it's all the same to you, couldn't you cut them a bit nearer Haifa so that we do not have to go such a long way to mend them?"

"By all means," said the Arab leader, proving again the chivalry of the desert.

What's more, he has kept to his word.

Orlov, Moscow News

Ominous Shadow over Danzig.

Danzig Today

—Condensed from an article by Commander Stephen King-Hall in The K.-H. News-Letter.

The ordinary man-in-the-street in Germany is confident of two things: that Danzig and the Polish Corridor up to the pre-1919 German frontier (an area of 17,800 square miles) will come back to the Reich; and that this will be achieved without a Great War. He does not pretend to know *how* Hitler will do it; he is in the frame of mind of a spectator at a conjuring performance who knows that the magician will somehow produce the rabbit out of the hat. He has faith.

The "high-ups," however, can not only explain the trick, but are preparing for its performance. What may very likely happen is as follows. When the moment is ripe (and this may not be until there have been a number of incidents on the explosive German-Polish frontier) the *Volkstag* at Danzig, which is a 98 per cent Nazi body, will "spontaneously declare" that it wills itself into the Reich. This demonstration may perhaps coincide with a courtesy visit of German men-of-war to the Free City of Danzig.

Hitler will note and welcome this gesture. He will not demand the withdrawal of the Polish authorities in Danzig, nor will he send troops into the city. He will not need to do so because (a) he is a man of peace—he has said so, and personally I think he often believes it; (b) the Danzigers can in a variety of ways render the Polish representatives as helpless as were the Mikados in the days of the Shogunate in Japan (pre-1853); (c) the Danzigers will raise their own internal army and call it the local police. This is already happening, since arms are being run into Danzig from East Prussia nearly every night, and by a recent law every Danziger between the age of eighteen and twenty-five is liable for service in the police!

It is true that the Poles have five divisions sitting around Danzig, and they hold the only bridge over the Vistula, but what can they do to check this artful technique of peaceful absorption? They might at some stage or other rush into Danzig; they say they can get there in half an hour. This would suit the Germans admirably. They would speed to the rescue of Danzig and take the greatest care to act strictly on the defensive in the west. They would assert that they were dealing with a large-scale "local incident" and place the onus of declaring war on France and Great Britain. This, according to the high-up Nazis, would not suit the democracies; so they would do nothing, and the Poles would be left holding the baby and asking for terms which would be stiff and comprehensive.

"But supposing"- I said to a prominent Nazi during a recent visit to Berlin "supposing you've misjudged public opinion in Great Britain and France, what then?" They have the answer pat. "Yours will be the responsibility for having started a world war, and we shall be able to show our *Volk* how right we were in saying we were being encircled."

I must say without any qualifications that the German propaganda campaign on the home front, designed to prove to the German nation that it is being encircled by a ruthless coalition inspired and organized by Great Britain, is having a big success. The régime is, in fact, both explaining and *preparing the ground for* Hitler's next conjuring trick.

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business. The Marshal is not well—he reduced his weight by forty pounds too rapidly—and his advocacy of extreme caution has put him out of favor with the Führer but increased the esteem with which he is regarded by the General Staff. But Ribbentrop, who is filled with a personal dislike for England and most of the English, is saying, first, that the Western Powers won't function unless they are attacked; and, second, that "a little war" against the Poles would "blood" the German Army and be good for the Führer's prestige.

Portugal and Its Dictator

—From an article in The Manchester Guardian.

Portugal, connected with Great Britain by an alliance which dates from 1386, is perhaps the only country in Europe, besides Britain, with an Atlantic "outlook." Spain always was a Mediterranean country; Portugal's interests were on the ocean. In this may be found the reason for this ancient alliance.

Her situation on the Atlantic and near the Straits of Gibraltar makes Portugal extremely important as an ally to Britain. During the Spanish Civil War there were doubts in some quarters as to Portugal's policy during the crisis, and it was feared that the ties of the alliance had somewhat loosened. But there is no doubt that Portugal remains faithful to Great Britain and to the alliance.

There is no shadow of doubt that Portugal is ruled by a dictatorship, and this is openly confessed here. If anyone from England or the United States were to make his first visit to the Continent in Portugal he would probably find the regime oppressive. The last eight years of my life, however, have been spent in Central and Eastern Europe, but if one compares Portugal with Austria, Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia and so on, one finds that the "dictatorship" of Dr. Antonia de Oliveira Salazar is probably the most humane and least oppressive of all. Politicians who were exiled from Lisbon to the West African colonies would probably be angry at hearing this defense of Salazar, but amongst the many dictatorships the Portuguese one seems to be the mildest. It is certainly more gentle than was even Dr. von Schuschnigg's regime, the reason being that Schuschnigg was exposed to a direct Nazi attack and had to adopt harsher forms of rule, while Portugal is not exposed to any interference from without, which permits a gentler way with political opponents.

The corporative Constitution in Portugal differs from the Italian because it is not totalitarian. This is a dictatorship, but not on a totalitarian basis. People in the cafés still criticize and discuss the regime, and do not fear imprisonment for it. But public discussion of politics is prohibited, as it was in Austria.

There is a striking resemblance between the former Austrian Chancellor, Mgr. Seipel, and Dr. Salazar. Even the profile of Dr. Salazar reminds one of Seipel's clear-cut face. Seipel, of course, was an ordained priest; Salazar only came near to becoming one. But if he finally chose a lay instead of a clerical profession, Dr. Salazar's deep Roman Catholic faith must be considered the propelling motive of all his actions.

Dr. Salazar was born only a few weeks after Herr Hitler. But what a gulf separates the minds of those two men! People may not agree with his principles and ideas, or understand his deep-seated hatred of liberalism. But that was the same with Seipel and Schuschnigg. Dr. Salazar lives only for his ideas, only for Portugal. He is an ascetic, as Dr. Seipel was; power brings no personal advantage to him.

I am convinced that he would like to be back in his chair at the Coimbra University where he formerly taught national economics before he was "fished away" to become Finance Minister in April 1928. He was asked to put Portuguese finances into order—and he did. Salazar lived in a small flat for years and only with difficulty could be induced to move into the luxurious building of the Prime Minister's office. But when his friends came to visit him they discovered that he had refurnished three rooms in the palace with his old shabby "donnish" furniture and lived in those rooms.

He lives on less than forty pounds a month. The only thing which interests him is his work. He has no social life at all. Though he is the Premier and dictator of his country, the former professor of economics remains at heart still the Minister of Finance. (For besides being Premier he is the Minister of War and Finance as well.) Repeatedly it happens that when answering a 'phone call he says: "This is the Minister of Finance."

As in all dictatorial countries, there is a youth movement here led on Catholic lines (though the Germans would like to convert it into something like the Hitler Youth). The other day a youth of the movement wrote a letter to Salazar, saying: "Premier, you can count on me." Salazar took the trouble to wire back to him: "I am counting on you."

Whether the corporative system will be a success in Portugal it is hard to tell. But probably the experiment is cheaper than in some other countries. In any case, under Dr. Salazar's regime Portugal has put her finances in order and is today one of the few countries where free exchange still prevails without currency restrictions.

How to Do Business in Mexico

—Condensed from a statement by H. O. Johnson, Secretary and Manager of the American Chamber of Commerce of Mexico, Mexico City.

Developments in Mexico have caused concerns in the United States to put a question mark alongside Mexican business. Shortly after Mexico's expropriation of foreign-owned oil properties, when the exchange rate fell, many American companies became panic-stricken, and without awaiting further developments stopped all credit, demanding that future orders be accompanied by cash. What was the result? Material formerly purchased from the U.S.A. is now being purchased in Europe.

Are European countries using such methods to obtain business? Indeed not; and they are making rapid strides in Mexico as in all Latin American countries.

The American Chamber of Commerce of Mexico has kept business, chambers of commerce, trade organizations, etc., informed of opportunities here in Mexico for American products. We intend to do more. It is up to all of us—not only secretaries of chambers of commerce, but the manufacturer, the exporter, and the press—to put forth a supreme effort. Every dollar's worth of material we ship outside the United States helps to better our own condition.

I disagree with statements that the businessman is doing everything possible to bring about more export trade for the United States. The businessman may blame legislation, lack of co-operation from the government, rates of exchange, tariff barriers, barter trade, economic conditions, credits, losses and a hundred and one other causes. But the truth is that business can be obtained.

Then too, businessmen (not all of them, true) believe that if they are to do business with a foreign country they should do it on the same basis as in the United States. If they find that they cannot, which is true, they throw up their hands.

Many companies believe that they can send as their representatives to foreign countries men who have never before been there, who do not speak the language, do not know the habits and customs of the people, their likes and dislikes, manner of doing business, social life. Other companies do not answer foreign correspondence at once, do not comply with the important little details of foreign orders such as packing, shipping instructions, documents and a host of other necessities. It is the small things that count, especially in Latin America.

Business in the United States complains that totalitarian countries have such cheap prices on their merchandise that United States manufacturers cannot compete. Why can't we face the condition squarely and try to do something about it?

If I were a businessman, large or small, I would figure the exact cost of my merchandise for export and put it on sale at that price for foreign consumption. I would call it "export price." In so doing I would be able to meet competition. Above all I would need additional employees to produce this merchandise. They in turn would receive a wage and thereby become a purchasing power not only for merchandise that I produce for domestic consumption (and on which I make a reasonable profit) but for merchandise that other manufacturers produce. I would thus lose nothing on my foreign sales. Multiply this by thousands of other businesses that could use the same procedure and see how many we could take off our unemployment list. This would decrease payments by the government to men out of work, on relief, etc. Some companies are doing exactly that which I have mentioned, and it has proved successful. If others will follow, we will find our markets in other countries to be big ones, and will place our United States back in an era of prosperity.

Wroble na Dachu, Krakow

A Polish View of the Alliance—Before and After.

Prize Products

—*From* The K.-H. News-Letter, *London.*

A few weeks ago some elderly Swiss reservists who had been called to the colors found themselves at a post on the Swiss-German frontier. Some young and smartly turned out German troops were a few yards distant, and after making some rather uncomplimentary remarks about the Swiss soldiers—with particular reference to their appearance—the Germans collected some road-sweepings, put them in a box and sent them across the frontier, "With compliments."

The Swiss got a kilo of butter and sent it back with the message: "Each nation sends to the other of its best!"

Spontaneous Boycott of the Nazis in Prague

—*Condensed from an article by Edmond Demaitre in* Petit Parisien, *Paris.*

To live in Prague a few days is to understand that the Czechs are not reconciled to the fate that Hitler has in store for them. Full of cold realism, they have decided to abstain from futile demonstrations, at once heroic and theatrical. They prefer a much less dramatic, but from their point of view much more useful policy, that is, passive resistance. The Czechs meet only each other. No German is allowed in their circles. They refuse to speak any other language but Czech. They buy exclusively Czech products. They avoid stores, cafés and cinemas whose owners are not Czechs.

The windows of the Nazified stores are full of photographs showing long queues of poor Czechs being fed by the good-hearted German soldiers. "Generous Germany sends provisions to the starving population of Bohemia," say the enormous headlines in the papers. The Czechs, who know how well off their country was before the invasion, look at the photographs, shrug their shoulders and walk away without saying a word.

BUSINESS

Low-Rental Housing

—Condensed from a news dispatch to The St. Louis Post-Dispatch *from Washington, D. C.*

THE government has been urged by Gerard B. Lambert of St. Louis to apply on a large scale an experiment in low-rental housing conducted by him last year, at Princeton, N. J.

The experimental project, financed by Mr. Lambert, and carried out with the approval of the Federal Housing Administration, consisted of a demonstration unit housing ten families, each with four rooms and bath, at a rental of $25 per month. Construction was of brick, with slate roofs and copper plumbing. Union labor and standard materials were used throughout. The entire cost of the project was $30,000, including purchase of the land. It was completed in December, and rented to ten families, chosen from a long waiting list.

The project was then turned over, at cost, to the housing authority of the Borough of Princeton, which in turn delivered to Mr. Lambert $30,000 worth of its own bonds, paying 4 per cent annually on outstanding balances, and to be amortized in twenty-eight years. These bonds are exempt from state and federal taxes. The success of the undertaking led to a similar one in New Brunswick, N. J.

Mr. Lambert believes that there are five million American families, able to pay from $5 to $10 a month per room or equivalent purchase payments, providing a market for housing that would absorb huge investments for a decade to come, and exerting an effect upon industry comparable to that of a new invention.

"Speaking generally," he says, "all dwelling construction is planned and undertaken by speculative capital. A recent study has shown that most of our automobiles were built by three companies last year, but that the dominant factor in house building was a group of more than 113,000 small contractors with an average annual business somewhat less than $9000. Surely this is shoestring speculative capital, and the builder must, of necessity, try to obtain the highest possible return on his equity."

There is evidence, he believes, that the profit received in the field of housing by such speculative capital often exceeds 27 per cent. He proposes that a new type of corporation be authorized for the sole purpose of erecting and managing low rental housing, and that its profits be limited by law to 4 per cent; and that revenue from this source be exempted from income surtax when it does not exceed 5 per cent of total income.

To banish speculative capital from housing, he proposes that ownership should pass from the builder as soon as he has received his original investment plus a modest definite return. To reduce local taxes, he urges that title to the property should, after amortization, pass to the municipality in which it is situated, which, in return for the equity, would be willing to reduce taxes. With these two things brought about, he thinks, the principal obstacles to low rents will be removed.

Building Boomlet

—The following four items are condensed from The Christian Science Monitor.

The dollar volume of residential building contracts let during the first six months of 1939 was greater than for any similar period since 1929, while the six months' contract total of $644,527,000 in the thirty-seven states east of the Rocky Mountains was 61 per cent greater than the total for the first half of 1938 and 25 per cent greater than that for the same period in 1937, according to figures released here by the Dodge Statistical Research Bureau.

All sections of the country participated in the building increases, the jump ranging from 19 per cent in New England to 125 per cent in the Cleveland area, the report says, adding that out of a $245,000,000 increase over the 1938 period, $181,000,000 came from private residential building and $64,000,000 came from public housing projects.

Non-residential building is reported to have also shown an increase over the first six months of 1938, with a total of $516,579,000, as compared with $433,220,000 last year. This was a 19 per cent increase. In the non-residential classification, public contract volume increased 42 per cent and private contracts increased 2 per cent.

Residential, non-residential and heavy engineering contracts awarded in the 1939 first half together aggregated $1,699,364,000, an increase of 31 per cent over a year ago.

Safe Machines

So much attention has been given in recent years to increasing safety in industry that figures show jobs once highly dangerous are today twice as safe as staying home.

This is especially true for employees of the Westinghouse plants in East Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where the accident frequency rate this year has dropped approximately 26 per cent under last year's figures, making 1939 so far the safest year in the company's history.

Reduction of accidents is largely attributed to safety education carried on by safety committees in every division of the company and publication of a monthly Safety News, in which all plants contribute information and suggestions on safer working habits and environments.

Automatic safety guards on all machines are a big help in the campaign, so are safety shoes with steel toes and goggles and protective hoods for men engaged in grinding or cutting jobs where flying particles are apt to be hazardous.

Convict Labor and Silk

Alabama, with convict labor, is setting out to retry an experiment first begun by King James I of England in 1619—the production of silk in America.

The state is going to give the silk worm a twentieth century chance, and "it isn't going to cost the State a thing, except convict labor, and there's more of that than we can utilize," said Col. W. E. Persons, Chief of Corrections and Institutions.

A contract has been signed with a New York firm whereby the State agrees to devote twenty acres to production of twenty thousand white mulberry trees, upon which the worms feed.

The State will cultivate and tend the trees with convicts, the eastern corporation furnishing "certified" eggs from which the silk-spinners will be produced.

Dr. Ludwig Harpootlian of Brooklyn, one of the nation's outstanding sericulturists, will supervise the project at Atmore State Prison farm, a scant fifty miles from the Gulf of Mexico.

"If we are successful," said Mr. Persons, "in working out a plan whereby silk can be produced profitably on American farms, we will have served a twofold purpose; first, we will have created a new means of livelihood for agriculturists, and second, we will have guaranteed supplies of American manufacturers, which now consume 90 per cent of Japan's silk exports."

When Railroads Rent Autos

Several of the large western railroads are planning to provide automobile rental service for passengers. The railroads, in conjunction with rental agencies, plan not only on business travelers but also on the tourist who now is forced to drive many long and hard miles so that he may have his car at his vacation destination.

The plan, first put into practical operation in New England, has been made quite simple. Railroad passengers may either deposit $20 at the rental agency, or present identification cards through railroad or personal references. All the vacationist need do is to speak to the conductor, and a wire will be dispatched, free of charge, for the reservation. A free taxicab ride from the station to the agency is also provided.

It is planned to extend the plan, later, so that the passenger need not return to his starting point, but may turn the car over to another agency station, perhaps one hundred or more miles away. The basic charge has been fixed at 8 cents a mile, with a minimum average of ten miles per hour. The daily rate is 8 cents a mile, minimum use seventy-five miles in twelve hours, and five miles for each subsequent hour. These are the rates which have been applied in New England; the western railroads hope to make them even more attractive.

Fiscal Year

—*From* The Washington Post.

American business and industrial corporations in increasing numbers are studying the advantages of the natural fiscal year basis of accounting which was in almost universal use in the United States prior to 1909. Many companies are giving up the calendar year basis and are realizing the economies and other advantages which result from keeping their books of account and preparing their annual statements for natural seasonal years ending at those dates when inventories, receivables and liabilities are normally at their low points.

This was the declaration of Francis E. Ross, of Detroit, chairman of the special committee on natural business year of the American Institute of Accountants, in making public the results of studies made jointly by the American Institute of Accountants, the Natural Business Year Council and the research and statistical division of Dun & Bradstreet.

"The natural business year of an enterprise," Ross explained, "is that period of twelve consecutive months which ends when the business activities of that enterprise have reached the lowest point in their annual cycle; that is, at the time when receivables, inventories and liabilities are normally at their lowest point in the year.

"More than eight thousand corporations changed to the natural fiscal year basis of accounting from the calendar year basis in the three years ending last May," added Chairman Ross. The great majority of corporations, he said, still close their books at the end of the calendar year on December 31, many of them "under the mistaken idea that present tax laws compel them to keep their accounts on the calendar year basis."

Car Colors

—*Condensed from* The Baltimore Evening Sun.

Three out of ten motorists in America prefer their cars black, but not in California, or Arizona, or Florida. In those States, as well as many others in the South and West where blazing sunshine is the rule, the popular colors are grays and blues and tans.

Differences in color preferences over a period of time and in different sections make it necessary for color experts to study fashion trends, so as to anticipate changing demand. Out in front each year is black, about 30 per cent of the motorists preferring it. This choice varies widely, however. More than 40 per cent of New England drivers select black cars and only 16 per cent of the motorists in the Southwest.

Blues and grays come next as the nation's favorite automobile colors, being chosen respectively by approximately 25 per cent and 20 per cent of the drivers. Green follows in the preference list with 14 per cent, trailed by brown and maroon with about 5 per cent each.

Adjacent sections frequently display diverse tastes. Light hues predominate in California, while Washington and Oregon go in for dark tones. Blue is No. 1 choice in the prairie states, although black tops that color in the States immediately to the east.

Henry Ford's Billion

—*Condensed from* The Chicago Daily Tribune.

Henry Ford made a billion dollars on the 27 million cars he manufactured in the years from 1903 to 1937, according to a recent Federal Trade Commission report. It is an astonishing record for any business; it appears as a miracle when it is recalled that the business started with just $28,000 in its treasury thirty-six years ago.

This must infuriate the envious. It leaves us without rancor. Automobiles have been more profitable to us than to their makers, and that is true of every one. If the automobile makers' profits had not been large, they could not have built the vast plants which have supplied a motor vehicle to nearly every family in the country.

Big profits, in the aggregate, came to the successful automobile manufacturers by applying the principle of the division of labor to a greater extent than ever before. This increased tremendously the number of units which could be produced by a given number of workmen and a given amount of equipment. A second

factor in the success has been the attraction offered to the best workmen by what were regarded as sensationally high wages. And a third factor has been the taking account of the principle of elastic demand.

Under Ford's leadership, car prices were reduced steadily. Willingness to take a reducing margin of profit on each car so broadened the potential market that total profits were greater than they could possibly have been if prices had been sustained.

And thus Ford made his billion. But he isn't sitting on it or eating it. He didn't invest it in the government's deficit nor in tax free municipals. He invested it in factories and machinery, employing at high wages thousands who otherwise might have had no jobs. He employed also other thousands in building additions to his blast furnaces, foundries, coke ovens, and factories.

Recent years' results have not been so good. Both 1937 and 1938 were profitless for Ford. But we do not get any comfort out of that fact. It means that he will not have profits to be reinvested. He will not enlarge. It may be that he will have to lay off workmen. Those who would otherwise have opportunities to work in an expanding Ford program can blame their joblessness upon unwise, vindictive legislation which has made it impossible for Ford and many others to make profits.

Savings Bank Insurance

—Condensed from The New York Herald-Tribune.

It was on January 5 of this year that three large New York city savings banks formally opened over-the-counter insurance departments as adjuncts to their banking business. New York thus became the second State to put into practical operation the "Massachusetts plan" for selling low-cost insurance, introduced in that Commonwealth by Louis D. Brandeis as early as 1907.

Figures released recently afford an accounting of the results of this experiment in its first six months of trial. These show that since the law became operative three additional banks have entered the business of underwriting life insurance, while seven others have become selling agencies. The total amount of life insurance written by these thirteen banks has been $4,074,450.

These figures are by no means sensational, but they indicate that this innovation has made a sound start. Compared with the aggregate volume of insurance written in the State in the last six months the $4,074,450 would represent a very small total. Nevertheless, the experiment has proceeded at a far more rapid pace than it did in Massachusetts in its formative years.

A breakdown made by one bank reveals that 51.4 per cent of the policies written have been for "clerks, laborers, waiters, etc."; 25 per cent for "mechanics, tailors, printers, chauffeurs, etc."; 6.6 per cent for housewives, and 6 per cent for children.

Persons in the professions and executives, combined, have accounted for only 6.6 per cent of the total. These figures coupled with figures showing that the average amount of the policies issued has been only $827, are offered as evidence that savings-bank insurance in New York State is reaching the lower-income brackets in whose interest it was devised.

Mars Comes Close

From The Emporia Gazette.

MARS, the ruddy planet shining brighter than any star in the southeastern sky of the early evening, is making its closest approach to earth in fifteen years. On July 27 it will be only a mere 36,030,000 miles away. The moon is only about

But don't expect a visitation of Men from Mars. Don't even expect most astronomers to be more interested in this astronomical event than they were last October when Orson Welles dramatized H. G. Wells' interplanetary fantasy.

Anew there is sure to be more discussion about the possibility of life on Mars. Meaning to most people,

Most conservative astronon feel that the changes in tint obser in certain areas of Mars may sa be regarded as seasonal changes vegetation. There is also a cycl shrinking and expanding of the p caps with the Martian seasons, wh if of snow and ice, would contrib to seasonal vegetational chan Since vegetation is a form of l most astronomers will agree t there is probably life on Mars. it is life of a low order, not necess ly intelligent life.

The idea of intelligent life bound up with the supposed "can of Mars. Not over 15 per cent at outside of modern astronomers, Herbert D. Curtis, director of University of Michigan Observat estimates, believe in the existence the long, straight and narrow ma ings first reported in 1877 by Italian astronomer, Schiaparelli. called the "canale," which sho have been translated into English "channels" connecting suppo Martian oceans. Unfortunately word was actually translated as "c als," which suggests artificial c struction. Hypothetical inhabita were created to perform these gr feats of engineering skill and strange race of Martians was b of popular and literary imaginati

Whether these canals actually ist is one of the major controvers in astronomy with the vast major of astronomers voting that they not. Significant is the fact that p tographs, even with the largest t scopes, do not show them. Much the work on Mars has been done w small telescopes by observers v made drawings of what their e beheld. Physiological and psycholo cal effects may build up "canals" of random shadings and features minute to be separately dist guished.

Radium Carrier

—Condensed from The New Y World-Telegram.

Five small galvanized iron buck were recently transported thro the streets of New York for a c tance of less than three miles a cost of $1,000. Each of the buck contained a carefully protected fl holding one gram of radium in s tion and each flask was wo $25,000.

The high cost of the express

radium—two policemen took care of that—but to the great danger to the man who had to remove the flasks from the safes that held them, pack them in the buckets and remove them when they reached their destination.

The man who did the job was A. L. Miller, for years a chemical engineer in the radium industry, but now a life insurance agent at Pittsburgh. He had no enthusiasm for the work despite the $1,000 he was paid, but agreed to do it because he is a close friend of Dr. G. Failla, physicist in charge of radium for the Memorial Hospital for Cancer and Allied Diseases.

When the hospital moved from its old building at 2 W. 106 Street to its fine new building at 444 E. 68 Street some one had to be found to move the radium. The only man Dr. Failla knew who had the experience to do it was Mr. Miller and he agreed only out of friendship.

"I stopped handling radium as a steady diet ten years ago," he said. "I noticed it didn't improve my health any and I buried three of my associates. I decided it was a good time to get out when I saw people looking around for flowers for me."

Mr. Miller moved four grams of radium salts from the old hospital to the new, and later moved the five flasks of radium in solution. In the old hospital they were in two heavy safes, the safes pierced by rods connected with a mercury pressure pump. The pump was used to draw gas from the flasks, and the gas was placed in capsules and used in the treatment of deep cancers.

Mr. Miller's job was to open the safes, disconnect the rods from the flasks, take the flasks to the radium room of the new hospital, pour the solution into new flasks (in case the old ones had deteriorated) and connect the new flasks with rods leading to a pump.

His first trouble was that the lock on one safe—it hadn't been opened for five years because of the danger of burns in handling radium—was rusted so badly that it couldn't be opened.

Charles Courtney, the famous locksmith who is called for difficult and dangerous jobs all over the world, was summoned. He drilled off the lock *without disturbing the radium*, although with considerable damage to the nerves of Mr. Miller.

Then everyone left the hot and humid room except Mr. Miller who stripped to his pants and undershirt because the heat was getting to be too much for him. Mr. Miller put on a mask connected with 25 feet of hose and stretched the hose out of the door of the radium room to air that would not be contaminated with gas from the radium flasks after the safes were opened.

He pulled open the door of one safe and disconnected a rod leading to the pump. He took out a flask of radium salts, about four inches long, which was already inclosed in a porcelain container in a brass cylinder. He wrapped the cylinder carefully in absorbent cotton and paper and put it in a heavy glass beaker. He wrapped the beaker in cotton and paper and put it in an enameled pail. He wrapped the pail in cotton and paper and put it in a larger galvanized iron pail.

Then he carried the pail from the room, removed the mask and put the pail in a heavy wooden case bolted to the floor of a station wagon. A chauffeur, a policeman and Mr. Miller climbed into the station wagon and a motorcycle policeman started ahead.

On his next trip he took two pails and on the third trip the last two.

He was asked what was the worst part of the job and he said:

"All of it's tough from the start to the finish. There is a certain amount of nervous strain when you consider the value of the stuff you're handling and there is danger to your health. Breathing in this radium gas can cause a change in your blood condition and affect your system generally. But it's perfectly all right—it's all in the day's run—except that it's funny, don't you think, for a life insurance man to be handling radium?"

Kress Collection

—From The New York Times.

THE Samuel H. Kress collection of Italian art, which has been called one of the finest of its sort in the world, has been given to the National Gallery of Art. The treasures assembled by the New York man, founder and head of a chain-store system, will be housed in the new building now under construction as a gift of Andrew W. Mellon, who also gave his art collection to the government.

The Kress gift consists of 375 paintings and eighteen pieces of sculpture, the former representing virtually all the important painters of the Italian school from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century. According to the announcement, no precise valuation can be put on the collection because the objects it contains are unique, but it was learned elsewhere that it was valued by Lord Duveen at more than $25,000,000. It represents the first important acquisition of the gallery since the original gift by Mr. Mellon.

David K. E. Bruce, president of the gallery's board of trustees, in announcing acceptance of the collection said:

"Art critics who have seen the Kress collection write in praise not only of the beauty and quality of the paintings but also of their fine condition. Mr. Kress has spared neither effort nor expense to conserve these works of art so that they may be fully appreciated and seen to the best advantage.

"Experts state there is no private collection in the world, and very few museums, which can illustrate in as complete a manner as the Kress collection the development of the Italian school of painting and sculpture during the Renaissance period.

"When this great collection is installed in the National Gallery, with the other masterpieces already there, this newly established gallery will immediately become one of the outstanding centers for the study of the Italian school of art, not only in the United States but in the world."

Epstein Answers His Critics

—Condensed from The News Chronicle, *London.*

To a tempest of curses from the art critics, Epstein comes back into the news again. His "Adam" at the Leicester Galleries has pained the connoisseurs and maddened the coteries.

Epstein alone remains as cool as

the alabaster he carves in. Ever since, as a comparatively unknown sculptor, he produced the figures for the British Medical Association's building in the Strand, the critics have boiled up regularly like a volcano and done their utmost to drown him in streams of abuse.

"Obscene!" they roar. "A shameful exhibition! . . . Crude and shocking! . . . . An insult to art!" And so on.

Epstein is not indifferent to these assaults. I asked him what he thought of the critics and their estimate of "Adam."

"Somebody," I pointed out, "has called it 'a biologist's nightmare.' What d'you think of that?"

"Well," said Epstein, "that's just a couple of words. My aims are not biological. My aim is the creation of sculpture. I don't give lessons in biology."

"Somebody else," I added, "calls 'Adam' 'three tons of ugliness.' How do you reply to that?"

"That is the critic's opinion. I wouldn't have his head cut off, you know. It's a free country."

I asked him whether he read all the criticisms of his work. "Of course I do," he said. "That pretended modesty on the part of the artist—I have not got it. But if the critics don't like my work they can be very damaging and I don't get any commissions.

"If they praise anyone it is usually an artist with a reputation, who is already dead. But I have outlasted some of them and I hope I shall outlast a few more.

"All the critics, I'm sure, will be glad to come to my funeral."

"You think there is a fundamental antagonism between critics and artists?"

"Yes. All the non-producing people are against the creative people. There is a natural jealousy dividing them."

Epstein reminded me of the treatment he had received last summer over his "Baudelaire" drawings. Scarcely one critic, he said, understood what he was trying to do, and the usual chorus of derision went up.

"The other day a dealer came to me and remarked: 'You know, Epstein, it's very difficult to live with these drawings—the Baudelaire ones.'

"I said to him: 'You know perfectly well that if they'd been signed by ... live with them at once.' On that occasion there wasn't a single critical notice that seemed to show any understanding of my work. Critics are all twenty years behind the times—when they aren't fifty years behind!

"I once exhibited a number of studies of my daughter, Peggy Jean. Some of the critics said I had made her look like a criminal. They were determined to find something wicked in my portrait of her. One critic went so far as to say: 'Even the soul of a child is not safe in his hands!'

"Such notices naturally do a lot of harm, and it is no use my pretending they don't. The attacks of the critics on my architectural work, for instance, have prevented architects from giving me commissions. I am wicked. I must be punished!

"My statue of Rima was attacked for heaven knows what reason! During a whole summer they sent people there to discover some obscenity in it.

"Critics will even tell you they haven't time to see your work, there are too many exhibitions, they can't give you more than five minutes.

"What is a man to do? His living and reputation are contained in those five minutes."

"You attack the critics," I said. "Do you consider you are a good critic yourself?"

"Yes," said Epstein. "An artist is supposed to be inarticulate. But that is not the case. It is simply that he doesn't take the trouble to criticize, to explain; and he hasn't the time. He does not live long enough to finish his own work. What time has he to criticize? But in working, in actual contact with hard problems and difficult material, he learns more about criticism than a critic does."

He told me of a peer who had ordered a bust of himself and when it was completed had forgotten about it for five years.

But this is the sculptor's life and

Epstein takes it for granted. A the critics, he realizes that ther other people in the world who know a thing or two. And thu declares, he is able to live.

Dancing and Morals

—Condensed from The Milwa Journal.

If there is anything designe create more consternation in th tional bosom than the new styl women's hats, it is undoubtedly new dances. Proper persons for y have been viewing with alarm a cession of shocking steps—the ny hug, turkey trot, the charle black bottom, truckin', the shag big apple and the Lambeth walk. latest is the "chestnut tree."

Yet there was a time when graceful waltz itself was far fror ceptable and caused more social motion than the jitterbug exer of today arouse. The other day a of Hollywood scholars, doing search for a costume film, was a ished to learn of the chilly rece which was given the waltz upo introduction to London in 181 point of fact, long before the Br had had the opportunity to shocked, the dactylic step of em ing partners had created a fur the Continent.

The grand period of the wal placed at 1750 to 1900. It is almo popular today as it was a gener ago, and long before 1750 the Ita and the French had been step through the three-four meas with the same pleasure that descendants get. The waltz prol originated in Italy, traveled France and thence into Gern where it developed almost into a about the time of the American I lution.

It was a time of revolution in r lands. Even the peoples far from tle scenes were growing tired of tocratic fashions, especially dainty old dames of the courts, their mincing and bows and fi touching.

When the waltz really desce upon the Germans, the old-timer gan to warn furiously agains cesses. A learned observer, Sa Jakob Wolf, published in 17 tract, *The Most Important Caus the Weakness of Our Generati Regard to the Waltz.*

When Princess Lieven brough

and introduced it at the stylish Almack's club, the controversy was renewed vigorously, The idea that a lady and a gentleman, not married to each other, should rest in each other's arms and glide about shamelessly proved revolting to many an old-fashioned Britisher.

Even the profligate poet, Lord Byron, certainly a man of the world, could not accept the new dance with equanimity. He tells of a hypothetical country gentleman, Horace Hornem, who goes to a town party and expects to see the traditional reels and cotillons. He arrives somewhat late and afterward describes the proceedings:

"Judge of my surprise, on arriving, to see poor dear Mrs. Hornem with her arms half around the loins of a huge hussar-looking gentleman I never set eyes on before; and his arms, to say the truth, were rather more than half around her waist; and the two were turning round and round to a seesaw up and down tune till it made me giddy with wondering they were not so. By and by they stopped a bit, and I thought they would sit or fall down. I asked what all this meant, when with a loud laugh, a child said, 'Lord, Mr. Hornem, can't you see they are waltzing?' "

Code for Broadcasters

—*From* The New York Herald-Tribune.

A program of "broadcasting standards" which will prevent the 322 member stations of the National Association of Broadcasters from presenting programs containing thirteen types of advertising was adopted July 12 at the seventeenth annual convention of the association.

The program of standards, which association officials said was unanimously approved provides that member stations shall not accept the following for advertising:

1. Any spirituous or hard liquor.
2. Any remedy or other product the sale of which or the method of sale of which constitutes a violation of law.
3. Any fortune-telling, mind-reading, or character-reading, by handwriting, numerology, palm-reading or astrology, or advertising related thereto.
4. Schools that offer questionable or untrue promises of employment as inducements for enrollment.
5. Matrimonial agencies.
6. Offers of "home-work," except by firms of unquestioned responsibility.
7. Any race track, "dopester" or tip-sheet publications.
8. All forms of speculative finance.
9. Cures and products claiming to cure.
10. Advertising statements or claims member stations know to be false, deceptive or grossly exaggerated.
11. Continuity which describes, repellently, any functions or symptomatic results of disturbances, or relief granted such disturbances through use of any product.
12. Unfair attacks upon competitors, competing products, or upon other industries, professions or institutions.
13. Misleading statements of price or value, or misleading comparisons of price or value.

Omitting Cause of Death

—*The following editorial, announcing an innovation in the treatment of obituary news, recently appeared in* The Hartford (Conn.) Courant, *one of America's oldest newspapers. It not only stirred up brisk discussion among journalists and medical men in Connecticut, but proved of great interest to the general public.*

ALTHOUGH it may be depriving its readers of a bit of information which they have been accustomed to find in the press, *The Courant* is now omitting to mention in its obituary columns the nature of the disease or ailment to which death was attributable. It is difficult to establish a hard and fast rule governing a matter of this sort; exceptions to it may at times seem necessary. Also it is possible that in the writing and editing of "copy" departures from the rule may inadvertently be made.

Perhaps it will readily occur to most discriminating persons why we have seen fit to impose this censorship on our columns. Every physician knows that the mental attitude of the patient has a great deal to do with his or her recovery, and it cannot be otherwise than disturbing to one undergoing treatment for a given disease to pick up the paper and read of deaths due to that same cause.

Furthermore, those who have recovered from a serious ailment of any sort often find it difficult to dismiss the fear that they may be visited by its recurrence. It is not helpful to their tranquility to have it paraded before them that other "cured" cases they may have perhaps known about were not lasting.

To one who is entirely well a sense of comfort and contentment is a great blessing; to one who has forebodings about his health the cultivation of this sense may make all the difference in the world to his enjoyment of life. If we can make through the policy here announced a small contribution to the peace of mind of those who foster gloomy predictions we shall be well satisfied.

While it is in large part the function of a newspaper to mirror life as it is, to report the evil along with the good, to deal at times in unpleasant truths, it is also its function to try to maintain a correct sense of proportion. What constitutes news admits of no precise definition; to those engaged in newspaper-making it is often a matter they must decide for themselves in accordance with their own judgment. The press has an obligation to the public as well as to itself, and, much as it might like to do so, it cannot omit from its category of news certain items which it knows must have an unfavorable effect on individuals. But in the matter here spoken of it seems entirely appropriate that we should adopt as a general policy a deviation from the practice so commonly employed in obituary columns.

Juan Hangs Up His Gun

(Continued from page 30)

found, gave Mexico a population of one million. The natural expectation, then, according to him, should have been:

1650	1,000,000	population
1700	5,000,000	"
1750	20,000,000	"
1800	30,000,000	"

But by 1910 Mexico's population was only 15,000,000; and in 1930, the last official census, 16,552,722. The estimated population now, in the summer of 1939, is somewhat in excess of 20,000,000. Allowing for epidemics and wars, the population of Mexico today should be well over 100,000,000.

The government's program for Juan's social and agrarian advancement is not, however, simply words and tokens. It is spending huge sums in behalf of education for the lower classes. The amount appropriated for education for 1939 is 67,075,000 pesos. At five pesos to the dollar, this is approximately $13,115,000. Ten years ago the appropriation was 27,165,063 pesos. In addition, the states and municipalities are spending easily double the government's contribution thus bringing the grand total earmarked for education up to 201,225,000 pesos.

Other items in the national budget could be classified under the heading of education. These include public health, 16,500,000 pesos; agrarian relief, 9,700,000 pesos; physical education, 1,500,000 pesos; infantile paralysis, 2,000,000 pesos; and agriculture, 37,500,000 pesos. This gives Juan Sanchez 134,275,000 pesos out of the national budget alone, and a grand total from all sources of 268,425,000 pesos, approximately $53,685,000. It's an incredible sum for a country whose reserve capital is hardly more than $200,000,000, and which looks to American tourists for $26,000,000 annually.

It is the student, not the soldier, in Mexico today. This is a startling reversal of the entire national aspect of the country. In 1909 advanced education was restricted to the upper and the upper middle class. With a population of close to 15,000,000, educational facilities beyond rudimentary and undirected learning were available for only 1,250 students! Consider, then, this fact from a government bulletin: During 1938 more than 100,000 men and women received educational instruction in the campaign against illiteracy.

Yet for all of his distrust toward movements in his behalf, Juan has deep reverence for education. In the state of Michoacan, he doffs his sombrero whenever the name of Bishop de Quiroga is mentioned. A Roman Catholic lawyer and a disciple of Sir Thomas More's Utopia, de Quiroga studied the book in its original Latin. He came to New Spain (Mexico) as a bishop in 1530. This was a period when Juan was forbidden by law to ride or own a horse and had to kneel, eyes to ground, when a Spaniard passed. The bishop planted socialism—it might almost be called communism today—for the first time in the New World. Finding the natives unorganized, he formed them into guilds, taught them trades and worked out a barter system of intervillage co-operative societies. After Bishop de Quiroga departed to join Sir Thomas, who was beheaded for refusing to recognize the King as head of the church, education as a stimulating factor in the life of Juan Sanchez rapidly declined. More tragically, it fell into the hands of corruptionists. Not until now has anyone come forward to take the place of de Quiroga.

The symbolic de Quiroga today is Mexico's rural school teacher, whose daily activities are not unlike the circuit-riding minister of early America, receiving immaterial compensation for what he has to do and endure. For the most part he is a rather ragged, unkempt bearer of the torch of knowledge. Fully authorized by the government, he is Juan's legal adviser, father confessor, instructor in the three R's, and mouthpiece for the government's propaganda. "The most important person in Mexico today is the rural school teacher," declares President Cardenas.

On the debit side, foreign interests with investments in Mexico blame these teachers for breathing life into expropriation laws and other anti-foreign restrictions lying long dead on the statute books.

Juan Sanchez himself is not altogether sold on the rural school teacher. He has found that in taking forcible possession of a piece of foreign-owned land after the rural school teacher explained how to do it—he enmeshed himself in a thorny briar patch of economics and finance. According to a Mexican educator his resentment has culminated in the assassination of more than two hundred of these teachers during the past five years. Some of these killings, it is said, occurred within school rooms, others under revolting circumstances that cannot be written down here. Two of the teachers with their ears cut off led a parade of educators in Mexico City a few months ago. So the government has now placed its rural school teachers under the protection of the Ministry of War. Some of them go about with a troop of cavalry under their command. Every rural school teacher is authorized to carry a weapon for self-defense, and usually has one, which is more than can be said of the President of the Republic.

As ingrained as is his distrust, however, Juan has tacitly agreed to put his government on probation. "In 1890 it was necessary to call upon the police to make children come to the rural schools," said Director of Indian Affairs Luis Chavez Orozco, formerly Sub-Director of Public Education. "And now it not unusual to call police to quell riots among children trying to crowd into rural schools already crowded beyond their normal capacity."

Juan Sanchez, discounting his inherited revolutionary tendencies, has indeed hung up his gun. But, knowing politicians and knowing Mexico, he has not hung it beyond easy reach.

Third Term For Roosevelt?

(Continued from page 16)

has made no such clear-cut statement as Theodore Roosevelt made in 1904. His strongest supporters and political intimates are publicly urging him to run and many of them are convinced that he will run. A great many of his opponents think he intends to run.

My own belief has been that he would not run although I have wavered in this at times, largely because of the failure of any acceptable successor to emerge. At the moment of writing I still do not believe he will run—a belief supported less by any tangible evidence than by doubts that he would attempt to defy such a deeply-rooted tradition and subject himself and the country to a political campaign of unprecedented bitterness, one which might leave ineradicable scars.

Mr. Roosevelt has, as any dominant president must have, a strong urge for power. Yet I do not believe it is as ruthless and uncontrolled as most of his enemies seem to think, nor sufficiently desperate to drive him into a fight to obtain a third term.

As we have seen whenever a president has served more than four years, and has had a reasonably successful administration, or at least has retained considerable popularity, the question of a third term arises. Thus far in our history the tradition against such a term has been upheld, either by the refusal of the president to run, or by the upsurge of deep-seated opposition to breaking the tradition. Only once, in the case of Theodore Roosevelt, has a man serving more than four years in the White House, even been nominated by a major party for another term. Roosevelt was nominated by the Progressives, not by the Republicans or Democrats.

Except with regard to the presidency, the theory of rotation in office has never been taken very seriously. Senators and Representatives who oppose a third term for a president often have served many terms in Congress. The day Senator Vandenberg of Michigan announced that he hoped the Republican presidential candidate next year would be pledged to serve only one term, he also announced that he would be a candidate for a third term in the United States Senate. Although a few states have one-term restrictions on their governors, other states re-elect governors for two, three, four and sometimes more terms, and appear to suffer no more from poor government than other states which rotate their governors more frequently. One United States Senator, Davis of Pennsylvania, who no doubt is against a third term for Mr. Roosevelt, served more than eight years as Secretary of Labor. Executive branches are staffed with many career men and the cry is for more of them. Supreme Court justices, who, in a sense, are more powerful even than the president because they can sponge out his most cherished measures, have life tenure. In private life, executives of large co porations, some of them exe authority vastly greater in e and social results than the go of many states, hold office definite periods. We are s only about the presidency.

It was a natural feeling early days of the nation, wh were first sinking our roots of government, and when we were nourishing our tender experiment under the glowering eyes of Europe. We were on guard against slipping back into an uncrowned monarchy, against the strong man on horseback. Soon the leveling influence of the frontier, arriving definitely with Jackson, reinforced the tradition.

Those earlier conditions which nourished the anti-third term tradition have disappeared, but perhaps in our day new ones have replaced them.

As government has become more complex, the power and discretion of the chief executive have increased, spreading out into a vast regulatory field. Within the limits laid down by law, and by the Constitution, the power of the presidency now is vastly expanded even over what it was a few years ago.

Again, in Europe, democratic forms have become hollow and meaningless and have given way to strong executives who quickly made themselves dictators in fact. Democracy is receding in Europe. In the larger countries it has either disappeared or retains only a tenuous hold, likely to be snapped at any time, as it was in France a few months ago when temporary government by decree was instituted. All of that has made Americans conscious of the dangers to democracy and self-government, and alert against the appearance of like tendencies here. That is why the cry of dictatorship was so effective against the Roosevelt Supreme Court bill and his first reorganization bill.

These are some of the conditions which would give a third-term candidacy at this particular time most explosive possibilities. For strategic reasons, the Republican National Committee deliberately is withholding its fire regarding a third term.

Were Mr Roosevelt to run again, the merits of his Administration would not be the issue, as they certainly should be. The opposition

most solidly in rebellion against the government in general and Mr Roosevelt in particular. It is a question, I think, how long a system set up as is ours, mainly dependent upon the initiative of private enterprise, can survive under a state of bloodless civil war with the government. In instituting reforms much overdue, Mr. Roosevelt has built his monument. But in the process an emotional gulf has developed between him and the business men of the country which apparently cannot be bridged at this late date. Bitter feeling on both sides overwhelms commonsense give-and-take. It cannot be helpful to the country to perpetuate this situation.

At this writing, Mr. Roosevelt has given no definite indication of his intentions with regard to another term. But I would not be surprised if the considerations which have controlled a number of his distinguished predecessors should prove also to be controlling with him. That, at any rate, is the way I like to think about it.

The World's Fair and Housing

HELEN F. BROWN

"THAT gives me an idea."

You will hear that sentence uttered again and again by feminine travelers visiting those exhibits at the New York World's Fair which display the latest developments in home building, home equipment, and home furnishing.

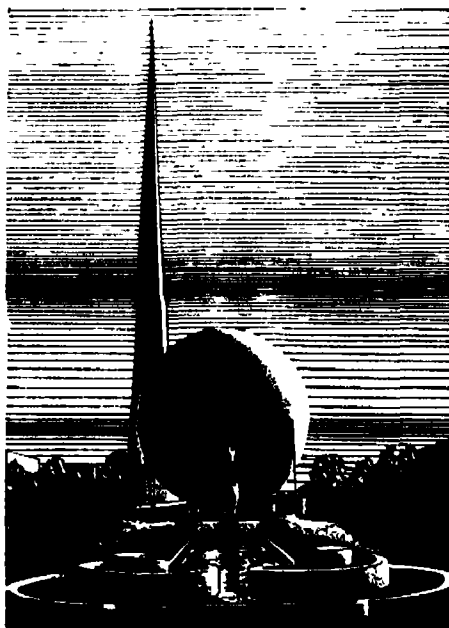
Husbands, trailing behind, may have a dubious look in their eyes, as if they felt premonitory pains and aches in the pocketbook. For the average American woman, when she gets an idea, doesn't rest until she sees it turned into reality. Because of financial limitations, the immediate evidence that Mrs. Jones missed nothing at the Fair may be only a tier of shelves holding potted plants on either side of a kitchen window, like those in General Electric's Magic Kitchen; but let the family circumstances improve, and you may be sure Mrs. Jones will have a Monel Metal sink, or an electric dishwasher, or both. And when it comes to building a new home, she will see to it that as many as possible of the features of the houses in the Town of Tomorrow are incorporated.

The aim of the New York World's Fair, as expressed in its slogan, "Building the World of Tomorrow," is to show the products, available today, which will contribute to better living tomorrow. It seems safe to say that in no other field will the impact of the Fair's displays be felt more immediately than in those individual segments of the world called homes. Visitors flock to see General Motors' vast conception of the highways and towns of the future, but the average man can do little to realize this dream; its accomplishment rests with those few who plan our communities, and development in community undertakings is inevitably slow. But when it comes to individual homes, each of us, as far as purse permits, may do just as he—or, more frequently, she—likes; and what woman could fail to covet the gleaming new materials, the labor-saving equipment, so enticingly displayed at the Fair?

An evaluation of those Fair exhibits pertaining to the home should therefore give a fairly accurate idea of how the average American family will be living in the not-too-distant future. These exhibits are scattered about, many of them in commercial displays such as those of General Electric and Westinghouse, others in the Fair-built Homes Furnishings Building and Home Building Center; but it is in the Town of Tomorrow, a community of fifteen Demonstration Homes, that the application of new ideas and products to the home may be most clearly seen. These Demonstration Homes, sponsored by the manufacturers of home-building materials and equipment, were designed by well-known architects. They range in price from $3000 to $35,000, and in architecture from the traditional New England House to the most modern House of Glass. But they display certain common features which indicate what tomorrow's homes will be like, regardless

of the architectural preference of their owners.

First of all, America is moving outdoors; or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the outdoors is moving into the home. This is most clearly evidenced in the House of Glass, sponsored by Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company and Pittsburgh Corning Corporation, and concerning which the architect frankly says that "few persons or families may want to reproduce this house exactly as it is shown." Although in demonstrating the possibilities of glass the architect has here gone purposely to extremes, nevertheless the wide window areas which make the garden almost a part of the rooms, the terraces upstairs and down which provide for outdoor living, are features found in practically every one of the houses. So general is this airiness that the first reaction of the visitor entering the New England House, charming though its exterior appears to eyes somewhat wearied by the modern formulas employed in many of the other homes, is "What tiny windows! What a dark room!" Yet windows and lighting in this house are still well above the average for homes in which Americans live today.

The porch, always a popular feature in our climate, has undergone a change. No longer is it perched high, surrounded by a half-wall and low-roofed, cutting off light from the rooms within and cutting off breezes from its occupants. It is now as open as is consistent with protection, and in many cases is simply a terrace. The housewife, eying the gay furniture which, weatherproof though it is, would soon lose its freshness if it were not rescued from every shower, may question the practicality of such openness, but the trend nevertheless is obvious. Furthermore, the porch is no longer restricted to one side of the house. Charming little

terraces appear outside dining-rooms, encouraging al fresco meals; sun decks opening from bedrooms are common; and one home even provides a narrow porch on the side of the garage for the benefit of servants.

The second significant development in the planning of these houses is the manner in which many rooms are designed for double utility. The room which serves more than one purpose is not new in American life. Many a study has done duty as a guest room, many a guest room has become, on occasion, a sewing-room; but usually these double functions have grown out of family necessities rather than deliberate architectural planning. Now architects are definitely considering means of utilizing space to its utmost by making it serve several purposes.

House No. 1 in the Town of Tomorrow, sponsored by the National Home Builders Bureau, even bears the title, "The Dual Duty House." Designed for the modest budget (cost approximately $5,000), it contains many features of comfort and efficiency formerly found only in *larger and more expensive* residences. The living-room is also library, music-room, and solarium; an alcove in this room serves as dining-alcove or study. A "convenience wall" in the master bedroom provides equipment for a sewing-room and domestic office. A utility room (replacing a cellar) contains heating and laundry equipment and may be used as photographer's dark room, while the attractively finished, heated garage may house a work bench and sports equipment.

Nor is this Dual Duty House unique. Many of the smaller houses have utility rooms, where modern clean, attractive heating units are located side by side with laundry equipment. Living-rooms are frequently planned to include dining facilities, which may be hidden by flexible partitions when in use and at other times added to the usable space of the living-room. The House of Vistas contains one room labelled simply "Multi-Use," which might be used as an office, a study, a guest room, or part of the living-room This house has been specifically designed so that living-room, dining-room, and terraces may be thrown into one large room, giving a sense of size unusual in a small house and ideal for entertaining. Indeed, one of the major accomplishments of double-purpose planning is the sense of spaciousness which is achieved when several small, stuffy rooms are replaced by a larger unit serving several purposes. Here again, as in the fenestration and porches, the modern emphasis on light and air is demonstrated.

In construction, the home of tomorrow may diverge from today's homes even more widely than in planning. Only two of the Demonstration Homes at the Fair have exteriors of wood; five are built mainly of brick; the rest use either artificial materials which simulate wood, such as asbestos or asphalt shingles, or are built of modern materials such as concrete block and glass brick. An unusual construction material is that of the House of Plywood, in which Douglas Fir Plywood is used for both exterior and interior surfaces, giving an effect of smooth sheets of wood. The Celotex House also demonstrates the use of artificial produc[illegible] cinder block and celotex shingl[illegible] ing used for the exterior, and ous Celotex products replacing *ventional plaster and paper* [illegible] terior walls.

Each house contains an [illegible] showing the construction of [illegible] roofs, and floors, and there are layouts of plumbing, wiring, and telephone conduit, to demonstrate developments in the hidden parts of the house. However, with the exception of factors which contribute directly to convenience and comfort, such as the installation of adequate telephone conduit and outlets for future, as well as immediate, use, and the insulation of the house against cold and heat (a feature of ten of the fifteen houses), the average home-builder generally leaves the more technical features of construction to the architect and builders.

Oil or gas heating, clean and convenient, predominates in these Demonstration Homes, winter air-conditioning, which means filtering and humidifying, as well as heating, the air, appears three times; and three of the houses have air-cooling units as well. Lighting is planned by the National Better Light-Better Sight Bureau to insure comfortable seeing without glare or shadows; and the National Adequate Wiring Bureau sees to it that wiring is suitable and that there are enough outlets and switches, properly placed for safety and convenience.

Important as heating and lighting are, however, they do not compare in interest to the equipment designed to lighten the work of the housewife. It is in the kitchens and laundries that feminine visitors to the Town of Tomorrow linger, gazing enviously at the new machines which perform automatically the tasks which were formerly most tedious.

TAKE, for instance, the GE Planned Kitchen in the Electric Home, sponsored by the General Electric Company. Here is the electric refrigerator, already familiar in many homes, but now including several new features--different types of storage for meats, vegetables, salads, and miscellaneous foods, as well as conveniences such as adjustable shelves and interior lighting. Next is the electric range, offering many new aids to successful cooking, including time as well as heat controls, so that dinner may be started automatically while the cook is somewhere else. The electric sink solves two household problems: it contains a dishwasher which, in one operation, washes dishes, glasses, silverware, and cooking utensils, finishing with a rinse so hot that the dishes dry themselves; and it also contains the new Disposall, which grinds up all food waste, even bones, to a pulp which is flushed down the drain, leaving only cans and bottles to be disposed of, instead of today's unpleasant garbage.

All these mechanical marvels, gleaming in metal and enamel, are scientifically arranged for the most efficient use, and GE Unit Kitchen Cabinets, made of steel and designed to join with the sink, range, and refrigerator, provide storage space and working surfaces. And there is more—a ventilating fan, an electric mixer, coffee maker, toaster, waffle iron, and finally a radio to brighten those few hours which must still be spent in the kitchen. Laundry equipment includes electric washing machine and ironer, as well as electric hand iron.

Another fascinating exhibit of electric kitchen and laundry equipment is that in the Westinghouse Building, where models show the most efficient ways to plan a kitchen, including the ideal U-shape, the L-shape, and the two-wall type. Here, too, a Westinghouse dishwasher demonstrates its superiority over "Mrs. Drudge's" dishpan-and-towel method, in a contest judged on the basis of time, cleanliness, and condition of the worker at the finish.

That electricity is not the only servant of the modern housewife is shown in two of the houses in the Town of Tomorrow, where gas is used for cooking and refrigeration as well as house heating and water heating, and more especially in "Homewood", the all-gas demonstration home which is located in the Gas Exhibits Building. Here the laundry includes a gas clothes dryer, so that a rainy washday need no longer be a domestic tragedy.

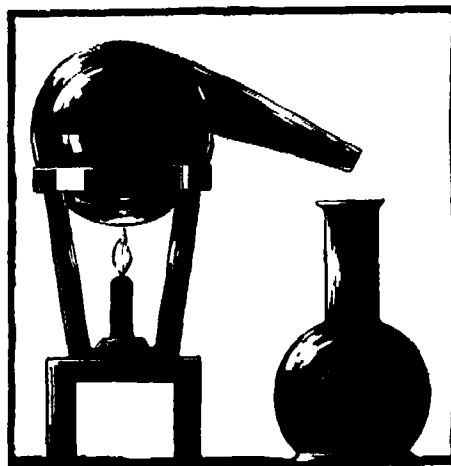
All these kitchens and laundries are pleasant places in which to work. They are, primarily, easy to keep clean, but the sleek whiteness of the cabinets, the frequent use of gleaming Monel Metal for sinks and working surfaces, which might result in too austere an atmosphere, are relieved by the gay colors of the linoleum or tiled floors. Colorful linoleum is also employed for working surfaces, and colored glass tile makes effective walls in the kitchen of the Glass House. Color is an integral part of the planning of tomorrow's Kitchens.

How will the rest of tomorrow's home be furnished? This is a difficult question to answer, for styles in interior decoration change almost as rapidly as feminine fashions, and the houses in the Town of Tomorrow, decorated in most cases by department stores and furniture stores, exemplify today's taste. A color scheme here, an arrangement of furniture there, will doubtless be noted and put into practice by visitors, but long-range developments are unpredictable. One thing *is* evident: so-called "modern" furniture is far from ousting traditional styles. Only one-third of the houses are done exclusively in the modern style, although modern influences are felt in adaptations of some of the period styles.

It is quite possible that stronger influences on the course of interior decoration will be exerted by the exhibits of foreign nations than by the decoration in the Town of Tomorrow. The French Building, for instance, contains examples of the finest in French decorative art, which receive many favorable comments from visitors, as do the crisp, clean designs of the modern furniture in the Swedish Pavilion.

Other developments in home furnishings, displayed in various commercial exhibits throughout the Fair, are also significant. There are, for instance, the luxuriously comfortable rubber mattresses developed by the U. S. Rubber Company. In the Glass Center are pieces of furniture constructed partially or wholly of glass. Housewives look with great favor on the upholstery fabrics woven of glass, which are fireproof, may be wiped clean with a damp cloth, and have an attractive sheen not unlike that of old-fashioned horsehair. The Radio Corporation of America, in its exhibit, includes a living-room designed for the most efficient use of television, motion-picture, and phonograph equipment, demonstrating that home entertainment has become so important in modern living that it can no longer be neglected by the architect and interior decorator.

SCIENCE and industry will also make the future American home a more self-sufficient entity in many other ways. For instance, for sanitary reasons, it has been the custom for communities to collect and dispose of garbage, but with the Disposall the individual family disposes of its own food waste. Electric washers and ironers, which can handle a large laundry without taxing the housewife's strength, may make archaic the practice of "sending out the wash." Yet, although many such functions which in recent years have been performed outside the home again become the housewife's concern, all her tasks will be greatly lightened by the use of the various mechanical helpers now available.

The adoption by average Americans of these aids to better living will make the American home of tomorrow a more efficient living unit and a more comfortable and attractive one as well.

Letters

(Continued from page 37)

ness also makes investments of idle capital less profitable.

I cannot see a chance for democracy to check unemployment now. Business in full power did not, government in half-power could not, government in full power is no democracy any more.

EGON WINTER

To the Editor: Democracy can put men back to work and our business men can do it within the framework of existing institutions. The need is for a business-like attitude towards unemployment, based on a long view of economic problems and a willingness to take the ordinary risks which businessmen have always faced.

Jobs and a living wage are the aspirations of most people and these aims are the best foundations of good business.

Mass production must be balanced by mass consumption which is now possible only through continuous employment for the mass of people. To proceed with "rationalization," hasty mechanization and a high price structure are to destroy the potential market. This process must be reversed.

The assets and sales of Business are today much greater than they were several years ago. Liquid assets in banks are enormous. On many occasions Business has stated its readiness to expend and expand. The times call for such action and they demand an end to procrastination.

Business can open the flow of endeavor by spending: on a great housing program; on factory modernizations and replacements; on employment to assure mass sales of goods with a reasonable unit-profit return and, in other fields for which funds are available.

It can "prime its own pump" and thereby stimulate activity in numerous other channels and create a great demand for goods. Unemployment would then recede and the need for government to care for it would be lessened.

Taxation based on a larger national income would permit of a favorable revision of the present structure and a more stable social equilibrium would be obtained. Logically, the fears felt for the stability of our institutions would then be obviated.

SAMUEL PEVSNER, M.E.

To the Editor: Can Democracy Put Men Back to Work? My answer is yes. But we must not view unemployment as a problem in itself. It is the outgrowth of other unsolved economic dilemmas. If our idle millions are to be re-absorbed by private enterprise and if they are to secure decent jobs, we must first increase consumer purchasing power to the extent that our people can buy all goods and commodities which our industries produce.

Sixty years ago government planning was unnecessary. There were no large corporations—no large business organizations to distribute the things which the people want and need. Each one produced with his own hands whatever his family needed

But now, when our population growth is declining and when the producer, the distributor, and the consumer are three

different persons, many new problems have arisen.

The "natural laws" which orthodox economists assert will restore prosperity if government doesn't interfere are not applicable to the present situation. Unless we see to it that consuming power balances productive capacity, democracy will be destroyed.

The government must have the power to maintain a proper balance. Congress should restore to the government its constitutional authority to determine the volume of money in circulation. As Representative Voorhis proposes, it should establish an agency with power to purchase the capital stock of the Federal Reserve Banks. Then the government would be able to obtain money (bank credit) to finance its operations without borrowing from private institutions. Surely we cannot afford to delay. It *can* happen here!

PAUL BULLOCK, JR.
Age Fourteen

To the Editor: America can and must re-employ her masses immediately.

First, raise tariffs, giving protection to our factories; some have been forced to close due to the influx of cheap merchandise that flooded the market.

Second, prohibit chain stores from selling standard merchandise at and below cost.

Third, let Uncle Sam clean house. No man and wife should both hold federal jobs. Employees of federal, state or city government should not be permitted to appoint a member of his family to a job.

Fourth, out of patriotism women whose husbands make decent salaries should relinquish their jobs. Men who fought for our country returned home to find women holding the jobs they so sorely needed.

Fifth, take the handcuffs off business and give it every possible assistance.

Sixth, make strikes illegal and force labor and capital to arbitrate their differences, before a judge and twelve honest jurors, with spokesmen to represent both capital and labor.

Seventh, return all Nazis, Communists, Fascists to their native lands, as these termites bore into the foundation of democratic government with its destruction their objective.

Eighth, make land grants to people on relief, who wish to return to the farm, and help them obtain the necessary implements.

Ninth, retain the W.P.A. as a clearing house for the unemployed, also the C.C.C. Camps as builders of character and health for underprivileged youth.

Last but not least have a legalized lottery twice a year. The funds to be used for the aged, blind, and incapacitated.

Let us all do unto others as we would have them do unto us and we cannot fail.

MRS. LILA RAYNFR

To the Editor. My answer would be. "Yes, Democracy Can Put Men Back to Work". But first we must have democracy which is something entirely different from the Roosevelt administration, although Lawrence Dennis seems to take them to be synonvmous.

A real democracy takes into account and respects the interests and wishes of every group and class. It does not penalize one in favor of the other. It provides for fair and equitable treatment of all. And it can only exist by virtue of recognition of the value of the scientific method.

There are two conditions under which to attack the problem of unemployment. One is the temporary or cyclic, such as we have had for over a hundred years. The formula then is: during prosperity increase taxes and encourage rising prices; under depression conditions, lower taxes and reduce commodity prices and wages.

The second condition involves the attaining of a permanent condition of minimum unemployment. This must take into consideration the basic fact of economic and social evolution: the princi-ple of population. If laws and regulations took into account the proven tendency of the less prudent part of the population to overbreed, a stabilizing effect upon business conditions would be noticed immediately. Today we have a great number of laws which actually encourage this tendency. Examples are the non-uniform income taxes and the relatively uniform school taxes. Worst of all are the relief laws, particularly with respect to the way they are administered.

A democratic government, legislating for the good of all, irrespective of classes, would eliminate special privileges for the incompetent overbreeders, enact laws which would have the opposite effect, both directly and indirectly, and utilize the governmental facilities for propaganda to the same end. There are a dozen practical and effective things that could be done without the least infringement of personal liberty and there are many measures that could be taken involving some restriction of liberty but in a degree far less onerous than some under which we are now suffering.

No, putting men back to work is no problem. The real difficulty is finding a way to place in power men who have the will and intelligence to do so.

J. THOEN

Rural Zoning

(Continued from page 35)

question is asked—how much of our agricultural troubles can be traced to the fact that lands are being cultivated which should not be cultivated. This fiscal year Uncle Sam will spend more than a billion dollars on agricultural relief. In good part his subsidies and relief grants are necessary because whole sections of the country, like the northern and southern dust bowls, should never have been broken to the plough, because there are roughly 500,000 submarginal farms which yield virtually nothing in taxes, provide the families tilling them only the barest existence and give rise to an endless series of social sores.

Rural zoning strikes at the root of these evils. That our rural tax lists should be padded with socially unproductive lands is the natural result of our traditional land policies. The philosophy of the homestead laws was to get lands out of the public domain into private hands so these lands could be exploited and taxed. No distinctions were drawn as to which lands might prove assets and which liabilities.

However well-suited such a policy was to a frontier society with huge quantities of raw land to be developed, it hardly fits today's situation. Today there is no pressing need of bringing more land under the plough—on the contrary. Moreover, today if a man makes a mistake, if he buys a worthless farm, for example, it is no longer his own, personal tragedy. He goes on W.P.A. or gets his son on N.Y.A. or borrows from Uncle Sam.

Rural zoning helps to bring our land policy up to date. It provides an approved constitutional method of weighing the social values and costs of any piece of land and of restricting its uses for the greatest common good.

To be sure, rural zoning by itself does not insure sound land use—no more than urban zoning insures a well-planned city. But urban zoning does lay the foundations for such planning. Through rural zoning any group of farmers can create a flexible land-use blueprint for their community, a blueprint which they can modify at any time by local action.

That is what zoning has done for cities. That is what it can do for our farms.

Japan vs. England

(*Continued from page 20*)

official interference. And the Bank of China is owned by Chiang Kai-shek's Chungking government.

There is one grave problem existing between the United States and Japan which, in time, will probably become serious I refer to the future status of American Protestant missionaries in the portions of China occupied by the Japanese Army. No Japanese, military or civilian, wants American or British Protestant missionaries, with the exception of a few medical missionaries, to return to the occupied areas. The Japanese make the broad charge that most of the educational and evangelical missionaries are bitterly anti-Japanese and encourage their converts and other Chinese to continue resistance and non-co-operation. In fact, they charge that most American and British Protestant missions in the occupied areas are actual "centers of resistance," and that such a condition cannot long be tolerated.

Unhappily these charges are well founded, although possibly not in the sweeping and all-inclusive form in which they are made. This writer knows more than a few missionaries who, whatever may be their inmost feelings, have the good sense to keep their mouths shut and realize that they are trying to carry on their work in a country in which one of the greatest wars of this century is being waged.

The emotional and mental attitude of the average missionary is easy to understand. Probably he has been driven from a district where he has worked earnestly for years. His mission buildings may have been bombed and destroyed, his flock of converts scattered, impoverished — many of them may even have been killed. Naturally his sympathies are with the Chinese people; their sufferings stir him profoundly.

But the missionary's feelings and sympathies should not get the better of his judgment. His judgment should tell him that, by encouraging or directing anti-Japanese feelings and activities, he not only endangers his future status and usefulness, but may be criminally instrumental in bringing further hardships upon the Chinese. Moreover, he may involve the United States in a very serious disagreement with the Japanese government.

When this issue is aired before the American public as a grievance against Japan, there is danger that American opinion will be stirred to hostility. The plea will be made that refusal to permit missionaries to return to their stations is a violation of the privileges of extraterritoriality, and Japan will be charged with discrimination because Italian, German and French missionaries are being permitted considerable freedom of movement. American public opinion may not make allowances for the facts that Italian and German missionaries are not anti-Japanese, because of the Tokyo-Rome Berlin axis, and that there has never been any evidence of Catholic missionaries meddling with domestic or with international politics in China, and vast majority of German, Italian French missionaries are Catholi[illegible]

"We would have no objectio[illegible] missionaries in the occupied [illegible] if they confined their activiti[illegible] the teaching and preaching of Christianity," one Japanese official said to me. "We admire Christianity as a religion which preaches a gospel of love -not hatred. We recall the admonition to turn the other cheek. But we do object to missionaries who preach a gospel of hate."

Broadly speaking, the Japanese are disposed to be lenient with missionaries, with Chinese and with foreigners providing they can have their own way in certain matters which they consider vital to the future security and greatness of their Empire. They concede that the "good neighbor" policy is the best policy, but will not be denied important fruits of their victory - if in the end they are victorious.

They admit that it may seem contradictory to be fighting the Chinese with the aim of ultimately winning their good will and friendship, but are convinced that certain basic ph[illegible] had to be

Cartoonist Kirby

(Continued from page 31)

he was born, or Hastings, Neb., his childhood home, he went to New York when he was nineteen, and entered the New York Art Students League. The logical next step was Paris, where he studied under Whistler, was influenced by the French Impressionists and learned to admire Charles Keene in *Punch*. There, too, his social consciousness was awakened by the second Dreyfus trial.

Back in New York in 1900, Kirby married Estelle Carter, actress, and set out to make his living by painting. He exhibited at the National Academy but never made a sale. Then, for ten years, he reluctantly drew illustrations for magazines.

In 1911, his friend, Franklin P. Adams, columnist and nowadays a radio star (Information Please), took him around to the old *New York Mail* and got him his first job. After not so many months there was a set-to with the editor, and Kirby left.

In 1912 Kirby was hired as a pictorial reporter for the *World*. One day he drew a social cartoon under the caption, "The Trials of the Rich." It was the beginning of a series that later was called "Sights of the Town," and that eventually evolved into Denys Wortman's "Metropolitan Movies" Meanwhile Kirby had become the *World's* political cartoonist.

In the decade before the death of the *World*, Kirby produced his three Pulitzer prize winners, but today he is put to it to remember what they were. It takes *Who's Who* to remind him of the titles: "The Road to Moscow," in 1921; "News from the Outside World," in 1924; and "Tammany," in 1928. All he recalls is that they were "terrible."

Cavalier as he may be about some of his creations, he does confess a fondness for the comically clerical and fusty fanatic whom he labeled Prohibition and whom Al Smith credited with being responsible, more than any other single factor, for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. Other papers imitated the gaunt figure with the tall hat, white tie, and long nose.

It had been a welcome new symbol. Kirby, who wrote the *Encyclopedia Britannica's* section on the cartoon in the United States, recognizes there the necessity and the paucity of symbols as the cartoonist's handicap. "Uncle Sam," for example, he says, "is ubiquitous, untiring and a good deal of a bore." Kirby's Uncle Sam, though, has an ingratiating identity all his own; and his stencil for G.O.P. substitutes a fat and bemused old duffer for the elephant which Thomas Nast handed down to his successors.

Kirby has been credited with playing a part in the Republican defeat of 1932 by his shafts and subtleties (for instance, twisting of the party's slogan of four years earlier into "Two Chickens in Every Garage"). Four years ago the Universal Peace League recognized his influence by giving him the Annie E Gray Peace Award. But Kirby wonders if the cartoon has the power claimed for it. He thinks that, along with the editorial, it may be losing force.

Kirby, a believer in symbols, invented the commonly used figures for Prohibition and the G.O.P.

Silver's Last Stand

(Continued from page 23)

politicians have power for mischief. Hence, the Administration in Washington, now or at an early date, should make a survey as to the wage-earners' situation in the silver states, and provide means of earning a livelihood for those who are bound to be thrown out of employment when silver purchase stops. That would tend to discourage the use of silver as a political football.

One other thing also could be done with that same objective. If research shows an effective way of using the annual silver output in industrial or chemical channels, the mining companies might decide to further it and redistribute the cost of so doing among other metals which go with silver. For, except in rare cases, the value of silver a by-product—is only a fraction of the value of other metals mined at the same time. Without the tacit encouragement of mining companies, the silver politicians would have their power for mischief reduced.

The success of the bimetallist and the silver politician hitherto has been traceable fundamentally, to the popular impression that there is something mysterious in connection with silver. It is difficult to discuss silver realistically with any silver enthusiast. The silverites live far too much in the past. Only recently, Senator Pittman declared that silver has failed to exert its true effect on world economy and our national prosperity because the Administration has not seen fit to raise the price of silver to the "true" level of $1.29 an ounce. If that "true" level were reached, all the virtues he has attributed to silver would be evident, according to the Senator. Of course, the expected results could be brought about only if we paid $1.29 to all holders—domestic and foreign In the meanwhile, needless to say, the taxpayer would have been mulcted of hundreds of dollars—with results not guaranteed

No, silver, whatever its mystery, cannot achieve the impossible. Its principal achievement recently has been to line the pockets of its producers. For centuries silver performed its duty as "money" in every corner of the world. Now its empire has vanished.

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The World Today in Books

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counting for three-fifths of our total foreign trade. In effect, the entire world has benefited; this becomes apparent when it is realized that the new agreements affect more than half of the world's trade.

The Way Forward does much to remove the complexity of our newspaper accounts of the day-to-day developments in international trade. Though not the "official" interpretation of the Government's trade activities and program, it is certainly the supreme authority on the subject

It is easy to understand why Alexander Wilbourne Weddell is widely esteemed in his post as our American Ambassador to Argentina For in *Introduction to Argentina* he shows a thorough knowledge of the country, its people, its customs, and what historians frequently call the "national mind." It is non-political and was written for the express purpose of helping Americans understand their important neighbor to the south.

Ambassador Weddell has lived in Argentina for half a dozen years and has developed a strong respect and admiration for both country and people. He finds today that Argentina has "her feet firmly planted in the path of progressive reform and her face set toward the goal of increased peace, prosperity and plenty."

Introduction to Argentina has two functions. It serves as an interesting, informative travel guide, and provides the layman with colorful background information to round out the news from South America's most industrialized nation. Ambassador Weddell writes about the things that interest most travelers: customs, interesting places, how to get about conveniently, how to travel inexpensively, where to live, etc. The book appropriately might have been called, *Invitation to Argentina*.

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In the past, there have been many "family almanac" types of "home medical books." They have told, within their narrow limitations, a few emergency treatments and before-the-doctor-comes measures. But now at last a NEW kind of book has been created! Written by 24 of America's leading specialists; supervised by Dr. Morris Fishbein, famed Editor of the Journal of the American Medical Association, professor, lecturer and author. A book that places at your fingertips EVERYTHING you want and have to know about every organ, function and condition of your body.

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This book does not presuppose the reader ignorant of all the facts of disease and proper hygienic methods. It does not offer its information as "scary," "act-now-before-it-is-too-late" propaganda. ON THE CONTRARY, it is for intelligent, right-minded laymen who are genuinely desirous of

(*Continued on Inside Cover*)

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CURRENT HISTORY

MARGARET CULKIN BANNING

The World Today in Books

NORMAN COUSINS

THE reviews of Vincent Sheean's *Not Peace But a Sword*, published a few weeks ago, have been almost uniformly favorable. They have rightly stressed Sheean's sensitivity, his ability to look past the heat and into the heart of today's issues; they have rightly appraised the book as an important contribution to the understanding of recent history, particularly of the Spanish Civil War; they have rightly hailed it as superior even to his *Personal History*.

All true. But something of significance seems to have been lost or at least overlooked in the generous flourish of cheers. It is that because of this book America can now boast a major satirist. For *Not Peace But a Sword* makes it clear that its author is the matured possessor of Lucianic tools shared by few native contemporaries. Beginning with the title –itself a deft literary manipulation –his book represents a skilled fusion of full-bodied perception with merciless taunting and ridiculing. With it is an undercurrent of humor –perhaps grim at times—which Sheean never permits to get out of hand. Humor is the key to satire; its absence marks the carper, its over-indulgence the clown. Sheean has the key; indeed, he is in command of it.

This is not to say that Vincent Sheean has come down in a straight line from Solomon, Molière, Swift and Shaw. But considering the paucity of present-day American writers who are capable of perpetuating the tradition of Irving and Lowell, there is much to be thankful about in the presence of a Sheean, whose greatest work is before him.

We should be thankful if for no other reason than that Sheean at last has squared our accounts with the English. For years Americans have been the object of En[illegible] scorn. The satirists from a[illegible] seas have raked us as boob[illegible] barians, gum-chewers and [illegible] tilters, upstarty know-littles [illegible] no place in the world of cul[illegible] refinement. Their lecture[illegible] come here with rich advan[illegible] ings, spray their acid, and [illegible] home with their noses tilted at the correct angle of forty-five degrees.

But the score is now even. For Vincent Sheean, who has devoted a long and stinging chapter to the British, has ripped through English pretensions and has exposed them as often self-centered, smug, limited in outlook. History whirled round their heads but their eyes were closed. They could see nothing, says Sheean, except what was dictated by self-interest. He seemed to sense an "element of vital decay." The nation seemed "weary of action as a nation." Her leaders were deeply rooted

Books Reviewed in This Issue

BOOK	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	PRICE
Not Peace But a Sword	Vincent Sheean	Doubleday Doran	$2 75
Anglo-Saxony and Its Tradition	George Catlin	Macmillan	3.00
Americas to the South	John T. Whitaker	Macmillan	2.50
South American Primer	Katherine Carr	Reynal & Hitchcock	1.75
The Fine Art of Propaganda	Institute for Propaganda Analysis	Harcourt, Brace	1.50

in the policy of do-nothingness. They hesitated until it was too late to do anything but the wrong thing.

"The behavior of England in 1938 (as the culmination of a process which has been going on at least since 1933 if not before) seems to me to indicate a mixture of bewildered weakness and courageous perfidy in the dominant characters of the state."

Though Sheean's book ends with the Hitler grab of Czechoslovakia last March and does not treat the appeasement reversal with the exception of the Chamberlain statement shortly following the Czech absorption, the entire tone of the book is one of despair and disgust with British policy.

"This strange, tardy awakening," says Vincent Sheean of Neville Chamberlain's profession of shock at the Nazi invasion of Czechoslovakia after the promises of Munich, "was of no worth in the scales of history, and will do little to blind even his contemporaries to the true value of a man who has consistently put the interests of his own class and type above those of either his own nation or of humanity itself."

Sheean says the British will only fight when their immediate possessions are attacked. He seems to believe, too, that such an attack will be made, that it will be a war "fought for no principle except that of empire." And yet—repugnant as such a war is to him and to all Americans—Sheean believes that we will again be in it. "The rhythm of our pulses brings us to their side of the Fascist alliance." He seems to feel we have no other choice. "Neutrality in a conflict so profound and wide, a conflict involving a whole world, can scarcely exist in any country."

From March 1938 to March 1939—as eventful and troubled a year as the world has seen since 1918—Vincent Sheean traveled from danger-spot to danger-spot in Europe, armed with wide-open eyes, a sensitive mind, a warmth for humanity, and a profound contempt for fascism. Many months of that year were spent in Spain, reporting the Loyalist cause. Other weeks or months were spent in Paris, London, Prague, Berlin, Vienna, where Sheean took soundings and attempted to chart social directions. The author of *Personal History* has compressed his observations, his impressions, and his feelings of those months in *Not Peace But a Sword*, without question the most important book he has yet written. It is important if only because it can be guaranteed to shatter the complacency of even the most unconcerned "outsider" toward the spread of fascist dynamite.

To Vincent Sheean, there can be no "outsiders." Everyone, regardless of the accident of distance, he says, is within the reach of forces at loose in the world today. Even the Atlantic Ocean is not broad enough nor deep enough to insure us against foreign groundswells. Geographically, Germany and Italy may be beyond the immediate horizon, but their threat is as real as if they were within sight. For the pollen of fascism can be carried by the wind, requiring only unguarded earth to take hold and grow.

WHEN George Catlin's *Science and Method of Politics* was published fifteen years ago John Dewey called it a "refreshing breeze blowing through a close atmosphere." Professor Catlin has written five books since, has become a widely-recognized international lecturer, and has performed important foundation and political services both here and in his native England. The aptness of Dr Dewey's description still holds; in everything George Catlin writes or says there is the quality of engaging freshness.

Especially is this true of Professor Catlin's latest book, *Anglo-Saxony*

and Its Tradition. Though his central idea—the need for a federation of nations—has been eloquently discussed before, recently by Clarence Streit in *Union Now,* there is a newness of approach in George Catlin's presentation and appraisal which lends arguments favoring the plan added effectiveness. In part, too, Dr. Catlin's book stems from the "we or they" idea which has been the theme of dozens of books since the challenge of fascism-nazism several years ago. (Probably the best known of these is *We or They: Two Worlds in Conflict* by Hamilton Fish Armstrong.) Here a similar freshness of treatment takes the fuzziness out of endless debates on democracy vs. dictatorship.

Professor Catlin finds much in his examination of the Anglo-Saxon tradition to give substance to the feeling that only by a thorough pooling of democratic interests and resources can Europe—and therefore the world—hope to work toward peaceful solution of its problems. "Such hopes," he reflects, "are perhaps Anglo-Saxon sentiment, but they remain, not unlinked with power, the best guarantees in peace or war of a clear conscience and of a duty performed by what is more than nations—civilization."

This belief in the priority of civilization over nation is the motivating force behind Professor Catlin's conviction that a "Sovereign League" can restore international sanity, just as the Federal organization in this country following the Revolution helped insure against continental chaos. But it is not enough, he says, to be concerned with the mere physical organization of such a league. It must be a force for good, for the advancement of humanism. Such good, he holds, can be found in the Anglo-Saxon tradition, "which has impregnated political institutions on both sides of the Atlantic."

There would be no need for federation if the world had not strayed from Anglo-Saxon ideals in the last decade, but then "this present decade, in the record of civilization, may well be ashamed of comparison with the darker Middle Ages . . . When we speak of the Anglo-Saxon world we speak, not of a State or indeed of an Empire, but of a civilization, a culture which carries latent in it a philosophy and an outlook in living."

There would be, then, no international snobbishness in Dr. Catlin's Sovereign League. Germans, whom

bylines

When I hear a bit of complaint about some married woman working I do not see an indictment of the sex. What I see is some man or woman without a job striking blindly at what seems an unfair distribution of work and income—*Margaret Culkin Banning (See Cover and Page 16).*

There are probably more highly educated people in the United States than in any other single country—*H. G. Wells.*

As to Chinese cleanliness, my initial surprise that they should be so dirty has, after a quarter of a century, changed to surprise that, considering their difficulties, they should be so clean—*Carl Crow (See Page 21).*

A legislator is like a man on skates; he goes partly where he wishes to go and partly where his skates take him—*Senator Henry Ashurst of Arizona.*

Compared with 1914 we decidedly have the upper hand this time—*General Walther von Brauchitsch, Chief of Staff of the German Army.*

The Chinese invented gunpowder, yet they have probably been shot in the pants more than any other people in the world—*Editorial in* The Washington Post.

We raised a whole generation of Filipinos whose jobs depended on the economic policies of the United States—*Lieutenant Robert J. Wood (See Page 31).*

Whatever you do in life, don't lead what is called a regular life—*Sir E. Farquhar Buzzard, eminent London physician.*

Good municipal government is perfectly possible whenever citizens buckle down and really go after it—*William Hard, Jr. (See Page 19).*

Jitterbug dancing may be enjoyed by youngsters, but it is neither graceful nor beautiful; certainly not dignified for anyone past their teens—*Irene Castle.*

There is nothing more alarming than the universal silence about how the future peace of Europe is to be governed—*Pierre-Etienne Flandin, former Premier of France.*

CURRENT HISTORY

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DEPARTMENTS

Current History Volume LI, No 1, September 1939 Whole No 298 Published monthly by C H Publishing Corporation, 420 Madison Ave New York N Y J Hilton Smyth President, John T Hackett, Vice President I H Williams Secretary, E Trevor Hill Treasurer John A Curtis Advertising Manager 551 Fifth Avenue, New York N Y 25c a copy $3 a year, two years $5 three years $7, in the United States possessions, Canada Central and South America and Spain, elsewhere $1 25 a year additional Subscribers should send change of address three weeks in advance Indexed in the Readers Guide to Periodical Literature Unless accompanied by postage, unsolicited manuscripts will not be returned Entered as second class matter September 28, 1935 at the postoffice at New York N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879 Additional entry at the post office at Springfield, Mass Entered in Canada as second-class matter.

he differentiates from present German rulers, are not barred; neither are their rulers if they toe the line. "The categorical imperative is peace. It is that for Germany as for Anglo-Saxony." He who breaks the peace will lose by "armed might."

Basically, Professor Catlin's idea bears strong resemblance to Woodrow Wilson's plan for a Geneva. It would, of course, be more virile, have greater authority. The emphasis, moreover, would be on a British-American Federation. It would be a teaming together of the strongest democracies of the world acting as one—politically, socially and culturally—and throwing their weight on the side of peace, the weight being so great as to be irresistible. The question for Americans, of course, is whether independence goes out the window when Federation comes in the door.

The old hope for a force to rule forces persists. Has not the failure of the League of Nations provided abundant proof that any Federation—Dr. Catlin refers to his as the "Anglo-Saxony"—could not hope to survive? No, says Dr. Catlin, we are living in a period where "nothing is impossible."

JOHN WHITAKER is a pleasant, cultured young man who left the city room of *The New York Herald-Tribune* about six years ago to join its staff of foreign correspondents. His work in the capitals of Europe and in Ethiopia during the Italian invasion brought him an offer from *The Chicago Daily News*—generally recognized as carrying some of the best and most comprehensive coverage of foreign news in this country—to become one of its European bureau heads. Whitaker accepted; he has been with *The News* since.

Early last spring he was recalled from Europe to cover the important Pan-American Conference at Lima. In connection with this event, he undertook a tour around South America, interviewing important statesmen, prying into local situations, building up background material. Out of these observations has come not only a comprehensive series of articles for his newspaper on the Good Neighbors, but a book as well: *Americas to the South.*

John Whitaker regards South America as a phenomenon. By any test of mutuality of interest, by continental proximity, of political relationships, the United States and its people should manifest a lively interest in the southern neighbors. Instead—and this is in no small measure the fault of schools which provide little or nothing in the way of instruction on South America—we are Europe-conscious. Perhaps not one person out of five can name the Latin American countries which are our Good Neighbors; not one of ten their geographical positions.

Yet South America's importance cannot be overlooked. It is a great producer and perhaps an even greater customer. And our neglect may be other nations' gain. The Monroe Doctrine is a powerful stop signal against European powers with imperialistic intent toward the Western hemisphere. But it is important in the face of trade gains by outside nations and even internal disorders which receive their incentive and *modus operandi* from without. Germany and Italy, flushed with their war-less triumphs in Central Europe, look upon South America as a potential site for their fascist chain-stores.

These were the bare facts which served as the basis for an investigation at first-hand by John Whitaker. There were hundreds of questions to be asked and answered—questions which Whitaker felt the average United States citizen would ask if his interest were aroused. These questions were asked not only of presidents and dictators, such as Pedro Cerda and Benavides and Vargas, but of persons in key positions among oppositionists—persons such as Victor de la Torre, Apra leader of Peru, who had the "spark" Whitaker sensed when he talked to a Roosevelt or a Mussolini.

In the seven years since Hitler's rise to power, says Whitaker, Germany has doubled her sales to the leading nations of South America. This has been accompanied by political pressure and propaganda which are perhaps even more damaging to our position in South America. Whitaker fears that in a period of depression Germany and her allies can "develop a trading monopoly and drive us from the south . . . Unless Washington takes the aggressive, the Latins are certain, if prosperity collapses, to be fashioned, like the Balkans and the Spaniards, into the framework of a vast totalitarian bloc, reduced to semi-colonial position, while Germany plays commodity merchant to half the world and slowly shapes its economic vassals into political satellites and allies."

An excellent supplement to *Americas to the South* is Katherine Carr's *South American Primer*, which was received too late to be reviewed in these columns last month. Miss Carr has not written a big book, physically, but she has compressed more significant and pertinent information about South America, country by country, than might seem possible between the covers of a single work. It is a "primer" only in the sense that anyone who lacks familiarity with the subject can go to it without previous reference to other books. But it is also a valuable aid and reference tool for the expert. It contains a map of each country, an explanation of individual political and governmental organization, a discussion of problems and issues in each nation, and points out the relationships and interrelationships between the South American nations and the outside world.

PROPAGANDA used to be a respectable word; it used to be associated with "public enlightenment" and even education. But in the last ten years it has become contaminated through constant sorting with bad company. Today's fashions in propaganda stress demagoguery's eternal triangle: fear, hate, and misinformation. The combination thus far has been virtually unbeatable; nations have fallen before it, millions have become its victims.

There is no mystery to propaganda's wide influence and effectiveness. People who come under its sway do so because they invariably are overwhelmed with the feeling that they have burst upon great truths. Seldom are they aware that it is propaganda *per se* which has claimed them as its subjects. For propaganda is often difficult to detect; it never travels under its own name and rarely discards its protective coloration.

That is why the Institute for Propaganda Analysis is important and

necessary. It was formed two years ago by a Columbia University group with foundational support and has since been the active headquarters in this country for the fight against propaganda. Its organizer is Clyde R. Miller, Teachers College educator with a newspaper background; its editorial keymen Violet Edwards and Harold Lavine, a hard-working, capable team which has pried open entrenched fortresses of propaganda previously considered impregnable. In addition there is a working staff constantly on the jump all over the country.

Results of the Institute's work are published regularly in its *Bulletin*, a well-integrated, readable report spotlighting propaganda wherever it appears, breaking it down into its component parts, analyzing its operation. The success of the *Bulletin* has encouraged the Institute to broaden its scope; it has prepared for commercial publication *The Fine Art of Propaganda*, in which the full benefit of its wide experience and cumulative knowledge is available to the reader. The Institute has designed this book for the serious-thinking American who is anxious to learn about propaganda, how it can be detected, how it can be overcome. Accordingly, it identifies what it calls the "seven ABC's" of propaganda. Nor is the Institute content merely to describe these devices; it takes actual examples of propaganda and by use of drawn symbols within the text exposes the various propagandist techniques.

Subjected to laboratory analysis in this book are the speeches and writings of Father Coughlin, who, says Professor Miller in a Foreword, is admittedly pro-fascist and whose utterances represent a fairly typical borrowing of foreign anti-democratic propaganda methods by an American propagandist. Father Coughlin's talks, when examined word by word and phrase by phrase, are found by the Institute to be replete with the favorite tricks of the propagandist; they are made up for the most part of glittering generalities, name-calling, flattery, bandwagon bait- all listed among the "seven ABC's" of the propagandist's tool-kit.

This book, if it reaches enough people, might be an effective preventative or antidote against the increasing influence today of the demagogue in America. Its appeal is general but educators, editors and legislators will find it of especial value.

Duffy—The Baltimore Sun

Youth Movement

What Style Hat for '40?

IN the closing days of August, four hats reposed within a mystic ring. They signified that their owners, Republicans all, had Presidential ambitions. Sweatbands bore these initials: "T.E.D.", "A.H.V.", "R.A.T." and "S.B." They stood for Thomas E. Dewey, Arthur H. Vandenberg, Robert A. Taft and Styles Bridges.

Because politics is funny—as an expert from Uvalde, Texas, by the name of John Garner once said these hats, a year hence, may or may not be only crumpled castoffs, but momentarily they represent the most prominent contenders for 1940's Republican nomination. Each of the hopefuls has become the center of preliminary campaign work. Each has begun to conduct himself in the circumspect fashion of a man whom the lightning may strike if properly attracted.

"T.E.D."

Thomas E. Dewey is a name that in public opinion polls—notably the widely known and respected Gallup poll—leads all the rest. The black-moustached, thirty-seven-year-old New York County District Attorney has caught popular imagination with his war on racketeers and crime. His supporters have emphasized his honesty and fearlessness. They have pointed to his vote-getting qualities as shown by his successful 1937 campaign for "D.A." and his unsuccessful but impressive quest last year for New York's Governorship.

If elected to the Presidency next year Mr. Dewey would be the youngest Chief Executive in American history, but he and his men have not been worried about that. Nor have they shown outwardly any fear of

NEW YORK TIMES

Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg

charges that the hard-hitting prosecutor's experience has been wholly in local, not national, affairs, and that it has not been administrative. If they have been disturbed by anything, it is by the fact that successful crime prosecution has ceased to be a Dewey monopoly, the federal government and politics has been suspected—having entered the preserve (See Louisiana, Kansas City and New York itself.)

Dewey men have remained confident. A Dewey brain trust—the term is not used or wanted—has been established to study the New Deal and its weak points, to coach the candidate on national problems. Out in Owosso, Michigan, the "D.A.'s" home town, a "Dewey-for-President" banner hangs across the front of an East Main Street building. Petitions are circulating through the State, for Owosso wants the home-town boy, who has already gone far, to go farther.

"A.H.V."

Arthur H. Vandenberg, Senator for Michigan, Dewey rival as a Michigan favorite son, follows the New York prosecutor in popularity polls, but is believed by some experts to have a better chance in next year's smoke-filled rooms. A man of [illegible]

[illegible] Senator himself opposed it, feeling that the Republicans had little chance of victory. Since then it has grown louder, the more because in the Senate the Michigan Republican has grown in stature. At the past session he had an important influence on foreign policy—he recommended first the denunciation of the trade treaty with Japan—and he pushed revision of the Social Security Act. He is a middle-of-the-roader, an isolationist; his followers consider him pretty well in tune with the national temperament.

"R.A.T." and "S.B."

Robert A. Taft, another Senator, fifty, son of the former President, has grown rapidly in political prominence during the past year. Not because tradition says that a Taft follows a Roosevelt, but because of personal ability and political availability. By winning the Senatorship last year from a staunch New Dealer (Robert J. Buckley), the son of William Howard Taft proved himself a vote-getter. Since then he has won approval from a nation-wide radio

The Record of Congress

—From an editorial in The New York Times.

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The explanation of these paradoxes is, in large part, that Congress began its session by going in one direction and ended by rushing in the other. In its first phase it extended to the President devaluation powers that had outlived their usefulness and that Congress in any case should keep for itself. It increased still further the thoroughly unjustified subsidy being paid to American silver producers, and continued to make it mandatory for the Treasury to buy and pile up useless foreign silver.

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In its second phase (and there is no sharp division in time between the two, because they overlap), the last session of Congress adopted a sound measure of tax reform, removing the stump of the undistributed profits tax, among other changes which were not enthusiastically received by the President. It refused to amend or repeal the Neutrality Act, in spite of the Administration's pleas, and so it did nothing to reduce the possibility of a major war, but on the contrary gave assurance to aggressor nations that at least until Congress meets again nothing will or can be done to make American arms and munitions available to the nations that might be aligned against them in a war of self-defense.

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been stamped deeply into national consciousness.

Perhaps Author Steinbeck, who at thirty-seven is already famous for his novels and short stories of California's forgotten men, intended to awaken the national conscience with his account of the "Okies," their impossible working conditions, their encounters with vigilantes allegedly recruited by the Associated Farmers, that organization of the State's great farm-owners that is said to have spread its influence over conservative-minded groups along the West Coast. Perhaps it was expressly to awaken the national conscience that Steinbeck studied the farm migrants at first hand.

At any rate, he managed to focus attention on a social problem and at the same time to stir protest among many Californians, who insisted his story was exaggerated if nothing more. Last month, before adjournment, the United States Senate made certain that the country would hear more of this subject. It earmarked $50,000 for the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee, which had investigation of the Associated Farmers on its agenda.

The LaFollette committee's special inquiry, however, had not been directly inspired by the Steinbeck novel, however much that novel may have done to help the inquiry along. The committee has been probing into anti-labor activities, into industrial curbs on civil liberties, into such affairs as the South Chicago steel plant riot two years ago last Memorial Day. Its agents have already looked behind the scenes in California. Now they are expected to start telling publicly about this "tramping out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored."

Sayre to Manila

In Manila is a palace, built with United States funds and larger than the White House, reserved for the High Commissioner's winter use. Among the pine-covered mountains at Baguio is another palatial residence -for use in summer.

Last month a new occupant was designated for these official dwellings. President Roosevelt named as High Commissioner to the Philippines Francis B. Sayre, fifty-four-year-old Assistant Secretary of State. "No better appointment could have been made," said President Manuel Quezon of the Philippine Commonwealth. The new High Commissioner, no stranger to the Commonwealth's problems, has been chairman of the body planning new economic ties to exist between the United States and the Philippines when the Islands obtain their independence in 1946.

The new High Commissioner--his job will pay $18,000 a year—used to be a college professor. His first wife was Jessie Woodrow Wilson, daughter of the World War President. She died in 1933, and he has remarried. Because of special diplomatic service in the Far East and Europe, Mr. Sayre holds enough foreign decorations to cover the most expanded chest. Among them is the Siamese order: Knight Grand Commander, Chula Chom Klao.

"Measures Short of War"

By resorting to measures short of war, but stronger and more effective than mere words," President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hull a few weeks ago abruptly abrogated the American-Japanese treaty of commerce of 1911. The action was taken two days after Great Britain had "lost face" by acceding to Japan's demands for recognition of "special requirements" in China.

Washington's move—giving the required *six-months' notice of termination* of the treaty—was interpreted as the first step toward a proposed arms embargo against Tokyo. Oriental observers were of divided opinion. Some believed that the United States ship of state had been definitely launched into treacherous waters, pointing out that an embargo against Japan could only result in retaliatory moves against American shipping in China seas, especially along the trade routes between the American mainland and the Philippines, and the vital routes to the Dutch East Indies, whence come most of the United States' rubber supplies.

Others, however, were less disturbed, seeing in the White House-State Department move only a political gesture, and citing the fact that, the very day the treaty was abrogated, Senator Vandenberg, Michigan Republican and 1940 Presidential

Yardley—The Baltimore Sun

Marooned in the sea of rejected legislation.

timber, had proposed its abrogation, and that his proposal had been tabled. It was obvious to political experts that both Roosevelt and Vandenberg had sensed the temper of the public, as sampled in a Gallup poll on July 23, which showed a vote of 51 per cent favoring an embargo, 6 per cent "for war," 18 per cent "for a strong protest to Japan for her acts in China," with the remaining people questioned "indifferent."

Still a third group of observers, which has been keeping a strict eye on international affairs in both Europe and the Far East, viewed Washington's action with considerable alarm. While Washington was tardy in "backing Britain to the limit," they believed there was some tacit agreement between London and Washington on a policy of parallelism. One conclusion was that the United States did not want to appear to be hauling chestnuts out of the Oriental blaze for England—a course which would prove very unpopular—even though it is doing exactly that, especially by maintaining the largest part of the combined Atlantic and Pacific fleets in Pacific waters. The fleet serves as an effective reminder to Japan that Washington is on the alert, but Tokyo bitterly resents the naval concentration.

Nevertheless, no matter what motivated Washington's sudden action, the move was "embarrassing" to London, where Prime Minister Chamberlain had not been forewarned. After the United States apparently had refused to support Britain in upholding her "sacred rights" in China, despite considerable pressure, the general attitude of Chamberlain's government was one of resignation. Events in Europe militated against diversion of armed British strength to Asia for the sake of prestige and what Englishmen referred to as "a few million pounds" in commercial interests. Those "few million pounds," however, represent a British stake of $963,400,000 invested there, compared to the $150,200,000 invested by the United States in China. There was consequently much comment on the fact that Britishers did not feel that their huge stake was worth a war, while the United States was urged to rush into Asia to defend a small fraction of that amount. And in London people were sure that Washington, by abrogating the treaty, was preparing to rush into the Far Eastern fray on their behalf.

"I know what you're thinking about," said Tweedledolf; "but it isn't so, nohow."

"Contrariwise," continued Tweedleduce, "if it was so, it might be; and if it were so, it would be; but as it isn't, it ain't. That's logic."

"I was thinking," Alice said very politely, "which is the best way out of this wood; it's getting so dark. Would you tell me, please?"

After the Abrogation

There were many in the United States Senate who were alarmed at the abrogation of the 1911 treaty with Japan. Said Senator Shipstead, Minnesota Farmer-Laborite: "In view of the fact that Great Britain has made her peace with Japan, and in view of the importunities we have had to back England and France in the Orient, we are now left holding the bag." Said Clyde Reed, Kansas Republican: "We have bought our first chips in the poker game of war." Washington's move was not totally unexpected in Japan, however, in view of the long impending arms embargo proposals of Senator Key Pittman, Democrat of Nevada. The *Yomiuri Shimbun* of Tokyo laconically commented, concerning an embargo six months hence: "It will make little difference, for the United States has already enforced an embargo against Japan in one way or another." But as tempers rose in Tokyo—where the United States was regarded as the only nation to appreciate the New Order in Asia, said to be patterned along lines of the Monroe Doctrine for the Americas—there was talk of "retaliation."

Meantime, Japan signed new trade agreements with Australia and proceeded to strengthen her present trade treaty with India, one of her biggest customers for cotton goods. One far-reaching result of the United States-Japan treaty abrogation was the initialing of a new and important trade pact between Japan, Manchukuo and Germany, greatly strengthening the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis and pointing to the fact that Tokyo meant what she said some time ago: "There will be opportunity for all in China who recognize the realities; and as to those who refuse to face facts, we are not to be held responsible for the consequences."

In short, abrogation of the treaty by the United States closed the Open Door a little tighter against America, swung it wider for Germany. The new pact is planned to balance the trade between Japan and Germany, increasing the barter system so that Japan will take more machinery, iron, steel and other goods from Germany, which in turn will buy from Japan more fish oils, blubber (for margarine), raw silk, farm and dairy products, including soy beans. The soy bean should prove a vital product for Germany, for among its hundreds of by-products are such strange and diverse items as milk, explosives, fats, fodder, edible oils, glycerine, paints, rubber substitutes, lubricating oil, ink, butter substitutes and hard soap.

What this new German-Japanese-Manchukuo pact means to the United States is considerable. The vital part that America plays in Japan's foreign trade is well known. In recent years this trade has been in America's favor by roughly two to one. It is now possible that Japan will divert

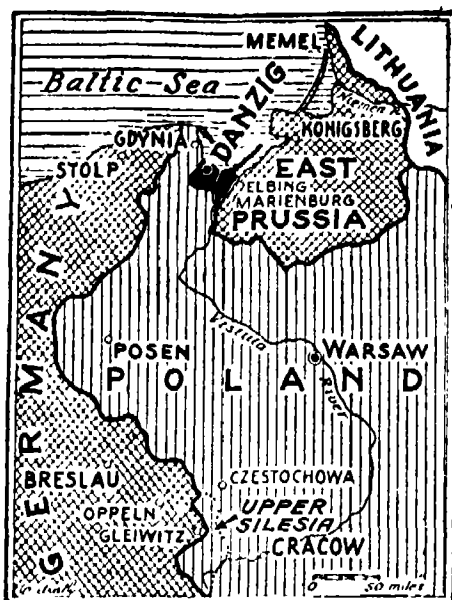
as much of it as she can to Germany, especially her demand for steel, iron and other metals, for which Japan spent $49,019,000 last year, including autos (planes were "privately" embargoed by Secretary of State Hull back in 1937). Last year, too, Japan bought $22,054,000 worth of miscellaneous articles from the United States and most of the items grouped under this category could easily be bought from Germany.

The most important Japanese export to the United States, of course, is silk. America bought $83,651,000 worth last year. But the *Chugai Shogyo*, leading commercial daily in Tokyo, citing last year's trade figures showing that the United States bought only $126,820,000 worth of Japanese goods — including silk, canned fish, cotton cloth and pottery —while Japan purchased $239,620,000 worth of goods from the United States, declared:

"The denunciation of the 1911 treaty of commerce is therefore political, not economic. In view of the fact that silk has become indispensable to American life, and that country purchased $83,651,000 worth of raw silk alone last year, it is not believed that Washington is in a position to enforce drastic restrictions on silk imports, endangering the 200,000 people engaged in the American silk industry."

The Parade to Hitler

In Europe, meanwhile, Hitler continued to hold the center of the stage while Britain and France smarted accordingly. National leaders from other countries hastened to Germany to learn from the Fuehrer himself just what the future held in store.

Taken one with another, the figures who have previously run to Hitler begin to form quite a parade. In mid-February last year, Dr. Kurt von Schuschnigg, Chancellor of Austria, obeyed Hitler's fateful summons to Berchtesgaden. Early the next month, the Nazi boa-constrictor easily swallowed Austria and raised its head in search of more. A year ago, the German Sudeten leader, Konrad Henlein, who had once angrily denounced National Socialism and all its works, also obeyed the finger beckoning him to Berchtesgaden. A fortnight thereafter Premier Chamberlain, and then Premier Daladier, made tracks to Hitler's bailiwick. Since Munich, the intimidated Regent Prince Paul of Yugoslavia has been at the beck and call of the Wilhelmstrasse. Recently Albert Foerster, Nazi chieftain in autonomous Danzig, has begged instructions of the Fuehrer at Berchtesgaden, followed by the apprehensive Dr. Karl Burckhardt, League of Nations Commissioner of the Danzig Free State.

Danzig and the Corridor.

In almost every case, the sequel to these interviews with the German Chancellor, or his lieutenants, has been disastrous, as the fate of Austria and Czecho-Slovakia eloquently attests. Still another to beat a path to the Nazi oracle is the seventy-one-year-old Admiral Nicholas Horthy, regent of a Hungary evidently in the throes preliminary to being devoured by the Reich.

Hungary Next?

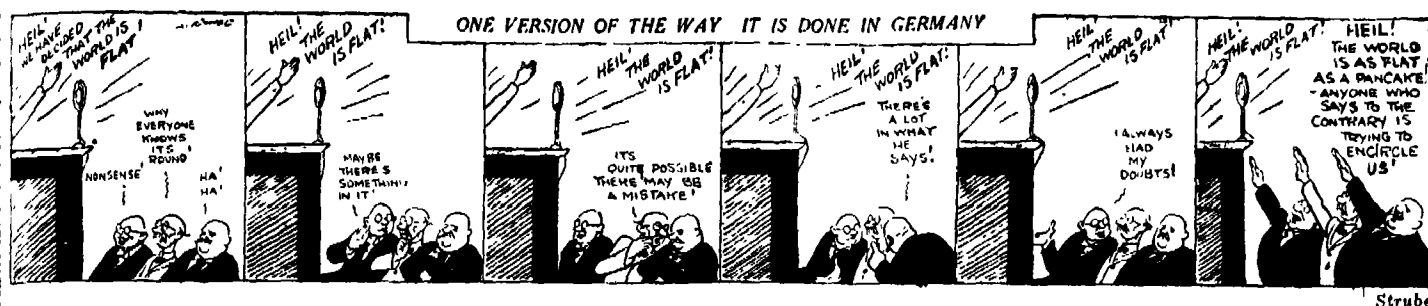
In the light of the recent history of Central Europe, many Hungarians found it difficult to doubt the fate that is in store for their country. In Hungary the Nazi technique has closely paralleled the strategy that prefaced the rape of Austria and Czecho-Slovakia—precisely the same Nazi-inspired internal dissension "viewed apprehensively" by a paternalistic Reich, the familiar and fabricated anti-Semitism followed by formal restrictions on the Jews'

means of livelihood, the Berli financed campaign in Hungary f revision of the Trianon treaties, an finally, the admonition of Berlin th the dissension in Hungary mu cease. Hitler today can well affo to show his hand in Hungary aft the Nazi electoral coup which ga him control over fifty-three seats i the Hungarian Parliament (in 19 the National Socialists had but five

While through August the "w of nerves" continued and grew mo intense over Danzig, the Nazis ha been casting covetous eyes at Hu gary—rich in wheat, barley, oat coal, and the possessor of the world largest deposits of bauxite. Th Nazis' drive for Danzig, acceleratin day by day, has served two purpos —that of generating nervous diso ders in Chamberlain and Daladi that are expected to result in fu ther "appeasement" convalescenc and that of diverting the serious at tention of the so-called peace-fro powers from Nazi machinations i Hungary.

The Danzig "white putsch," i fact, has served a third purpose—i has more or less obscured develop ments in Yugoslavia. There the situa tion vis-à-vis the Reich is only a shad less menacing than in Hungary. Ger man and Italian troops are concen trated to the north, northwest an south (in Albania), with Italy i easy command of Yugoslavia's Adr atic seaboard of five hundred mile If Hitler moves militarily into Hun gary, which fronts on Yugoslavia o the northeast for more than thre hundred miles, the Axis powers wil have accomplished something ver literal in the way of "encirclement," a strategic device with which the charge Britain and France.

As it is, Bulgaria, which adjoin Yugoslavia for some two hundred an fifty miles, would almost certainly prove a friendly neutral in any aggression by Germany on the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes whence, at Serajevo, the World War was launched. Despite the threatening situation, the Yugoslav government in August turned thumbs-down on German and Italian demands— they were not merely polite overtures or suggestions—for "supervision" of Yugoslavia's economic and military centers in the event of European war.

Such extraordinary supervision, the Germans and Italians argued, meant only that Yugoslavia would remain in a state of "benevolent neu

Strube

trality." Nazi and Fascist diplomatic agents must be creating a new language; at least, their definition of benevolent neutrality is assuredly not that of other nations.

Trouble in Mexico

While black clouds darkened Europe, there were increasing signs of a storm in the Western Hemisphere in August, and dangerously on our own doorstep. A continuance of the dispute caused by Mexico's expropriation of American oil properties in March, 1938, began to loom as a barrier to friendly relations between Washington and Mexico City when the State Department revealed that a rather complicated plan for the settlement of the dispute had been rejected. This involved an appointment of a nine-man arbitration board, three members to be selected by Mexico, three by the American oil firms involved and three neutral experts.

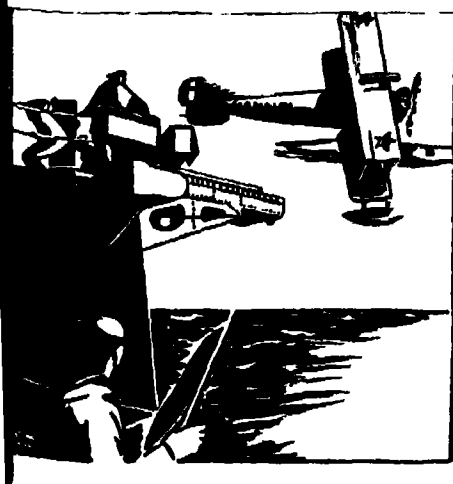
But behind this dispute ran deeper waters. Three days before Acting Secretary of State Sumner Wells reported the difficulties with Mexico on August 15, swarthy President Lazaro Cardenas, who heads the most militant Leftist Government outside the Soviet Union, shifted his high army command. There were rumors in Mexico of a projected revolt, reports that Cardenas' Rightist foes planned to "deliver the country to the reactionaries, backed by American Tory capital." At the same time, five members of the Mexican Senate were momentarily expected to be expelled from the party of the Mexican revolution (P.R.M.), the Government party, because of "undisciplined behavior and unjustified attacks against the P.R.M. and its executive."

This group, which formerly supported Francisco J. Mujica, who had retired from the Presidential race a few weeks before, had suddenly swung their support to General Andrew Alamazan, the so-called "reactionary" candidate. Scoring his former co-workers as opportunists, Senator Ernesto Soto Reyes, campaign director of Mujica, declared he was "unable to understand how these men could so shamelessly veer from the extreme left to the extreme right," and intimated in broad terms that they had been "bought by the General and millionaire Alamazan, and his Yankee allies."

Following this unexpected swerve of the Senators, President Cardenas named General Mujica, who was also former Minister of Communications, to take over the command of the twenty-first military zone, comprising the state of Michoacan on the Pacific coast which is rather fascist-minded. Brigadier General Felix Arita, head of the Michoacan zone, meantime was shifted to the important command of the peasant reserves of the army.

Bolivia's Labor Code

Celebrating "Seis de Agosto," or Day of Liberation, Bolivia this year marked August 6 under a new and unique form of government headed by Lieut. Col. German Busch, who assumed the Presidency two years ago. Late last April, President Busch, a German-trained militarist, made South American history when he formally declared that Bolivia was henceforth to be a strictly totalitarian regime. At that time there were predictions that Bolivia would sign the anti-Comintern pact and formally become a Latin-American member of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis. That prediction, however, bore no fruit, and Bolivia has since pursued such an unsensational course that news of the country has seldom made more than a routine press paragraph.

But that did not mean that Bolivia was inactive. On the contrary, it is proving in some respects to be one of the most progressive of the Latin Republics, the policy of the government being neither to the extreme left nor to the extreme right. Although totalitarian, it is not modeled upon, nor does it subscribe to the doctrines of any foreign power. Although Bolivia was the first South American country to raise the standard of revolt against colonial rule, it was the last to gain its freedom on August 6, 1825, following a fifteen-year struggle. Now a new but bloodless battle is being fought for national economic independence. One of the most striking examples of the struggle is the new Bolivian labor code which limits the working hours of men (with few exceptions) to forty-eight hours a week, restricts those of women and youths to forty hours, and forbids child labor. Working conditions are strictly controlled under the new code, which limits the number of foreigners employed to 5 per cent of the total number of employes, provides for vacations of one week to a month, and indemnifies those injured while at work. Organizations of employers and of labor unions are forbidden.

Will Women Lose Their Jobs?

A widespread movement against working women is under way with ten million jobs at stake

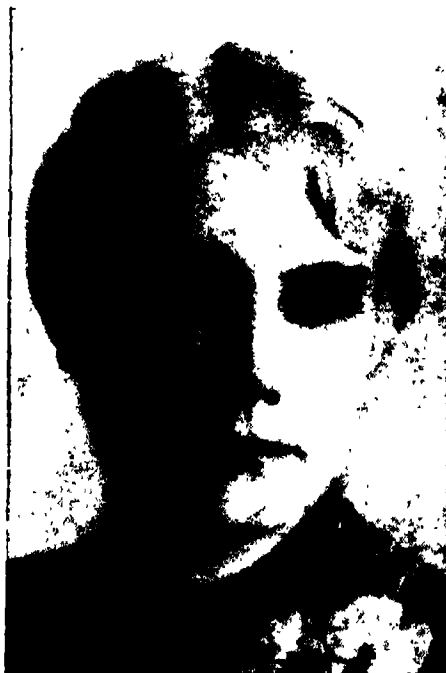
NORMAN COUSINS

HERE is the latest depression cure-all, results guaranteed by its supporters:

"There are approximately 10,000,000 people out of work in the United States today. There are also 10,000,000 or more women, married and single, who are job-holders. Simply fire the women, who shouldn't be working anyway, and hire the men. Presto! No unemployment. No relief rolls. No depression."

This is the general idea behind the greatest assault on women's rights in two decades. Its supporters include not only the something-for-nothing groups which can always be depended upon to support chain-letter movements and share-the-wealth plans, but a large section of public opinion —as yet unacquainted with all the facts—which finds it hard to resist the supposed logic of millions of unemployed men replacing millions of employed women. Impetus to the drive—at least psychologically—is lent by the fact that the payrolls of many communities and private organizations are open only to males.

The first move toward the complete defeminizing of public and private jobs is discrimination against the married woman. Having thus inserted its foot in the door, the oust-women campaign seeks eventually to enter and hang up the *verboten* sign to all women, married or single, employed or seeking employment.

This year, twenty-two states have been the proving grounds for attempted discrimination against married women in public service or in industry. Bills have been introduced in their legislatures with an almost identical purpose: to lessen local unemployment of men through various restrictions against the employment of married women. The bills, however, are not identical in scope or operation. In some states they would limit the ban against women to official positions. In some states, like Illinois and Massachusetts, they would soften the blow of discrimination by permitting married women to remain in public office if their husbands were poorly paid or out of work. But a bill in California—regarded by many women as Job Enemy No. 1—would make illegal the employment of married women in private business as well as public office.

Dr. Minnie L. Maffett, President, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs.

Fortunately for the married women, discriminatory legislation in many instances fell a victim to summer adjournment of the legislatures. But calendars of at least a dozen states are crowded with bills seeking to curtail employment of the working wife; these bills will have the advantage of early introductions when legislatures reconvene. Moreover, resolutions have been adopted in at least one branch of the legislative bodies of five states against married couples on public payrolls. Governor Dixon of Alabama and Governor Long of Louisiana did not wait for legislative action but issued o ders banning employment of wives their husbands also were worki for the state.

Of such concern is this trend the nation's women leaders that has been called the greatest issue affect women since their victorio fight for suffrage. In its recent co vention at Kansas City, the Nation Federation of Business and Profe sional Women's Clubs announced frontal attack on what it conside the most serious problem it has fac in twenty years. In the eyes of Fe eration leaders the legislation a ready introduced is a portent of eve more widespread attacks to come.

Unless there is a substantial in provement in business during th next few months, the American pe ple may find in the question of ma ried women in business an issu whose intensity may remind them o the war over woman's right to th ballot. Of course, a sudden boo whose golden wand would wave th unemployed back to private payroll would destroy the movement agains woman's right to work and provid insurance for female job security But there is no boom in sight. In stead, the present W.P.A. layoffs ar certain to dramatize further th plight of the unemployed and arous public opinion to the urgency o some solution.

That one proposed solution shoul be the dismissal of women, marrie or single, from gainful employmen is not surprising. Especially on th issue of married women in industry is the proposal understandable though not sound or even practicable. For one thing, Americans are home minded. They are for anything tha tends toward preserving the family against anything which might weak en the family as the traditional unit of our civilization. If they are con vinced—as many seem to be—tha employment of women tends to un dermine their normal functions a

mothers and home builders, they might support legal attempts to bar employment to married or even to single women.

There are, of course, many familiar "moral" arguments against the working wife: woman's place is in the home, the management of which is enough work for any person; her first allegiance is to the bearing and raising of children; there is a direct relationship between the increase of women in business and the declining birth rate.

But the main "economic" argument, to repeat, is that men are being kept out of their jobs by women. A corollary is that one working person to a family ought to be enough.

AGE AND EARNINGS

Each stack of bills represents 100 dollars per year.

In considering these planks in the "oust-women-from-industry" platform, it is impossible to state flatly that they are wholly justified or wholly false. A human equation is involved here, one with many variables. It is impossible, for example, to state arbitrarily that married women who work are undermining the American home. When Mrs. Jones puts in eight hours a day at the office she may seem to be slighting her home responsibilities. But let us look below the surface and attempt to see why Mrs. John Jones, average American working wife, has decided to keep her job after marriage.

John Jones, twenty-six, has been courting Mary Smith, twenty-three, for almost two years. They would have been married a year ago were it not that John's salary of $25 seemed too small to support two people, and eventually children, especially since his job, like a good many jobs during depression years, carried no promise of permanency or even advancement. And so they waited, hoping that times would improve and bring John a better position.

The solution came not through a better job for John, but through a job for Mary as cashier in a restaurant. The salary was $18. At first, John was reluctant to consider marriage on such terms. His brother, married ten years earlier, had been able to support his wife; John liked to think he could do the same. But when John and Mary looked around them and observed friends who had prolonged engagements for five and even ten years, without materially improving their prospects; when they realized that they were sacrificing life's normal relationships for nothing but the gamble of a better day, they decided to strike out boldly together. Mary would keep her job, the combined income would be enough for a modest home, and perhaps some day for a family.

John had to swallow his pride, but it wasn't so difficult when he discovered that there were many married men in almost precisely the same circumstances.

This example may seem tailor-made to fit the argument that women who work help make marriage and a home possible in uncertain times. But reliable surveys show that this case is by no means unique; that—allowing for individual variations—it represents a fairly accurate picture of what has been happening in America during depression years.

Mrs. Saidie Orr Dunbar, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

The Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor reports that in recent years the majority of married women at work have been working not because of a desire for a career or for economic independence but because of the need to provide or supplement the family income. This same conclusion was stressed in a survey among 652 employed wives which Cecile Tipton LaFollette undertook for Teachers College of Columbia University. Of the 652 families studied by Miss LaFollette, 125 husbands—or about 20 per cent—were unemployed, their inactivity ranging from two months to twenty years. Six per cent of the husbands earned less than $1,000, while 25 per cent earned less than $2,000.

An even stronger picture is presented in a study undertaken by the New York State Division of Women in Industry and Minimum Wage. Examining case records of 280,000 families which received help from the State Emergency Relief Bureau, it discovered that the woman was the sole wage earner in nine cases out of ten. And even in non-relief cases,

Should Married Women Work?

Should married women work? CURRENT HISTORY ***put this question to a number of America's most outstanding women, married and single. These are their opinions:***

MARY ANDERSON

Director Women's Bureau, Department of Labor

So long as two-thirds of the families in the United States have incomes of less than $1,500 a year, there is a very good economic reason why married women should work. Women's Bureau studies show that about 9 out of 10 married women who are employed or seeking employment are doing so from necessity rather than from choice. One way of meeting this situation would be to guarantee to the husband security of employment and a living wage, thus making it possible for many wives to withdraw from their paid jobs.

But, regardless of the need of the families involved, there should in this country be no restriction against the employment of married women. One of the cornerstones of a democracy is the right of its people to work and to hold jobs on the basis of their qualifications, whether they are married or single, rich or poor. When one group in the population is singled out for discrimination, the way is opened for other inroads on democratic rights.

The argument that married women in public service keep other persons out of work and add to the unemployment problem is fallacious. The number of such women is so small that their discharge would not make a dent on the unemployment problem.

MARGARET CULKIN BANNING

Novelist

When I hear a bit of complaint about some married woman working I do not see an indictment of the sex even though it has made it such. What I see is some man or woman without a job striking blindly at what seems an unfair distribution of work and income.

With such a move women should be tolerant, they should be kind, but they should be no less firm. There are thwarted and bitter people back of every attempt to legislate married women out of the professions. But the remedies are nostrums. They are not even good painkillers. And if we allow the public to try one, soon it will restlessly try another and perhaps legislate another group of useful citizens out of the working world.

MARY R. BEARD

Historian

Since married women always have worked outside the home, taking their cradles with them if need be, since women even made the home originally by work outside, to question the advisability of their so working now is to question the course of all human history. Married women, anthropologists of high rank believe, were the first farmers by voluntary action and married women worked in the fields throughout the ages as well as by the hearth; countless numbers still do; more do when men go off to slaughter men in wars. Married women, anthropologists of high rank believe, invented all the prime industrial arts, possessing the first creative intelligence of a social nature. Married women in the pioneering age of America worked inside and outside the home on every succeeding frontier. One of them ran what is thought to be the first packet line between the new world and the old and went with her cargoes to buy and sell directly. By the manufacturing and business enterprise of married women in America, the economic basis of the independent American nation was largely laid, as British and American statesmen knew perfectly well.

The raising of an issue about married women's right to work now represents a battle of men for wages and salaries to be shared with wives who work, if at all, within the house, or with courtesans. If the decisions runs against women one moment, anywhere, it will run for them the next moment. Even the Nazis veered almost overnight because they found that they could not operate without the work of women beyond the cradle, whether women were married or single. If there were more intelligence today, we would find ways for all men and women to work and without the brutality of forced labor.

MARGARET CUTHBERT

Director of Women's Activities, National Broadcasting Co.

There's no better answer to this question than the recent decision of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts—

> that married women are just as much free citizens of this country as unmarried women or men.
>
> They have the same right to pursue their own lives and to be employed in any occupation they can find, as men.
>
> To deny them this right is an abridgement of their constitutional rights.

The great mass of married women in this country *do not work* outside their homes but it is a basic principle of this Democracy that any woman should have the right to work if she wishes to. Married women, like other people, have responsibilities based upon their own individual problems.

Who can say that the married woman of today who *does not work* is secure? Her husband may become ill, be thrown out of his job or divorce her.

In a free democratic society each citizen should be able to choose his or her own way of life.

The only standard or requirement should be the ability of the person to do the job regardless of sex or status.

OCTAVIA GOODBAR

President, National Federation of Press Women

The careers of women, since modern machinery has lifted their burden of hand labor, leave us with a question on our lips! Do individuals rise so high? Is machine emancipation from heavy toil in reality the twilight of mental and spiritual power?

One consequence of our machine-age is the present grim struggle for jobs between married and unmarried women. The latter insist that wives not only deprive them of employment, but fill jobs that men otherwise might have—thus making marriage impossible for many. Jobs or husbands—but not both—is their battle-cry.

Should we purge three and a half million married women from gainful work? Such purge would have little immediate effect on male employment. Over half the registered unemployed men are laborers and skilled artisans; quite unfit to take places held by women. Even if the working of wives should be discouraged as a detriment to posterity, it still remains to be shown that preventative legislation can avoid an unacceptable impairment of guarantees contained in our constitution.

Impulses born of unemployment psychology provide no good reasons for driving competent women out of honestly won jobs. In the business world there is no marriage nor giving in marriage; only work to be well done. Unemployment is not a sex problem, nor will it be solved by sex discrimination.

(Continued on page 62)

a report of the Young Women's Christian Association showed, on the basis of a survey of 519 married women who were factory workers, salesgirls, telephone operators, and clerical workers, that the overwhelming majority preferred to remain at home but continued at their jobs because the husband's income was nonexistent or insufficient for the bare necessaries of life. If additional proof is needed, it is supplied by the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, whose questionnaire on this subject went to 12,000 women all over the country. The replies, according to the Federation, made it clear that "women are working to earn a living—for themselves, of course, but half of them are also earning a living for parents, sisters, brothers, husbands, children, who, in increasing numbers through the years, turn to them as breadwinners and often as home makers as well."

One important thing to keep in mind in all the hubbub over women at work is that less than one-quarter of our adult female population is employed; of 43,000,000 women fifteen years of age and over, 10,632,000 hold jobs. Census figures say that of this number 3,070,000—or one-third—are married. It is possible, however, that the number of married women on private and government payrolls actually runs as high as five million, for many women refuse to acknowledge their marital status, fearing that would mean discrimination. This is especially true in the teaching profession where the National Education Association estimates that more than 75 per cent of the nation's school boards favor unmarried teachers.

Discrimination against the married woman is "un-American," says Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins.

What type of jobs do women hold? In order of their size, the groupings are: Domestic and Personal, 3,166,603; Clerical, 1,986,112; Manual and Mechanical, 1,877,989; Professional Service, 1,525,960; Trade, 961,101; Agriculture, 814,766; Transportation, 281,025.

Analysis of these figures prompts the Department of Labor to point out that competition in industry is between one man and another, rather than between men and women. At most, not more than 1,000,000 jobs now held by women could pass to men. And of the 3,000,000-odd jobs held by women who admittedly are married, probably no more than 300,000 could be satisfactorily or willingly filled by males. This would "create" new jobs for only 3 per cent of the men now out of work.

Fundamentally, the unemployment of men is not caused by women who hold jobs but by the infirmities of the economic structure itself. Nor is the depression an affliction visited exclusively upon the male; the woman must bear her part of the burden, as more than 2,000,000 unemployed women can attest.

With the passing of the Golden Era in 1929 a social as well as an economic adjustment has been necessary. There has been a tremendous reshuffling of values. For many a young man today, employment and wages are both uncertain and insufficient for marriage responsibilities. Instead of lecturing young men about going out into the world and conquering well-paying jobs which will make marriage possible, it might be well to recall that it is not the young who are responsible for the economic rockpile over which we have been stumbling these last ten years. The depression is not of their making but ours. In our eagerness to get to the top of Mt. Million we never stopped to see whether our footing was secure; our eyes could see nothing but a magical summit where people lived in opulence and exhilaration. When the inevitable avalanche came we were swept swiftly to the bottom.

In answer to all of which the oust-women-from-jobs group may say that, yes, we are living in changing times and that, indeed, this is an emergency. And that, they may add, is precisely why extreme measures are needed and justified. Millions of men, many of them with families, are out of work. Most of them would be satisfied with salaries now paid to women. The ouster should begin with the working married woman because she should be dependent upon the man. After that, single women should be withdrawn from jobs. And who will look after them? Well, someone will; someone always does. Besides, unemployment with women is a matter of relative hardship at worst. But with men—especially family men—the hardship is absolute and complete. The state should have the right to step in and, for the greater benefit of all, say who shall work and who shall not.

"It is the basic right of any human being to work," says Mrs. Roosevelt.

An intriguing but hardly a practical thought. Because the more you study the figures of the various occupations which would be involved in the taking over of women's jobs by men, the more preposterous the scheme becomes. Imagine an average day in an America without working women:

John Citizen arrives at his office to be greeted by a male receptionist, a male switchboard operator and a male private secretary who opens his mail, arranges his appointments and takes dictation. At lunch his favorite waitress is missing, her place taken by a young man. At three o'clock he visits his dentist and is greeted by a male nurse. At four-thirty Mrs. Citizen calls to complain about

Harry, who has taken the place of the part-time maid, and who refuses to wash the baby's clothes.

At the dinner table, Mary, who has just entered kindergarten, complains about Mr. Mann, the new teacher. Mrs. Citizen resents the personal questions asked by the new male salesclerk when she went shopping for underwear. She also resents the husky baritone voice that moans "Number, please," every time she picks up the phone.

Ridiculous? Certainly. But this is what a general purge of *all* women in industry would mean. It is impossible to carry through a large-scale replacement of one large bloc of labor for another unless there is an identity of functions all along the line. Approximately 3,500,000 men out of work are manual laborers. Which places vacated by women can they take? Approximately 3,100,000 women are employed as domestics. Which men want to take their places? There are about 920,000 salesgirls, whose replacement by men in most cases would be ludicrous.

But perhaps there are not enough people who seriously advocate the complete turning over of women's jobs to unemployed men to warrant further discussion of this obviously unworkable plan. Perhaps it would be better to consider some of the less drastic proposals. These range from the ousting of married women in public service whose husbands are also on official payrolls to the dismissal of married women whose husbands are able-bodied.

MANY of the opponents of husband-wife working teams argue only against the married woman who works even though she may not need the job. Indeed, through this reasoning they have attracted the support of thousands of unmarried working women who feel that single girls should have first call on available jobs. Thus the battle over women's rights—and it is precisely that—is being fought without unity among women. In addition to the single women who advocate eliminating married women from jobs are a great many "non-working" wives who feel that women have no place outside the home; that, as Blackstone once said, a "woman is entitled to no power, only reverence."

But it is impossible to dissociate the attempt to discriminate against working wives from the attempt to discriminate against single women. The difference is merely one of degree: today the law may be mild; tomorrow it will be severe. Once the precedent were established discrimination probably would move straight down the line. First against the married woman in public service whose husband is also employed in an official capacity. Then against the married woman in public service whose husband is employed in private industry. Then against the married working woman whose husband earns a stipulated amount. Then against the married working woman—without any qualifiers. Finally, against the working girl, married or not. As long as economic pressure and clamor for jobs persisted the discrimination probably would continue to its ultimate nonsensical end.

Yet even assuming that those who would discriminate against married women in jobs are sincere when they say they will go that far and no farther, are any of their arguments valid?

True, it would be possible to replace a relatively small number of married working women with men—for example, in the teaching profession. True, a number of wives (the exact percentage is anybody's guess) who would be deprived of jobs would experience no great economic hardship, nor would their families. All this, however, would hold for only a relatively small number. The overwhelming majority of women who work, as we have pointed out, do so because they must. Furthermore, even in the cases of those not motivated by absolute necessity, there are economic disadvantages in ousting them from jobs, disadvantages which largely offset any economic gain derived from the reduction of unemployed males. Cecile LaFollette's study shows that married women job-holders generally create other jobs for other workers. Particularly is this true of the woman in the upper salary brackets. A loss of job by this kind of woman would be reflected in a consequent loss of jobs for nurses, teachers, cooks and housemaids. Of 652 married working women, Miss LaFollette found that 540 employed help in one form or another.

Her conclusions are supported by an investigation at the University of Wisconsin. It clearly indicates that "married women employ help in the home directly in the form of cleaning, cooking, nursing, furnace tending, and indirectly in the form of laundry and restaurant meals."

Moreover, a survey by the National Federation of Business and Professional Women reveals that 48 per cent of working women, married and single, have one or more dependents. The survey, reaching almost sixty thousand women, shows that one in every six is the sole support of a household of from two to eight persons.

BUT even outside the economic sphere, arguments against the working wife reveal weakness. There is much talk about the mother's place in the home, very little about the fact that the home has changed. Housekeeping for the average family today is no longer a full-time job. We are no longer living in the days when families numbered a dozen or more, and, what with cooking, baking, canning, washing, spinning, sewing and mending, woman's work was never done. The average American family today numbers three children or less, who are away from home at least five hours a day. Inexpensive, modern gadgets simplify what were once long, tedious household tasks. In short, the home has changed from a producing to a consuming unit.

This change is reflected not only in employment of married women but in the growth of social and church work, and in the spread of adult education, of culture and entertainment groups. In these circumstances, it is difficult to blame the married woman who is not content to remain a semi-idle dependent, but who seeks in business an outlet for her talents and energies. Dr. Richard

(Continued on page 63)

From Garbage to Good Government

Montclair, N. J., found the price of politics too high so its citizens stepped in and built a model civic structure

WILLIAM HARD, JR.

STRANGE things have often been found in garbage dumps; Montclair, New Jersey, found the strangest of all—the seed for a citizens' movement which has revivified the democratic life of the community and has made Montclair one of the best-run towns in the United States.

For a generation, Montclair had suffered from two contrasting, but almost equally disastrous, forms of mis-government. During the boom years, its officials often were dignified residents who basked genially in the "honor of public office," facing few serious municipal problems.

In 1932, professional politicians led by a lieutenant of Boss Frank Hague of Jersey City took over the five-man commission. There were charges of favoritism and worse, of supplies bought from friends, with no nonsense about competitive bidding. Montclair's physical plant began to go to pieces from neglect. Political jealousy between department heads was so great that municipal employees were afraid even to talk to each other, let alone co-operate.

But the politicians slipped up. They tossed out the perfectly good municipal garbage collection system and handed the job to a private contractor. When the new collector had to settle a law suit for $15,000 it was said that the commissioners paid half—with tax-payers' funds.

These charges aroused a group of wide-awake women. They banded together for study and discussion of garbage and other town problems, calling themselves, with deceptive good humor, the "Pig Women." Their husbands, at first mildly surprised at their outburst, soon became enthusiastic. They, too, adopted a name: "Pygmalions."

The Pig Women and the Pygmalions probed deeper into their city government and they found things as malodorous as the garbage that first aroused them. So they went out and rang doorbells, and by keeping everlastingly at it they stirred up a lot of excitement. In 1934 they energetically campaigned for a city manager form of government, but failed. Undiscouraged, in 1936 they put up a Citizens' Ticket to run against the incumbent commissioners. This time their patient work was rewarded: they elected four of their five candidates.

THEIR ticket is a prize exhibit. The four commissioners elected were: Louis K. Comstock, an electrical engineer and president of New York's Merchants' Association; Bayard H. Faulkner, secretary-treasurer of the Seaboard Oil Company; William Speers, president of James McCutcheon's, New York department store; and Dallas Townsend, lawyer, once Assistant Secretary of State.

These men, all eminently successful and burdened with private affairs, made a genuine sacrifice in accepting the responsibilities of public office. For months, until they got the municipal wheels spinning smoothly, they worked far into the night, giving up leisure and recreation.

They undertook, and have never relaxed, a steady campaign to make citizens participate actively in town affairs. Pamphlets explaining civic problems go out with water bills; circulars are tucked into tax bills. Neighborhood meetings are encouraged to study every knotty town problem. Annual budgets, by some sort of miracle, are put into a form the layman can understand, then mailed to every family. Budget Week has become an established institution; this year twenty-five civic organizations accepted the commissioners' invitation to designate representatives for a careful survey of proposed expenditures before the budget was adopted. This year, too, postcard questionnaires were sent to each family, asking whether library and health services, garbage collections, and street lighting and cleaning should be reduced, and if so, by how much. A majority of the citizens favored keeping up all safety and health services, but were willing to get along with a little less library service and only two garbage collections a week instead of three. The commissioners promptly put the suggestions into effect—saving approximately $20,000.

The commissioners feel that their greatest achievement is the arousing of Montclair voters to civic participation. But the administrative accomplishments of the new commissioners are hardly less notable. The town's affairs had been bungled even more than they suspected when they took office. Central purchasing was in the hands of a pleasant young man who, however, knew little about the job. In per capita debt,

MUST BE MAILED NOT LATER THAN MARCH 30th.

	YES	NO
DO YOU FAVOR REDUCED LIBRARY SERVICES?	☐	☐
DO YOU FAVOR REDUCED HEALTH SERVICES?	☐	☐
DO YOU FAVOR REDUCTION IN GARBAGE TRASH AND ASH COLLECTIONS FROM THREE TO TWO PER WEEK?	☐	☐
DO YOU FAVOR REDUCED STREET LIGHTING?	☐	☐
DO YOU FAVOR REDUCED STREET CLEANING?	☐	☐
DO YOU FAVOR INCREASED FEES FOR TENNIS COURT USE?	☐	☐

OTHER COMMENTS

Note: Sign only if you so desire.

Postcard "ballots" such as these helped Montclair's civic commission to give citizens the kind of government they wanted. Return postage for the cards was paid by the town.

G. E. McMillen

Stewart M. Weaver

Montclair ranked ninth among all the communities of comparable size (fifty thousand) in the United States. Assessment lists had not been reviewed for twenty-five years. Tax collection methods dated back thirty-five years; taxes were grossly delinquent. Under the guise of "economy," the former administration had permitted streets, sewers, fire equipment, water supply and buildings to deteriorate seriously—a method of saving about as sensible as not going to the dentist when your teeth hurt.

Clearly the neophytes had bitten off a large chunk of trouble. Being business and professional men instead of politicians, they did the businesslike thing and called in specialists. Of course, this aroused provincialism. Why bring in outsiders, why send local money out of town? But the commissioners stuck to their guns; they wanted the best men available, wherever they might be found.

From Pennsylvania they imported an experienced purchasing agent. Specifications were drawn up according to United States or New Jersey State standards, and contracts were awarded on a strictly competitive basis, with favoritism eliminated. Formerly, the town's gasoline supplies were purchased from favored dealers at 10.8 cents a gallon. Now the city buys gas wholesale at 6.27 cents. Within the first year the purchasing agent had saved in this item alone the cost of his own salary. But he went right on. Contracts for road oil had been so drawn that only one company could supply it. When competitive bidding was introduced the price dropped from 12 cents to 8 cents a gallon. Similarly, crushed rock for road construction sank from $2.36 to $1.04 a ton; hydrants dropped from $77 to $63. And so on, right down to stationery and carbon paper.

The commissioners imported Stewart M. Weaver, outstanding municipal engineer. By just one of his many suggestions he, too, paid for himself the first year. The town had been pumping water to the top of a high hill—when it came down again the pressure was too great; by pumping some of the water only half way up the hill, he bettered service and saved the town money. He also electrified all pumps and rebuilt the main station; savings will pay for all that in five years.

To obtain an impartial assessment of land values, the commissioners hired a large Cleveland firm. The job cost $25,000—but saved citizens $165,000 in county and state taxes the following year.

Top insurance men of New York and Newark were tapped for advice. They discovered that the town's five governmental divisions had been buying insurance separately; some buildings were not covered at all, while others were lumped together. Now insurance buying has been centralized and the town has better coverage than ever before—and inquiries about how it was done have poured in from places as far west as Nebraska.

Garbage collection was again made a municipal function, with improved methods. Before the old garbage contract expired, a representative of the Public Administration Service of Chicago was called in to lay out an adequate system and write specific tions for bids. The lowest private o fer was $119,000. It was turn down. The town's engineering st: had bid only $97,000. New truck built low to make loading easi practically eliminated hernia, : though the average rate among ga bage collectors runs to almost 40 p cent. On the theory that men who lo better do better work, collectors we outfitted with neat gray uniform housewives strongly approved.

A few other improvements shoul be mentioned, because Montclair proud of them. Twelve miles of ne and better street paving have bee laid. Hundreds of new fire hydran and twelve miles of new water mai improve fire-fighting facilities. A old school has been reconstructed f health and welfare services. A radi system has stepped up police cove age 50 per cent. Morale of municip employes has vastly and visibly im proved.

With all this, Montclair has bee put into an enviable financial posi tion. The city is now on a pay-as you-go basis, and the bonded deb has been partly paid and partly re financed at the amazingly low rat of 2⅛ per cent. Delinquent taxes ar less by $500,000, partly as the resul of personal phone calls appealing t civic pride. Montclair citizens ar paying $240,000 less in taxes thi year than last—although thre fourths of the other towns in th same county raised their taxes this year. Bank loans of $1,000,000 hav been liquidated, and the town is

(Continued on page 63)

WHEN YOU TURN YOUR FAUCET

To Montclair Water Consumers:

DO YOU THINK OF pipes and dams, of pumps and watersheds, of men and millions, together making possible the stream which gushes forth when you turn your faucet?

This message is the first of a series dealing graphically with the major aspects and problems of Montclair's Water Supply.

The four million dollar investment in the system is your investment; the men and women who manage it are your representatives They desire to render you an even better service To do this, they must have your interest and cooperation

BUREAU OF WATER SUPPLY
MONTCLAIR, NEW JERSEY

First page of a pamphlet sent to all Montclair citizens. Other pamphlets dealt with similar civic subjects.

The Chinese Are Like That

The Chinese are a warm, colorful people, whether fighting, working, celebrating or just talking

CARL CROW

CARL CROW is an American business man, a Missourian who has lived in the Far East for twenty years, first in Shanghai, where he was city editor of the *China Press* and where he eventually became editor and publisher of *The Shanghai Evening Post*, and later in Tokyo, where he was business manager of *The Japan Advertiser.*

Six years ago he returned to his native America to take up free-lance writing and the business of advertising. Out of the vast store of observations he brought back with him have come several books which have established him as one of America's most colorful and engaging writers on things Chinese. His *400,000,000 Customers*, which became an immediate best-seller, was in effect a digest of letters written in answer to questions from business people everywhere who wanted information about selling goods to the Chinese. His *I Speak for the Chinese*, published last year, presented the opinion of an American familiar with Oriental affairs on the present war in China. On September 20, a new book by Carl Crow, *The Chinese Are Like That*, will be published by Harper and Brothers and will deal with aspects of Chinese life not generally known in this country.

In the accompanying article, Mr. Crow presents vignettes of China and her people. He looks past the present war and into the *real* China, which, he says, can never be conquered.

FOREIGN religions, foreign philosophies and alien rule have each contributed something to China and taken nothing from her. She has yielded to all of these forces and been conquered by none of them. Perhaps this introduction of alien thought may have changed the shade of Chinese life, but it has not changed the color. Confucius, resurrected, would today find illiterate ricksha coolies and world-famous authors and philosophers of his own nationality to whom he would still be a revered master, as he was to the faithful disciples with whom he lived and worked in the days when Daniel made pacifists out of the lions.

He would probably, if he should see Japan's present attempt to change the structure of Chinese life by means of military force, not be particularly distressed. He believed and taught that physical conquest was unimportant; that those who do not surrender their souls, their thoughts, and their ideals, as China never has, must survive.

WHEN I first went to China I was, like most other newcomers, shocked and somewhat nauseated by what appeared to be the unspeakable filth of the country. Houses and streets were dirty and clothing was dirty and children's faces needed washing and most of the streams were muddy. City and country were equally dirty —the difference being in kind rather than in degree.

In the past few years, thanks to the influence of the New Life Movement, there has been a general tidying up of the country and many conspicuous evidences of filth have disappeared, but the fact remains that most Chinese still live under conditions of filth that many foreigners would find unbearable.

However, cleanliness is all a matter of personal preference which sometimes follows certain national lines. It is Americans and British especially who make a fetish of cleanliness and find something sinful in the fact that any people can be happy though dirty. Of the many exhibitions of vanity and complacent self-satisfaction which the nationals of these two great nations display, there is none which seems to give them more satisfaction than their ability to sneer at a man with a dirty shirt.

As to Chinese cleanliness, my initial surprise that they should be so dirty has, after a quarter of a century, changed to surprise that, considering their difficulties, they should be so clean. For cleanliness everywhere is costly and, when expressed in terms of other things, it is probably more expensive in China than in any other country. Soap costs as much there as in other places and the people have less money with which to purchase it. There are few people in America who would look on a cake of ordinary toilet soap as a luxury, and fewer still who cannot afford to buy cheap laundry soap. But in China there are many who can afford neither. A day's food for a family can be purchased for less than the cost of a bar of cheap laundry soap. If the long blue cotton gown which is the common dress of the country were washed every day, the maintenance cost as represented by the consumption of soap would soon be out of all proportion to the original cost of the gown. A cake of good toilet soap represents a day's wages to a very large proportion of the wage-earners of the country. When confronted by the necessity of a choice between food and soap, the choice is for food, just as mine would be under similar circumstances.

Cleanliness in China is a matter of dollars and cents, just as it is with most other people. Those who can afford it are clean and those who cannot, adjust themselves to a certain kind of filthy comfort. One of the most certain indications of the poverty or prosperity of a district is found in the number of soap shops,

Drawings by G. Sapojnikoff from Four Hundred Million Customers.

and increased soap sales inevitably follow good crops. When crops are bad or there is for any other reason a period when money, which is always scarce, is even scarcer than usual, then the sales of cigarettes and soap both suffer, for these are two luxuries which can only be procured by a cash expenditure. Many a Chinese farmer is often confronted by the cruel dilemma of whether he will buy a packet of cigarettes for himself or a cake of soap for his wife.

MANY European and American housewives strive for the ideal of a spotless house. With all their scrubbing and polishing, they never quite succeed, for there is always a bit of dust loitering in this corner or that, to say nothing of millions of disease germs which a microscope would discover in the most spotless kitchen. Chinese housewives never attempt this impossible ideal. In every household, even the meanest and most obviously filthy, the battle against dirt actually goes on, but never with the idea that it can be vanquished completely. In this, as in other things, the Chinese reach a comfortable compromise and a house that is reasonably clean is deemed to have met all requirements anyone should ask. If dirt and rubbish are swept under the table, it is at least out of the way and will not be seen except by those who are impolitely curious.

The presence of cockroaches in a house is considered an evidence of a portent of prosperity. It stands to reason that a household which cannot feed a family of cockroaches must be very poor.

As a matter of fact, this question of the presence or absence of cockroaches in a Chinese home is purely academic, for no household is so poor that it does not shelter them, usually in considerable quantities. The only possible exception should be the modern Shanghai apartment, constructed with all the skill of the architect and engineer and equipped with all the modern sanitary appliances; but they are usually found even here.

One of my fellow Americans made frequent business trips into the interior provinces, where he lived for several weeks at a time in the sketchy and uncomfortable accommodations afforded by Chinese inns. Like most other foreigners who are veteran travelers in the hinterlands of China, he had developed a certain method of procedure in order to smooth out the rough places and make life as comfortable as possible. Chinese inns are notoriously infested with bedbugs, but my friend had a system which quarantined them and enabled him to spend a night in the worst inn with considerable comfort. He carried with him one of the light folding cots with which every traveler in China is equipped. After supper his servant would set up the cot in the middle of the room with each leg immersed in a shallow tin of kerosene, thereby effectively insulating it against the encroachments of bedbugs, centipedes, and other vermin. With a candle at the head of his cot, my friend would read until he fell asleep, thus achieving a degree of comfort and entertainment which left little to be desired.

Chinese forests have been cut down, erosion has washed soil from the slopes of hills, many parts of the Yellow River Valley have been covered by floods which left deposits of sand, and yet the fact remains that after forty centuries of constant cultivation, the farms of China are still productive and support the largest farming population on earth. The answer to this is the Chinese farmer's constant search for fertilizer. Every bit of refuse around the farm is thrown into the compost heaps. In the winter the bottoms of canals a creeks are dredged and rich bla silt stored for deposit on the field The harvest of manure and the ha vest of crops are carried on wi equal care.

Some parts of China were crowd and the fertility of some farm lan began to be exhausted more th twenty centuries ago. Fertilizer w necessary and every available sour was used. The most efficient, most d pendable and most easily procurab supply came from their own bodies- a natural return to the soil of the fe tility of which it had been robbed- and so the use of human manure b came and still remains the mainsta of Chinese agriculture.

Indeed, to a Chinese, with his lo of the soil, and his faithful care f it, it is as absurd to provide sanitar plumbing for men as it would be t provide it for horses, pigs, or chic ens. The use of human manure is s important to the production of cro in China that if by some modern m chanical miracle every home in Chin could be equipped with sanitar plumbing, and its use made compul sory, the following growing seas would see a famine of such magni tude as to be inconceivable, for th crops would not grow without fert lizer and the greater part of th world's most numerous people woul undoubtedly starve. So great a num ber of people would be affected tha all the world's surplus grain coul give them little relief.

Many sociologists shudder to thin of what may happen to the Chines race if the present movements fo sanitation, public health, and chil welfare reach the same proportion in China as in other countries, and the cruel selective process which na ture has set up is disturbed. Instead of four hundred million people who are healthy and strong there may be twice that number who are sickly and weak. Or again, the world may face the most serious problem of over-population that has yet confronted it.

LONG before the younger nations were faced by similar problems the Chinese were, by the severity of their struggle for existence, forced to sharpen their wits. It was no longer possible, as in purely agricultural and pastoral communities, to live by the simple process of tilling the soil and harvesting the crops. Clever merchants and powerful officials began to

play their parts in the affairs of the country, and the simple country yokel ceased to exist, for he either starved or learned new tricks. If Chinese are the smartest traders in the world, as some believe them to be, there is good reason for it, for they have had a longer experience than any other people and under the most difficult competitive conditions.

There are no fences in China and the Chinese farmer centuries ago evolved a system of protecting his growing crops without the expense of fences, which would not only cost money to build, but would cut off something from the productive area of the tiny fields. The same strategem is still in use all over the country. The farmer merely sprinkles the plants with chicken feathers and the crops are as safe as they would be with a hogtight woven-wire fence, for the foraging animal has a nauseating aversion to feathers.

This long and constant struggle for existence appears to have sharpened the wits of animals as well as of men in China. Every fisherman who had had any experience will testify that no fish are quite so wary as those found in Chinese waters, where every fish-catching device the mind of man can conceive of has been in use for centuries. The strings of fish displayed by the passing Chinese fisherman and the quantity of fish on sale in the markets show that the streams are well stocked, but the amateur fisherman rarely makes a catch he is willing to discuss with his friends. The professional Chinese fishermen are successful only because they use traps and nets the disciple of Isaak Walton would scorn.

China has the most complete system of water-borne traffic to be found in any country, a system consisting of hundreds, if not thousands, of individual units each of which is self-supporting and undisturbed by outside influences. China is said to have more boats than all the rest of the world put together, and with the exception of a few provinces every part of the country is covered by a network of navigable streams. It is because of this that the recent destruction of Chinese railways is not by any means such a serious matter as it would appear to be.

FIGURES showing the long hours put in by Chinese laborers horrify the reader, but not the local resident who sees the labor performed, for long hours of employment do not, by any means, imply long hours of toil. Carpenters building a house or a boat may start work at sunup and keep on hammering, sawing, and chiseling until dark. But in the meantime, if anything interesting should happen in the neighborhood, such as a dog fight or the visit of foreigners, everyone stops work to look and make comments. Any time a worker wants to pause for the leisurely enjoyment of a pipe or a cigarette, he feels at liberty to lay down his tools without asking anyone's permission.

During the seasons of rice-planting and rice harvest there is little time for a pipe or a cigarette and everyone is in the fields before sunrise and hard at work so long as it is light enough to see. But no one who has witnessed one of these seasons can think of them as representing arduous toil. They are joyous community parties to be lived to the utmost while they last and to be talked over for months afterwards. There are plenty of volunteers who work for the fun and excitement of communal effort, and this is doubtless as great an incentive to them as the huge bowls of steaming food which are always provided by the farmer at seasons of planting and harvest.

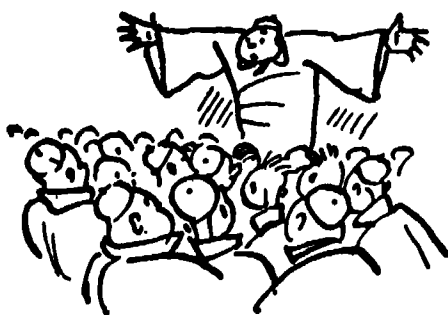
While the wages paid to Chinese laborers are low, Chinese efficiency as measured by production is also low. According to a Chinese authority a Chinese coal miner is only one-fourth as efficient as the British coal miner and one-twentieth as efficient as the American. This efficiency scale as measured by the production of coal is not entirely accurate, for physical conditions in the mines as well as the employment of machinery are factors of probably greater importance than the skill and strength of the work-

man. The very low wages paid the coal miners in China make it profitable to work thin seams which in other countries would be abandoned. A better comparison is to be found in the cotton industry. According to the same Chinese authority a Chinese-owned mill in Shanghai with 10,000 spindles will require from 550 to 600 operatives, while a Japanese mill of the same size and equipment requires only 350. In the weaving mills Chinese average two looms to the operator, Japanese mills five and a half.

With labor so cheap it hardly seems worth while to attempt any increased efficiency. The general rule in China, whether the operation be large or small, is that if you want things speeded up you should hire more workers. That system always succeeds and so creates a vicious circle. Because wages are low no one strives for efficiency, and because efficiency is low the wage scale remains low. This circle will probably be broken by China's more intimate contact with the Western world. In the meantime it explains a great many Chinese characteristics.

Chinese employees are not, as a rule, conscious of wages in the sense that we are. Peace, comfort, and security of employment mean much more to them than the actual wage they are paid. It is rare for a Chinese employee to resign because he has been offered a higher wage elsewhere, but not at all unusual for him to quit when he has no immediate prospect of other employment, merely because of some fancied slight or grievance. Among the mills of Shanghai there are many rather clumsily organized labor unions and during the past decade there have been a large number of strikes. But a surprisingly large proportion of these strikes have had nothing whatever to do with the matter of wages. Many of them have been called for what would appear to be the most inconsequential of reasons—such as the dismissal of a popular foreman or the refusal to allow smoking during working-hours.

All house cats in China are fed only twice a day. Their most gener-

ous meal is at breakfast, when they get all the fish scraps left over from the family supper, provided the cat is fortunate enough to belong to a prosperous family which eats fish for supper. This is followed by a rather meager meal at noon, but they get nothing after that, for it is very unlucky to feed a cat at night. This superstition is arrived at by the inverse process of reasoning that it would be very fortunate for the rats to feed a cat at night because with his belly full of food, the cat would have at best only a minor interest in catching rats.

There are a great many superstitions which are as sensible as the one decreeing that it is unlucky to feed a cat at night. For example, it is considered to be very unlucky to drink water. This is a superstition which is taken seriously by all country people. Chair coolies who are famishing with thirst will do no more than rinse their mouths from a well or a wayside stream, and drink nothing until they can get a pot of tea. This is one of the most sensible superstitions. Almost all surface water in China is heavily contaminated by dangerous germs and to drink it is risky. These germs are killed by boiling the water for tea, so that while fresh water is dangerous, tea is harmless.

The contradictoriness of the Chinese character is seen in many things but is strikingly exemplified by the fact that they are at once the most narrowly provincial and the most broadly cosmopolitan of people. Their provincialism is firmly rooted in their love of the soil and especially the soil of their birthplace. A Cantonese who spends all his life in Shanghai never ceases to look on himself as an alien, one who is temporarily residing in a strange place and who hopes to return to his homeland as soon as good fortune makes this possible.

The exile may live in a Shanghai skyscraper with steam heat, hot and cold running water, and all the other appurtenances of modern physical comfort, but he is never able to overcome his nostalgia for his native village, makes no attempt to overcome it, and cleaves to his love of home as the most precious of his spiritual possessions. If he is approaching death, he goes to his home to die, if it is at all possible.

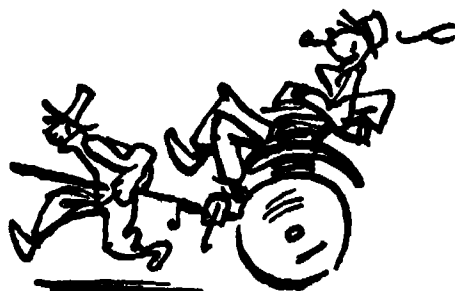
If he dies abroad—even though it be in a distant foreign country—the body of a Chinese is usually shipped to his native place for burial. If he has left no funds the expenses will be met either by his family clan or his provincial guild or one of the numerous benevolent organizations which take care of the burial of the dead. These organizations are so numerous and so active that, despite her poverty, China has never had a potter's field. No matter how long they live or how far they travel, Chinese do not recover from their homesickness and custom does not allow death to sever the ties which bind them to their native place.

It is easy among the ricksha-pullers to pick out the green country boy who is terrified by tramcars, buses, and motor-cars and looks at a traffic light as if he thought this red ball of fire might walk out of the signal tower and burn him to a cinder. For the first few days he is a menace to himself as well as to his fares. With pride in his strength he will take long strides and outrun all the more sophisticated pullers with but small regard for traffic rules and the dangers of a crowded street, for his experience has been restricted to narrow country paths.

But in a few weeks he learns his job, the air of the country bumpkin disappears, and in propelling a ricksha he adopts a sophisticated technique which will mean less work and more profits. He quits trying to establish a championship for speed and adjusts himself to short strides and a gait which he can maintain for a long period of time with the least effort to himself. He is not long dismayed by the peculiar merchandising problems which his business presents. He soon learns that men are more liberal than women in the payment of fares and less likely to insist on unreasonably long journeys. He unerringly spots the tourist, from whom he demands, and often gets, four or five times the legal fare. The uniform of the American sailor or marine is of the greatest significance to him, for they cheerfully pay outrageously high fares, more particularly the sailors who are new to the port. If a group of them comes out of a bar the dozen ricksha coolies who have been awaiting this auspicious occasion pay no attention to any other possible fares until the sailors have selected their vehicles. In the social code of the ricksha coolie they take precedence over all others. British sailors rank next.

The ricksha coolie is generally looked on as a lowly beast of burden. I have known some high-minded tourists who would not ride in a ricksha because they would not be a party to the degradation of a fellow man. Aside from capitalizing on their own cheap and showy sentimentality, the only thing they accomplish is to deprive honest and hard-working coolies of a few urgently needed bowls of rice. The coolies themselves would be very much surprised to learn of this consideration, for they suffer no complexes regarding the degradation of honest labor.

Doubtless American taxi drivers look on themselves as vastly superior in every way to the coolie, but in the conduct of his business the latter is called upon to use more brains and initiative every day than are demanded from any New York taxicab driver in a month. With a very small amount of technical training, any Shanghai ricksha coolie would make a good taxi driver, but there are few taxi drivers who would make good ricksha coolies.

While in a great many ways Chinese display a refinement and delicacy of taste equal or superior to that of many other people, this refinement cannot be said to extend to the matter of sound. They are in every way a noisy race and quiet in China is so rare and so hard to obtain that it is looked on as a luxury to be enjoyed only by the fortunate few.

So many faulty but highly interesting conclusions have been arrived at regarding the physical and mental characteristics of the Chinese that it is surprising no one has suggested the theory that they are, as a race, hard of hearing. This could be supported by a mass of circumstantial and convincing evidence that could be gathered quite easily.

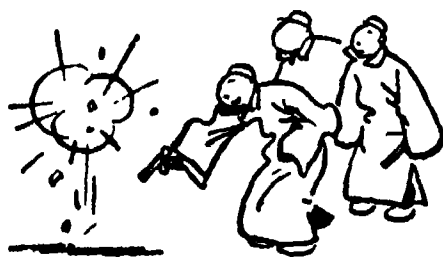
If one office employee finds it necessary to consult another employee on the other side of the room, he does not leave his seat. Shouting is much easier than walking and takes less time. In no place in the world are microphones or office telephone systems less necessary than in China. Children shout their lessons in school, and some foreign observers say that this not only permanently injures their vocal cords but establishes habits which follow them through life. Whether or not Chinese are able to whisper intelligibly to each other I do not know, but I am sure that they seldom attempt it. If two of them have a confidence to impart to each other they travel to some distant and secluded spot or, with the right forefinger they indicate meaningful words on the open left palm. Among my Chinese neighbors were two brothers who lived in an adjoining house and who kept very late hours. It was not at all unusual to hear them at three o'clock in the morning carrying on an intimate conversation in voices which could be heard all over the block.

The idea that anyone should wish to dine in quiet is exceedingly strange to Chinese minds, and one of the few places that is noisier than a Chinese theater is a restaurant. Everyone, guests and servants alike, contributes to the din. The cook bangs pots and pans on the stove; the boys who set the table and serve the food rattle the chinaware and the cutlery, and the guests shout at each other and roar with laughter. When the order for the meal is given it is relayed vocally from one servant to another and so finally reaches the cook two or more floors below.

The old-fashioned restaurant of foreign lands, with thick carpets, shaded lights, and low-spoken waiters would strike the unsophisticated Chinese as a particularly ghastly place in which to dine. The popping of champagne corks would not, for him, relieve the dead monotony of comparative silence. Even in Chinese private homes a dinner is a rather noisy affair. Meals are always served at round tables so that the conversation is not confined to those seated on the right or the left. Anyone can talk to anyone else at the table, and usually does.

Chinese have no conception of the term "quiet efficiency." Indeed, the two words would appear to be entirely contradictory in the Chinese mind. Nothing can be accomplished without noise, and the greater the noise the greater the efficiency, or vice versa. Except in places like Shanghai, where foreigners make a fuss about such things, no wheelbarrow in China is ever greased. Wooden axle impinges on wooden hub with unearthly screeches which drive a nervous person frantic. Aside from a certain rhythmic repetition of the sounds the effect is that of a rather tired pig caught under a gate. Visitors who seek to learn the cause of things assume a number of reasons, the most common being that the wheelbarrow coolie is poor and does not want to spend any money on the precious oil. The simple truth of the matter is that he prefers squeaky wheelbarrows. The noise gives him a sense of accomplishment he cannot otherwise enjoy.

Every occasion in China is celebrated by noise. Each morning it takes millions of firecrackers to get the day started off under proper auspices, and at China New Year's and on other festivals the number of firecrackers exploded runs into the thousands of millions.

While the Chinese in their normal intercourse with each other observe the greatest courtesy, they go to the other extreme once the restraints of polite behavior are thrown aside. Then the foulness of the language, the depth of the insults hurled back and forth can find few parallels in any other language. A couple of women who have had a disagreement over some trivial matter will entertain the neighborhood for hours with the picturesque but unprintable phrases that they fling at each other. Each accuses the other of every moral depravity which comes to mind, and the category contains many lurid items. Having exhausted a discussion of each other's iniquities and personal habits, they then take up a consideration of relatives, who are befouled in every imaginable way. This often continues until one or both are physically exhausted.

This use of foul language is not confined to the lower classes, but extends to all. The courtly and highly educated scholar who is famous for his dainty sonnets will in a moment of anger use, with obvious familiarity, words and phrases of shocking filthiness. One cannot imagine Whittier or Longfellow using the language of pimps and prostitutes, but the scholarly gentleman of China will descend to those depths as often as he loses his temper.

About seventy years ago an American missionary made a collection of curses which were in daily use in Foochow. To express the earnest hope that one's adversary would die of small-pox or cholera was one of the mildest and least shocking. Among the others collected by the missionary were the following:

May you be cut in pieces and be fried in boiling oil!

May your tongue be cut out!

May all your children die!

May the crows pick out your eyes!

May your corpse be eaten by dogs!

May your whole family be jammed into one coffin!

May your family be too poor to bury you and throw your corpse to the hogs!

It is a very fortunate thing that few foreigners living in China know the language well enough to understand when they are being insulted, for the smiling ricksha coolie, the urbane houseboy, the accommodating shop assistant, will all refer to the foreigner in the latter's presence in terms that are unprintable, secure in the knowledge that the foreigner does not understand.

The callousness of Chinese and their apparent lack of sympathy with human suffering have been commented on by practically every foreigner who has ever visited the country, with a varying degree of reproof ranging from mild criticism to outspoken horror.

(Continued on page 61)

Moses: Idealist in Action

Robert Moses, New York's famous city planner, has worked with equal success for utility and beauty

JAMES MILLER

PEOPLE used to be surprised at everything Robert Moses did. Now they are surprised at nothing. A sort of municipal Aladdin, he has sprung beauty from squalor, turned dust into gems so often that he has conditioned people to wonders and made them expect even more.

Mr. Moses is making civic history today, not by a sensational disregard for his fellow-citizens but by a sensational respect for them and their comfort. He has chosen New York City and its companion area, Long Island, for a program of topographical face-lifting and body-building unequalled in any other part of the country. He is realizing his program through his ability to handle six men's work on as many full-time jobs. He is, at this moment, Commissioner of Parks for New York City, Chairman of the New York State Council of Parks, President of the Long Island State Park Commission, Chairman of the Triborough Bridge Authority, sole member of the New York City Parkway Authority and President of the Jones Beach State Parkway Authority. This past spring he found time to lecture at Harvard.

In his multiple capacities he has had complete control over the spending of more than a half billion dollars. The results have kept road-map-makers busy: a dozen swift, safe and beautiful highways, including Manhattan's West Side Express Highway; unparalleled Jones Beach; the Triborough and Bronx-Whitestone bridges; Flushing Meadow, site of the World's Fair—not to mention a reconditioned Central Park, ten swimming pools at a million dollars each and three hundred playgrounds.

These projects find their echoes in places far outside New York. Perhaps the most conspicuous out-of-New York tribute to Mr. Moses is Connecticut's splendid new Merritt Parkway, which is really an extension of his own Hutchinson River Parkway through Westchester County in New York State. From cities all over the country and from abroad the Commissioner finds mail on his several desks asking how the things he has done can be duplicated.

Robert Moses

In view of his influence and accomplishments it is not hard to swallow the salute Moses got last year when named for the Roosevelt (Theodore) Medal for distinguished service in public office; "a touch of the humanity of Jacob Riis, the constructive genius of General Goethals, and the grandiosity of Louis XIV."

There are reasons for Moses' spectacular success. He not only knows what he wants to do; he is always equipped with enough dynamite to remove the obstructions that keep him from doing it. The long restless figure, the sharp eyes and stubborn mouth, the wagging finger and stinging voice—all strengthened by facts and passionate conviction — have shattered the opposition of presidents, governors, legislators, mayors, millionaires, judges and plain stuffed shirts. His raging impatience has been felt alike by the Long Island gentry who complained that his parkways came too close to their estates and by the squatters of a shanty-town who were in the way of his West Side Highway in Manhattan. Recently, when the War Department rejected his plans for a bridge from Brooklyn to Manhattan's downtown tip, he released a crackling indictment of Secretary Woodring's decision and called it foul play on the part of the Administration. Mr. Moses and the Administration have long been scowling at each other.

Never at rest, Mr. Moses is currently coming to grips with Coney Island, a place that, he feels, has been begging for attention many years. Late in 1937 he submitted to Mayor LaGuardia a detailed plan for cleaning up and rebuilding Coney. The plan was worth just $5,350,000, which the city didn't want to spend at the time, but three months ago the Mayor revived the subject and Mr. Moses promptly brought his plans up to date. Recently, when asked if this gaudy pleasure resort was likely to be invaded soon, he said with a grin, "I hope so."

Not long ago, uneasy before the gathering of the Moses thunderbolt, a young lady wrote to *The New York Post* to protest against this projected improvement of Coney Island. "Isn't Mr. Moses ever satisfied?" she asked. The answer, of course, is, "Never."

THERE is little in his background to account for this. Robert Moses was raised in comfort. His Spanish-Jewish father, Emanuel Moses, operated a profitable department store in New Haven, Conn., where Robert was born fifty-one years ago. His mother, the daughter of a New York merchant, had time for social service work. In 1905, after a few years at a military academy which he disliked, Moses entered Yale, where he made the swimming team and Phi Beta

Kappa, won honors in Latin, mathematics and public speaking. It was here that his militant righteousness was first exercised to effect. With trenchant articles in *The Yale Courant,* he convinced the trustees that part of the $120,000 football surplus should be squeezed from its reluctant custodians and devoted to the beggaring minor sports.

Graduating from Yale with a B.A., Moses went to Wadham College, Oxford, to study government law. There he became the first American president of the Oxford Union, in which his prowess as a debater garnered him an offer of a job as Secretary to the Khedive of Egypt. He resisted the offer and came home for his Ph.D. at Columbia.

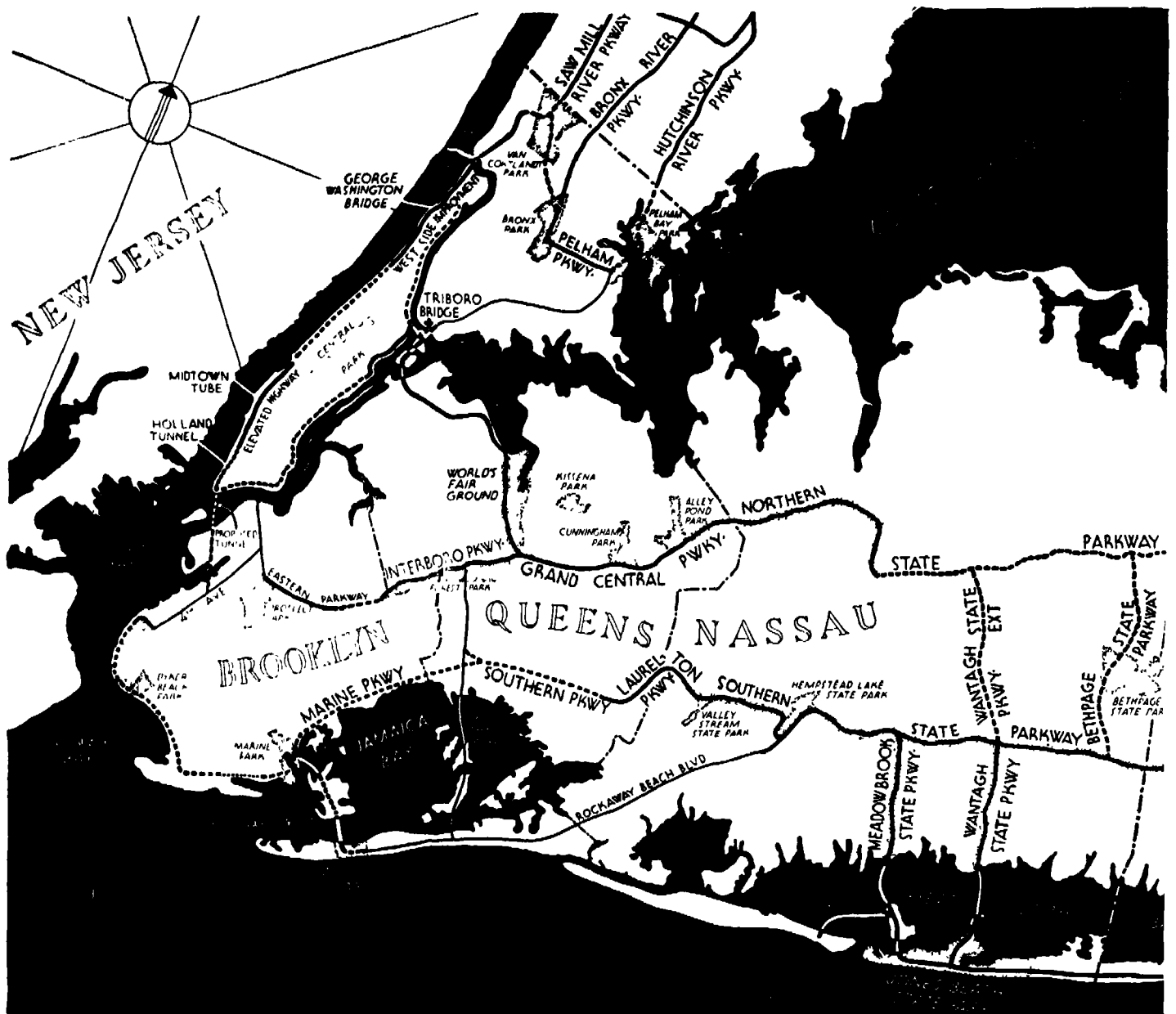
Moses' first job was with the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, a sincere but ineffectual opponent of political corruption. He resigned to start working under the anti-Tammany Mayor, John Purroy Mitchel. Not, however, before he had married Mary Louise Sims, ex-secretary of F. E. McGovern, reform Governor of Wisconsin. During the War, at Hog Island, Moses bore the resounding title, Superintendent of Production and Assistant to the Manager of the Emergency Fleet Corps. There was no production to superintend. Moses muttered his disapproval, was shifted to a softer—presumably sedative—job, and resigned in disgust.

In 1918 he met Governor-elect Al Smith. They liked each other, and when Smith was inaugurated he made Moses Chief of Staff of the Reconstruction Commission whose purpose was to revamp the State constitution for greater efficiency. Moses' subsequent report was the basis for many of Smith's reforms, and for several years thereafter he was a trusted member of the governor's famed Kitchen Cabinet.

Even then he was interested in parks, and in 1922 he wrote a pamphlet, "The State Park Plan for New York." Smith was impressed, made him Chairman of the State Council of Parks and President of the Long Island State Park Commission. The State Council was organized with eleven districts (one of which was headed by Franklin D. Roosevelt) and immediately set in motion a sweeping program of park building throughout the State. Moses bared his fangs early, when he called before the council a man who was said to have revealed the program to some of its foes. Moses accused him in fierce language and when he countered with an insult Moses roared and grabbed him by the throat. It was a hint of the tactics awaiting all adversaries.

Upstate Moses launched the Niagara Frontier Program and the New Parkway System on the shore of Lake Ontario, but he had special designs on Long Island, which he saw as a natural playground for the people of metropolitan New York. The island, 122 miles from tip to tip, 15 to 20 miles wide, had only one state park. Its indifferent roads were under the control of the Poughkeepsie division of the Highways Department, many miles away. The inhabitants were mostly old farming families or well-to-do families from New York, and both groups had a horrible fear of encroachment.

But Moses was determined that New Yorkers should have decent beaches and parks and good roads on which to reach them. He began to map the Island, and didn't worry particularly if his pencil sometimes went right into the eye of a hostile landowner. He had no technical right to make roads, so he called them parkways. When he asked landowners for a right of way and they complained that he was exposing their acres to the masses, he called them "mushroom aristocracy" and blandly asked for more. When one indignant squire pointed out that a projected parkway would cause hounds to lose a

Jones Beach on the south shore of Long Island has won for itself and Mr. Moses international reputation. Of six parking fields here you see two, totaling 78 acres, with space enough for 15,500 cars. Beyond the 300,000 gallon water tower is a large play area—and then the wide, clean beach.

Courtesy of The Architectural Forum

This is what Mr. Moses has done to open up New York's metropolitan districts. The dotted lines show the route of the great Circumferential Drive, which, when completed, will surround a vast network of connecting highways. Since this map was drawn the Whitestone Bridge has been finished. It crosses from the Bronx at the final R in the words East River.

fox's scent, Moses promised to build a little tunnel for them. When objections became more formidable and Moses felt the legal and political fire, he turned ugly. He publicly declared that these people "found it hard to believe that there is anybody whom they cannot reach and anything which they cannot buy." Knowing something about law and politics, he ruthlessly returned the fire, and finally got what he wanted.

The time came when objectors blushed for shame and, in some instances, asked Mr. Moses if he would be good enough to run one of those parkways past their property. For it turned out that a Moses parkway was a thing of beauty. It might be anywhere from five to thirty-five miles long, and from three hundred to six hundred feet wide with double or triple one-way lanes. A green boulevard ran down the center and both sides were landscaped with lawns, shrubbery, big trees and solid rustic fences. There were handsome stone overpasses every few miles, and the occasional gas stations had the air of country lodges. Telephone lines ran underground. There were no billboards, hotdog stands, traffic lights, left turns or grade crossings. Landowners learned that these parkways, costing about $400,000 per mile, were an asset to any community.

But the victory Mr. Moses won for his parkways on Long Island did not end his troubles there. One of his first projects was conceived in 1924 when he spotted on Long Island's south shore a 1500-acre wooded plot which had been leased as a private hunting preserve to a handful of gentlemen who enjoyed it briefly each year. Moses leased it for a year with an option to buy for $250,000. When the owners, suspicious of his schemes, sold it out from under him, he moved onto the land, declaring it State property. That was the beginning of six years of litigation. One of the owners' more abortive moves was to send delegates to Governor Smith; Moses' plan, they argued, would bring the rabble to Long Island's beaches.

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Hungarian Goose-Step

Internal and external pressure may soon force Hungary to follow Austria into the Nazi orbit

JOSEPH HILTON SMYTH

November, 1919:

The Bolshevist Bela Kun had just fled Budapest in terror of his life, and was hiding in a Vienna cellar. The air of the Hungarian capital, astride both banks of the Danube, was electric with anticipation and uncertainty. The Rumanian army of occupation was retiring from the city, although stragglers were still in the outskirts seizing what they could lay hands on. The city was exposed to plunderers.

Into this turmoil, at the head of a few loyalist national troops, there rode an impressive figure on a white charger. He was Admiral Nicholas Horthy, one-time naval aide-de-camp to the dead Emperor Francis-Joseph. A roar arose from the Danube banks, now black with the packed ranks of a war-weary people, as Horthy made his way deeper into the old Balkan city.

Ruthlessly he went after the remaining agitators, executing them in droves. Order was restored, with Horthy, then serving as commander-in-chief of the decimated Hungarian forces, as absolute dictator for the period of emergency.

IN a few weeks Nicholas Horthy, the Regent of Hungary, will celebrate the twentieth anniversary of that historic entry. It was on November 16, 1919, that Admiral Horthy rode into Budapest. His dramatic appearance marked complete seizure by the "White Guard" of the bolsheviks' power.

Today, however, Hungary is making no preparations to celebrate this anniversary, despite the Hungarians' traditional love of festivals and the fact that hitherto all the meaningful dates of the Horthy regime, as well as his birthday, have been annually commemorated. Two or three months ago preparations for a suitable celebration in November were discussed in the newspapers. But today officials adroitly avoid answering the question of whether or not there will be any celebration.

Admiral Nicholas Horthy

Is it because they fear that the Hungarian public has become so Nazified that they would not enter into the celebration? The answer, is "no." To all appearances, the regent never, during the twenty years of his rule, has been more popular. Wherever his name is spoken there is spontaneous cheering. Most Hungarians believe that if there is any way of avoiding further German political invasion, it lies only in the Regent's personal efforts.

Horthy's present resistance springs not only from patriotism and a natural desire to keep his post, but from scorn for Hitler. It is the scorn that an Admiral feels for an upstart corporal, and Horthy's pride in his military rank is probably greater than his pride in his leadership of the government.

Nevertheless, well-informed circles in Budapest doubt the continued success of Horthy's resistance against German pressure. Officials wonder whether, before the twentieth anniversary of Horthy's seizure of power, they will be ordered to prepare for another kind of "celebration." College students—nobody knows under whose direction—stand on the street corners of Budapest and distribute leaflets. These show Horthy on his white horse in front of the Royal Palace, with the date November 16, 1919. On the other side is a drawing of Hitler, also on a white horse, also in front of the Royal Palace of Budapest, with the date November 16, 1939. And a question mark. There is this text: "Is this the way you want to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the rebirth of Hungary? So does the Crossed Arrow" (the symbol of the Hungarian Nazi-party).

Despite all this activity, anti-Nazi sentiment in Hungary grows hour by hour as people increasingly realize that Germany's *Drang nach Osten* means an end of Hungary's independence. And it is becoming obvious to them that, because of her geographical position, Hungary will be the next major victim of German expansion. The nation does not enjoy, as do Poland, Rumania and Turkey, England's military guarantee, and there are certain intelligent groups of Hungarians who believe that Hungary will be absorbed before Danzig. Even the democratic nations realize that many Hungarians would welcome Hitler.

The reverse, however, is the case. The truth is that the Hungarians are determined to fight for their independence. The catch lies in the fact that it is not certain that they will be allowed to fight. For the present government is much afraid of any "provocative incident" that might bring down Hitler's hordes. The government, as it is, has to sit helplessly by and watch the dissemination of Nazi propaganda. To halt it would provoke an "incident"—and, in the well known Nazi manner, that probably would mean a "protectorate" followed by absorption into the Reich.

According to official statistics, there are 478,630 Germans in Hungary, or less than one twentieth of the total population. This number does not include the Germans living in the territory Hungary recently regained from Czecho-Slovakia; the addition of their number would not bring the total number of Germans in Hungary to more than 500,000. Nevertheless, this 5 per cent of the population gives Hitler a ready pretext for "creating order" among the Hungarians, who want nothing so much as to be let alone.

The majority of the "Svabs," as the Germans resident in Hungary are called, came to Hungary at the end of the 18th century as a result of the Habsburg settlement policy. Today they live in scattered village groups in the western part of the country and around Budapest. They speak a corrupt German, wear their own particular dress, and have always lived in perfect harmony with the Hungarian peasants despite the Nazi fiction that they are an oppressed minority. They have never desired autonomy, now demanded for them energetically by Nazi agents. In the past the Svabs' only problem was to sell their milk and eggs; now these agents insist the Svabs have an idealogical and racial problem.

These German agents and the followers they have won await eagerly the moment of German occupation. They conduct themselves today as masters of the situation; they are the nation's noisiest minority. A few influential government officials, under these agents' domination, were sufficient to infect a great number of lesser state officials. Nearly every week these converts go to Germany and return with new instructions and funds. Although at first they tried to keep secret their pro-Nazi sentiments, they now feel so sure of themselves that their meetings are held openly. And while the first Hungarian National Socialist, Ferencz Szalasi, rests in jail because of his "revolutionary dealings," his followers carry out his orders without fear of molestation.

There are "official" and "unofficial" Nazis in Hungary. The "official" Nazis are the followers of Szalasi, now led by a young newspaperman, Kalman Hubay. Their newspaper, the *Magyarsag*, is often banned for long or short periods because of its inflammatory articles. But such punishment is not taken seriously, because the government newspapers often publish somewhat similar articles. At times, in fact, it is difficult to discover any marked difference in tone between the government and the Nazi press. While the majority of Count Paul Teleki's government is ardently anti-Nazi, the pro-Nazi minority with Germany's support has intimidated most of the cabinet.

In Hungary there are three social classes—the aristocracy form the upper class; the landed "gentry," big industrialists and bankers form the middle class, and the peasants the lower class. The aristocrats, with the Catholic Church, own one-third of the land.

Post-war Hungary has a total area of 16,148,314 acres. Of this, 5,383,482 acres belong to only 1,130 land owners. And of this area, 800,000 acres are owned by the Church. (In prewar Hungary, the Church held title to 2,200,000 acres.)

The oldest and wealthiest among the aristocrats are the members of the Esterhazy and Festetich families. The family of Prince Esterhazy, losing a large part of their land after the War, today possesses 222,241 acres, in which there are 100 villages. The Festetich family owns 100,000 acres.

The aristocrats are highly self-contained, and marry only in their own class. They travel abroad much, so that absentee-ownership prevails in great degree. In their attitude toward social problems, they have not changed in three hundred years.

The middle class is formed by the smaller land-owners, many of whom after the War came to the capital and other urban centers to enter business. They form the real body of the nation. They are patriotic, conservative. With the aristocrats they hate Nazism, but with few exceptions they join the nobility in regarding the peasants as so much cattle. Although Hungary is an agricultural country, the peasant has never received decent treatment. The land-owners could not accomplish anything without him, but his situation today is no less unjust than it was in the Middle Ages.

A small number of the peasants own their own little acreage which enables them to gain a modest living. But the peasant majority, of three million, which forms one-third of the total population, is in desperate condition. The wages they receive from the land-owners are hardly sufficient to buy their bread. There are tens of thousands of peasants, thirty years of age, who have never tasted meat nor sugar. Neglected by everyone, they are the strongest hope of the Nazi propagandists. Nazi agents have glibly promised to give them all lands of the aristocracy, if they accept the Fuehrer's doctrines and work toward his objectives.

The middle class, which includes many industrialists, bankers and small business men, numbers many Jews, since the aristocracy frankly loathes all commerce. Under the Jews, business and banking may be said to flourish. But the recent anti-Jewish laws forbid Jews to hold any prominent position in any walk of life. This means that the economic fabric must be changed. And the change must be effected so rapidly that both Jews and "Aryans" will suffer in the inevitable dislocation. There are 600,000 Jews in Hungary, a few more than the number of Germans. The new laws restrict Jewish participation in business and in all the professions to just that percentage of the whole.

A few anti-Nazi meetings in Budapest asked for nothing more than an independent and Hungarian Hungary. But even this normal demonstration evoked a vigorous protest from Odo von Erdmansdorf, the German Ambassador, and obliged Hungarian Foreign Minister Stephen Csaky to make apologies.

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Problem Child of the Pacific

High Commissioner Sayre will attempt to determine whether Philippine freedom means Japanese control

ROBERT J. WOOD

WE STUMBLED into possession of the Philippines nearly forty years ago. Today we stand committed to give them independence in 1946. Yet, even as we do so, there comes a persistent cry for reconsideration. Should we not at least keep the Philippines within our economic sphere? Should we not consider their value as a source of strategic materials? Must we, looking into the future, envision the possibility that some day we may have to recover them from the Japanese?

The Philippine problem is of course bound up with American Far Eastern policy which has been recently complicated by the abrogation of the 1911 Commercial treaty with Japan. Until we settle the one, there is little likelihood that we can settle the other. As long as the President desires to throw his moral weight about in the western Pacific, we must be able and ready to support his words with that ultimate force which may become necessary. Yet, Congress has refused to fortify Guam and looks with little favor on the maintenance of our Asiatic Squadron in Chinese waters. The Stimson doctrine of non-recognition of Manchukuo is still followed by Mr. Hull, but we make no move to deny Japan Hainan Island or the Spratleys, surely both greater threats to our position off southeastern China.

So, the Philippine problem remains unsettled, and we waver between getting in deeper and getting out altogether. In this stage of militant nationalism we are still unable to make up our minds whether to be isolationists or internationalists.

While many nations rend the air with cries for colonies, for sources of raw materials, we are about to wash our hands of islands superbly endowed with natural wealth. We do so despite obvious warnings that democracy may not long exist in an independent Philippines. It would seem that, while our statesmen bemoan the fate of ancient and honored China, we abandon Little Red Riding Hood on the wolf's doorstep, a basket of nuggets—gold, chromium, manganese, iron and coal—in her lap, and in her hand a pop-gun labeled "constitution"!

FEW remember exactly how we obtained the Philippines. Many will remember that we declared war on Spain ostensibly to better "intolerable" conditions in Cuba, but fewer will recall the fact that the first battle of the war was fought in Manila Bay—11,000 miles from Cuba—and against a fleet too weak ever to have threatened our shores.

The treaty of Paris gave us the Philippines in return for twenty million dollars heart balm to Spain. But the Filipinos would have none of this settlement, and during the next two years more than one hundred thousand American soldiers chased Aguinaldo through brush and thicket, singing as they went:

"Damn, damn, damn, the Filipino,
Pock-marked khakiac Ladrone,
Underneath the starry flag,
Civilize him with a Krag,
And return us to our own beloved home!"

After two years of fighting Aguinaldo was captured and the Insurrection suppressed. Meantime, the question of what to do with our newfound possession stirred long and sonorous debate. Humanitarians proclaimed our "duty" to the Filipinos, our "destiny" to educate them, our responsibility to assume the "White Man's Burden," though Kipling warned:

"And reap his old reward,
The blame of those ye better,
The hate of those ye guard!"

Some were frankly for imperialism. Other nations were marking off spheres of interest in the Far East. Why should we not exploit the Philippines? Why not build up our trade across the Pacific? It was argued that, even as the Mediterranean and the Atlantic had had their days, so would the Pacific be the next area of development and conflict. Westward the course of empire still took its way.

Eventually, Congress decided on retaining the Islands as a possession, and the Supreme Court, in the famous Insular Cases of 1901, held that they were a dependency, and the people thereof subjects, not citizens, of the United States.

THE withdrawal of our troops marked the beginning of a peaceful administration. The jovial William H. Taft became the first Civil Governor of the Philippines, and was well-liked by the Filipinos for his frankness and informality. His three hundred pounds on the back of an undersized native pony made a picture to recall to grandchildren.

Almost immediately began the contradictory political and economic policies which had much to do with making the Filipinos our problem children and rendering our withdrawal difficult.

From the political viewpoint, we attempted to erect democratic institutions on the American model. Hundreds of teachers were sent out to start schools. As soon as possible a wide suffrage was established, officials were elected instead of being appointed, and a uniform civil service was instituted.

In 1907 the Philippine Assembly was created and became the lower house of the Legislature, the upper house of which was the appointed Commission of four Americans and three Filipinos which had ruled since 1901. Six years later the Jones Act was passed by Congress, definitely promising independence as soon as the Filipinos were ready for it and

replacing the Commission with an elected Senate. This gave the natives almost complete control of their internal affairs.

At the same time, there arrived in Manila Francis B. Harrison, the first Governor-General under a Democratic administration. He went even further, giving the Filipinos such a large share in running the government that an investigating commission discovered that political immaturity had done its work.

There had occurred a lowering of standards in the courts, a steady increase in the number of preventable diseases, an undue rise in the cost of public works and in taxation and expenditure. Government corporations created by Mr. Harrison were all in the red, the government-owned Manila Railroad had issued eighty thousand free passes in one year, the gold reserve of the Philippine Bank had disappeared, and the currency had depreciated.

This discouraging chapter in American colonial administration was cleaned up by Major General Leonard Wood of the United States Army, whose brusque and military methods necessarily angered native politicos who had had full access to the pork barrel under Harrison. However, things were put on a business footing again, the form of government remained essentially unchanged, and succeeding Governors-General continued the policy of teaching the Filipinos to stand alone politically. Independence missions were sent to the United States to argue for "absolute, complete and immediate" independence, but this demand was chiefly for internal consumption.

Strangely enough, during this period when we were promising eventual independence and doing our best to inculcate the fundamentals of democratic self-government, we were following a diametrically opposite trend from the economic standpoint. Instead of gradually separating the Philippine economy from our own, we made it directly dependent on that of the United States. We took the Philippines within our tariff walls; in 1913 we granted absolute free trade; we bought nearly everything they had to sell; we raised a whole generation of Filipinos whose jobs depended on the economic policies of the United States.

Consider Philippine export and import totals over the past thirty-eight years and our share of those exports and imports:

PHILIPPINE EXPORTS

Year	*Total*	*to United States*	*U.S. %*
1900	$ 22,990,373	$ 2,960,851	13
1905	33,454,774	14,840,407	44
1915	53,813,004	23,653,211	44
1920	151,123,856	105,216,263	70
1930	133,167,128	105,342,061	79
1936	147,675,159	118,752,432	80
1938	147,001,530	120,651,247	82

McNutt Reviews the Philippines

—Condensed from an address delivered before the Institute of Public Affairs, University of Virginia.

TODAY the Philippines are the only bright, prosperous spot in the Orient. Their people enjoy the highest wages and best standard of living in the Far East. The deadly tropical diseases—smallpox, cholera, bubonic plague—which long decimated the population—have been wiped out. Thousands of miles of good highways are maintained. Bridges have replaced bamboo rafts. The budget is balanced. Taxes are the lowest in the world. The reserve behind the currency is 100%. The per capita national debt is less than $2.00. Schools and hospitals dot the jungle and plain. Our work is a monument to American idealism and enterprise—a living monument of 16,000,000 rescued from tyranny, rebellion, ignorance, poverty and disease, and set upon the path of free government, peace, education, prosperity and health.

No nation in the world can boast of so grand a monument.

But a problem has arisen, one which we alone can solve. Politically we brought the Islands through progressive steps to the verge of independence. Economically we brought the Islands through progressive steps to al-

PAUL V. McNUTT

most complete dependence upon our markets.

The Philippines have come to the crossing of the roads. The events of the last two years have given many thoughtful Filipino leaders an object lesson and food for thought. Perhaps, suddenly, but they hope not too late, many have come to realize that independence, however attractive from a spiritual viewpoint may mean a mere trade of sovereignties. They realize that the laws—United States laws—excluding Asiatic immigration could scarcely be enforced by an independent small nation in their quarter of the globe. The Philippines are sparsely populated and they are surrounded with nations whose teeming millions are spilling over their national boundaries. An independent Philippine government thus faces a very real threat of racial extinction. Add to this the question of its ability to defend itself from foreign military aggression and the economic disaster attendant upon sudden loss of the American market and you have the picture.

From the American viewpoint the picture is equally gloomy. If we withdraw from the Philippines, we lose our voice in Oriental diplomacy. We leave a barrier reef of Islands from Kamchatka to Borneo — all practically within sight of each other—a barrier which will intervene between the United States and the Continent of Asia. In foreign hands, this barrier will block our trade and intercourse with China. It will solve the claims of freedom of the seas and freedom of the air—solve them unfavorably to us and to our children.

To us there comes a responsibility. It appears now in respect to the Philippine problem broadened to become a part of a greater Oriental problem. If we scuttle, if we run away, our monument will

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Secretary Hull's Departing Right-Hand Man

A FEW weeks ago, Francis B. Sayre, Assistant Secretary of State and son-in-law of President Wilson, was made Philippine High Commissioner to succeed Paul V. McNutt, now Federal Security Administrator.

The appointment, emphasizing the fact that the Philippine problem is basically economic, shows the determination of the Administration to solve it from that angle. A career diplomat, Mr. Sayre has specialized in trade relations and has been Secretary Hull's trusted right-hand man in the making of our recent reciprocal trade treaties. He has also served as Chairman of the Joint Preparatory Committee on Philippine Affairs which last November turned in the most complete report ever made on the Islands. Mr. Sayre's interest in the Far East was stimulated in 1923 when he became special advisor on foreign affairs to King Rama VI of Siam.

Resident Commissioners and Special Missions from the Philippine Islands have long known Mr. Sayre as an interested and helpful friend. His part in writing the Philippine Independence Law of 1934 (the Tydings-McDuffie Act), is believed to be large.

FRANCIS B. SAYRE

He takes with him to Manila a new bill, amending the Tydings-McDuffie Law, which Congress passed just before adjournment. It replaces increasing export taxes which were scheduled to become effective in 1940 on such Philippine products as coconut oil, cigars, and pearl and shell buttons by liberal, though decreasing, duty-free quotas. It is thoroughly in line with the recommendations of the Joint Committee, but is only a hesitant first step toward the solution of the problem of Philippine-American relations. Though it leaves untouched the important sugar problem, in the industries concerned it will help to cushion the shock of severing economic ties between the Islands and the United States. Furthermore, since it requires action by the Philippine Legislature before it becomes effective, its reception in Manila will serve as a guide for future legislation in Washington.

Mr. Sayre is open-minded in his attitude towards Philippine independence. While his predecessor, Mr. McNutt, was frank to say that the Islands should be retained, at least as a dominion, the new High Commissioner told the press a few days after his appointment that the future of the Philippines was entirely up to their government. This, of course, is not to be taken too literally. Our government will retain the last say, and world conditions may have as much to do with the outcome as any desire on the part of the Filipino people. However, Mr. Sayre's attitude does emphasize what he believes should be the *source* of any contemplated changes. His appointment may well mark a new high in Philippine-American relationships.

PHILIPPINE IMPORTS

Year	*Total*	*to United States*	*U.S. %*
1900	$ 24,863,779	$ 2,153,198	9
1905	30,050,550	5,589,946	19
1915	49,312,184	26,381,069	53
1920	149,438,283	92,289,778	62
1930	123,092,954	78,188,029	64
1936	101,126,175	61,497,263	61
1938	132,607,547	90,357,229	68

These tables show that the bulk of Philippine trade is with the United States. They show, too, that the balance of trade with the United States usually has been a favorable one for the Islanders. Since Philippine trade with all other countries has generally been unfavorable, the favorable balance in the Philippines' total is traceable entirely to the favorable balance with the United States.

These tables show that America is the basket in which the Philippines annually place many of their export eggs, but do not show what kind of eggs. The five principal exports of the Islands, which together account for the almost incredible total of 84% of all Filipino exports, are: sugar, 35%; coconut products, 26%; hemp products, 12%; gold bullion, 8%; tobacco products, 3%.

Last year, the United States bought 99.8% of all Philippine sugar exported, 95% of coconut products exported, 32% of hemp (abaca) products exported, 100% of gold bullion exported, and 66% of tobacco products (mostly cheap cigars) exported. Not only is Philippine economy dependent upon the United States as the Islands' largest customer, but it is also dependent upon very few industries.

NOW what do the Filipinos mean to us as customers?

In 1938, the Islands purchased just over ninety million dollars' worth of our goods—iron and steel manufactures, machinery, cigarettes, chemicals, textiles, dairy products, and wheat flour. They were tenth on our list of customers. The United States' total sales in 1938 were about two billion dollars. Philippine purchases, therefore, represent about 4% of our total sales. Our sales to Canada were more than six times as large, to Japan more than three times as large.

It should be obvious, then, that the loss of the Philippine market to the United States cannot compare with the loss of the American market to the Filipinos.

So, the Philippines today face independence with a certain amount of knowledge as to the functions of government, but an almost child-like faith, or ignorance, regarding economic problems. Even in the political field, the Filipino's knowledge is more theoretical than real. He has always had an indulgent guardian to lead him and forgive him when he has gone astray.

The independence law was passed by Congress in 1934.

Even though Philippine leaders had agitated for years for the law, there are indications that, when it finally came, it came as an unpleasant surprise. Its enactment may be traced more directly to the lobbying of meat, sugar, farming, and dairying

interests of our mid-west and south than to Philippine demands. It was thought, during the depression, that Philippine products were competing too strongly on the American market. Perhaps they did offer some competition, particularly coconut oil with cottonseed oil and butter, but, in general, the feeling was based more on emotion than on facts.

Most of our coconut oil imports go into soap, and the soap makers themselves declare that cottonseed oil cannot be used for sweet-smelling soaps. The dairymen have a better argument, though not much of the coconut oil we import goes into oleomargarine (which competes with butter), or into vegetable shortenings (which compete with animal fats).

As for tobacco, the Islands use more of our cigarettes and expensive cigars than we do of their cheap cigars. And as for Philippine hemp, it is still the best in the world and sells tax free everywhere.

The independence law passed by Congress in 1934 provides for a ten-year period under a "Commonwealth" government, headed by a Filipino President and Legislature. The United States is represented by a High Commissioner who passes on foreign relations and finances. This transition period began November 15, 1935, and will terminate July 4, 1946. On that date, our little brown brothers are scheduled to be cast adrift to shift for themselves on the troubled seas of international power politics.

The outlook is anything but bright. First, the Islands must solve the problem of readjusting their basic economy. By securing new foreign markets? That is easier said than done. The rest of the world is already well supplied with sugar, for example, and the Far Eastern peoples eat relatively little—less than ten pounds per capita per year compared to our 110 pounds per capita per year. Japan already grows all she needs in Formosa and even exports some. Java and Cuba supply most of the remaining world market.

How about Philippine coconut products? Can they be sold elsewhere than in the United States? The British and Dutch East Indies are established sources for these products, which they produce at a cost with which Philippine products would not be able to compete. It must be remembered that we have taught the Filipinos to enjoy the highest standard of living of any Far Eastern people.

Manila hemp is declining in use because of the competition of wire rope, and new uses must be found for it. Gold bullion, of course, will continue to sell, but this industry does not offer employment to the great numbers of Filipinos now working the sugar fields.

PHILIPPINE ORE EXPORTS

	1936	*1937*	*1938*
Iron Ore			
Total	$1,434,214	$1,434,039	$2,040,322
To Japan	1,434,199	1,318,251	2,040,127
Manganese Ore			
Total	3,010	168,858	499,593
To Japan	10	128,328	492,902
Copper Ore			
Total	852	328,226	641,651
To Japan	3	328,106	641,621

As for tobacco products, the world market is already well supplied with cheap cigars, and the Philippines are too tropical to grow better grades of tobacco.

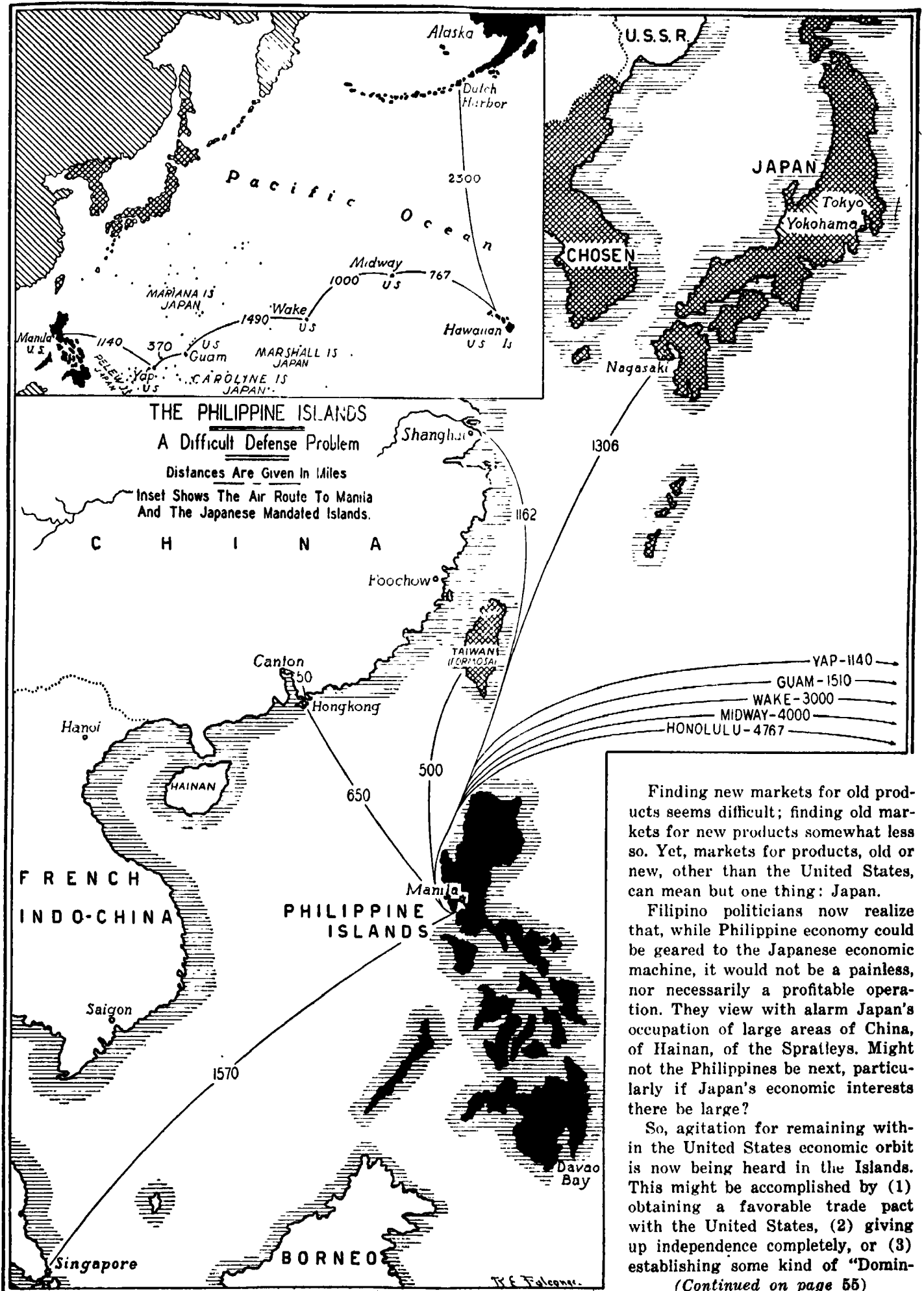
The Filipinos made efforts during the past year to secure new markets by cutting prices. But the result was simply a drop in the total value of exports, and the United States purchases, while less absolutely, did not decrease relatively. Philippine exports in 1938 differed from those in 1937 not so much in *quantity* as in value. For example, 871 million kilos of sugar exported in 1937 brought about $58,000,000; while in 1938, 868 million kilos exported brought only about $50,000,000. Hemp (abaca) dropped from about 13 cents to about 7 cents per kilo. (The kilo is about 2½ pounds.) Coconut oil dropped from about 13 cents to about 6 cents, and copra (coconut meat) from about 7 cents to about 4 cents. Apparently, then, the attempt to secure new markets for old products offers little hope of success.

What is the case for diversification? Undoubtedly the Philippines can produce tropical products which Japan, the most likely customer, can use. These include rubber, cacao, camphor, tea, spice, drugs, cotton—but again, we run into the problem of already established sources where these things are produced in great quantities by people who can underlive, and therefore undersell, the Americanized Filipino. Besides, to reorient a basic economy so completely would require an extensive educational campaign throughout the entire archipelago—and agriculture in any country is notoriously slow to adopt new ideas.

Lumber—most of it on land already the property of the government—can be sold, and Japan will buy. Mineral sources can be exploited and may offer employment for a large number of people.

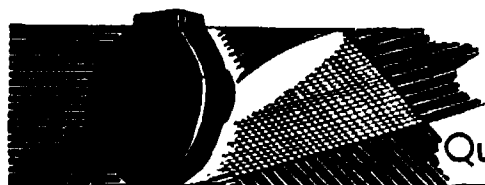
Incidentally, production of iron, manganese and copper ore has increased by leaps and bounds during the past three years. Note figures in the table above.

These statistics not only show the tremendous increase, but indicate the reason for it. Japan has been at war with China. Manganese, copper and iron are war materials. Those deposits in the Philippines are much closer than sources elsewhere. Hence the encouragement to Philippine mining.

Some diversification has already been attempted in the Philippines. A textile factory with 10,000 spindles was recently constructed, as well as a food-canning factory, and small-scale paper, explosive, tin can and tile manufacturing are planned.

Finding new markets for old products seems difficult; finding old markets for new products somewhat less so. Yet, markets for products, old or new, other than the United States, can mean but one thing: Japan.

Filipino politicians now realize that, while Philippine economy could be geared to the Japanese economic machine, it would not be a painless, nor necessarily a profitable operation. They view with alarm Japan's occupation of large areas of China, of Hainan, of the Spratleys. Might not the Philippines be next, particularly if Japan's economic interests there be large?

So, agitation for remaining within the United States economic orbit is now being heard in the Islands. This might be accomplished by (1) obtaining a favorable trade pact with the United States, (2) giving up independence completely, or (3) establishing some kind of "Domin-

(Continued on page 55)

THEY SAY
Quotations from the World Press

Lewis vs. Garner: A Sign of the Political Times

—Condensed from an article in The Baltimore Sun *by John W. Owens, Editor in Chief of* The Sunpapers.

Take the affair of the rip-roaring assault of John L. Lewis on Vice-President Garner, important in its bearing upon the preparations for the 1940 presidential year. In this Garner-Lewis imbroglio there is a certain symbolism.

Here are two men who spring from the groups that now are called the underprivileged. Mr. Garner is the son of a poor frontier farmer family. His educational opportunities were of the scantiest. He knew labor in the fields at a tender age, and it was labor from sunup until sundown. Many was the day on which he ate breakfast in the dark and supper in the dark. Mr. Lewis is the son of miner stock transported from Wales to the Middle West. Probably his childhood was less hard than Mr. Garner's, but it was the opposite of soft.

There was power in each of them to overcome adversity and to profit from adversity. Each of them achieved, in uphill fight, distinct material prosperity. Each of them has also had notable professional success. Mr. Garner's real profession is not the law, but politics and public life. In that he has risen to the second highest post in the land and has taken into that post an influence it seldom has known. Mr. Lewis' profession is that of labor leader. In that profession he has achieved a stature that has been attained by no other man. He is the most powerful labor leader in our history.

Each of them is a man of character and each of them is patriotic. Neither is without qualities which may obscure or deflect sound judgment. Each loves power and mastery. And the love of power and mastery, which is a vast stimulus to strong men, also is often the pitfall of their thought and action. Mr. Lewis is in rather the more danger, for he not only loves power and mastery. He loves the appearance, the open evidence of power and mastery. But shake everything down and each remains a man of character.

Each is a man of action rather than of ideas. Mr. Garner has not the ability of a Carter Glass or a Cordell Hull to formulate a political or an economic theory. He is not gifted in generalization. But he is marvelous in perception of instant situations and in close-quarters fighting he is in a class apart. Mr. Lewis leaves one in a maze when he attempts to lay down political or economic theory. But he has few equals in organizing men and in leading men and he constantly outthinks and defeats captains of industry in across-the-table negotiations.

Here, then, are two men in the oldest American traditions of self-managed rise from poverty and adversity and in the favored American tradition of action rather than theory, and both of them are respected by the people who really know them. Yet, one suddenly calls the other "a labor-baiting, whisky-drinking, poker-playing evil old man" whose "knife is searching for the heart of labor." Open war is declared by Mr. Lewis on Mr. Garner, and the Capitol and the country grow tense with interest. What really is at the bottom of it all?

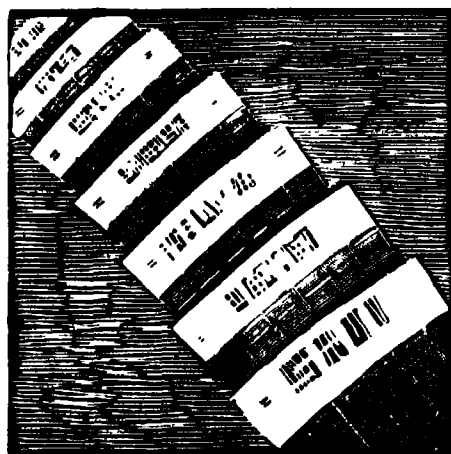
One thing at the bottom is this fact: Mr. Garner is, at the moment, the principal symbol in this country of the middle classes. More conspicuously than any other man in either party, at the moment, he stands for the right of the average hard-working man to accumulate some property and to be secure in its possession.

He is willing to go a long way with new ideas, but when governmental spending threatens destruction of savings, he becomes worked up. When sit-down strikes threaten savings invested in industry, he becomes worked up. And he acts.

Mr. Lewis is equally, and obviously, the principal symbol of the class-conscious working man. It is necessary to say "class-conscious" because, as everyone of experience knows, there are many working people whose values are identical with those of the middle classes. Mr. Lewis represents the working people who, in many cases, honestly believe they are fighting for simple justice, but in all cases are fighting for an ever-widening position of preference in the economy of the nation. And their fight frequently is at the expense of the middle classes.

This division between two men who spring from the underprivileged is a division that is taking place all over the country. And it is posing a question for literally millions of other men in comfortable circumstances, who also know what hardship is. For, after all, it is not so long ago that the overwhelming majority of the people in this country were, under present standards, in the underprivileged groups, as, indeed, the overwhelming majority in the rest of the world still are. And the question posed is not solely one of self-sacrifice by the fortunate. It involves broad questions of social policy.

There is the simple question as to whether the groups for which Mr. Lewis speaks will not be worse off, rather than better off, if the savings and the sense of security that comes from savings and property were destroyed in the middle classes. It would be possible to grant all that Mr. Lewis has to say about the injustices suffered by his followers and still to doubt that their future would be better, rather than worse, if the middle classes were destroyed or frightened into a kind of economic retirement, and if the upward pull of their collective efforts were halted.

And there is for many the question

Fitzpatrick—St. Louis Post-Dispatch

John Nance Garner

New York Times

John L. Lewis

as to whether much of the old theory of the open race, with preference for none, should not be preserved.

In any event there is division. The middle classes are plainly on the move and demanding more of the old order. They are gaining, as of today, at the expense of Mr. Lewis and his followers. This is shown in all manner of polls. It is shown in the attitude of Congress on the Wagner labor law, on the wages and hours law and on the spending and lending bill, all dear to the heart of the movement that is headed by Mr. Lewis, and, as the middle classes move, Mr. Garner appears more and more clearly as at once the embodiment of their ideas and the generalissimo of their cause in the maneuvers and debates in Congress.

Mr. Lewis sees the whole thing—the developing, widening movement of the middle classes and the potency of Mr. Garner. And he strikes out. He made a mistake in his attack. If he is going to ban whisky-drinking and poker-playing, he is going to cause great discomfort to a large number of his labor leaders, as well as to Mr. Garner and the middle classes. So far as the "labor-baiting" and "evil old man" parts of the attack go, they were unnecessary in stirring up Mr. Lewis' followers and they were very unwise in stirring up Mr. Garner's actual and potential followers.

But that is not of great or lasting importance. The important thing in Mr. Lewis' attack on Mr. Garner is that one man, who comes from the underprivileged and undertakes to speak for those who consider themselves still underprivileged, has felt it necessary to make a savage attack on another man who comes from the underprivileged and is regarded as the spokesman of large numbers of thrifty men and women — people familiar with hardship, whether or not they actually were underprivileged, people who now are in the property-owning middle class.

In that fact is a sign of the political times.

Looking Backward at Ten Years of History

An article from The New York World-Telegram *by E. A. Evans, special writer for the Scripps-Howard newspapers.*

Ten years—a brief space in the history of a nation. Let's look back to mid-July of 1929.

Herbert Hoover, four and a half months in the White House, was riding the crest of popularity. The great Coolidge boom was continuing and growing greater. The Republican party was celebrating its seventy-fifth birthday and many people, remembering how Mr. Hoover, with nearly six million more votes than any other candidate ever polled, had swept all but eight states, were saying that the Democratic party was dead.

Prohibition was a burning issue. There was indignation over death from poison liquor and over killings by enforcement agents. But the President had appointed an eminent commission, headed by George W. Wickersham, which was seeking a solution for this and other problems of law enforcement and obedience. Many considered the prohibition question pretty hopeless, since the Eighteenth Amendment was in the Constitution and, of course, there would always be enough dry states to prevent its repeal.

The farmers, as usual, were complaining that they weren't getting their fair share of national prosperity. However, a brief special session of Congress had created a new farm board with a $500,000,000 revolving fund for loans to agricultural organizations which would act as farm marketing agencies. That would fix up the farmers.

And further help for agriculture was promised through the new Smoot-Hawley tariff bill, on which the Senate Finance Committee was holding summer hearings. Thirty-eight other nations had just protested to the State Department against proposed high rates in this bill. The Democrats were fighting it, and even some farmers said that it was being rigged for the special benefit of big business, but Senator Smoot, with the Administration's support, was driving ahead.

Democratic Congressmen were denouncing continued extravagant spending by the new administration. But the Republicans were pointing out that the last fiscal year had ended with a $195,000,000 Treasury surplus, while income taxes had been repeatedly reduced under Republican Presidents and the national debt had been cut from its $25,482,000,000 war peak to only $16,931,000,000.

Events abroad were interesting but not very important. Some sort of revolution was going on in Mexico and we were helping the Mexican government to put it down by selling arms and planes. The Spanish Parliament was debating a new Constitution. Emperor Hirohito of Japan had just ratified the Kellogg Pact outlawing war. The Duke of Gloucester, King George's third son, was in Tokyo to invest Hirohito, that firm friend of Britain, with the Order of the Garter.

Mussolini, seven years in power, was making Italy's trains run on time. Germany, with more than three million workers unemployed, was ready to make her fifth prompt annual payment to the Allies under the Dawes Plan, and had agreed to the new Young Plan, hailed as a "complete and final settlement" of the World War reparations problem. It provided for annual payments of $513,000,000 a year until Germany's indebtedness should be wiped out in 1989. A young agitator named Hitler was editing a little paper, inveighing against what he called the injustices of Versailles. But his political party, with only twelve seats in the Reichstag, was not taken seriously. Old President von Hindenburg had affairs in the German Republic firmly under control.

There was, indeed, little to distract Americans from their favorite occupation of watching—and playing—the stock market. There had been a sharp, sudden tumble in prices three months earlier, shaking out thousands of scared little "margin" gamblers. But professional traders and big investors had rushed in on a recovery wave, and in mid-July everything was going up. The thirty industrial stocks in the Dow-Jones averages were around $270. A seat on the New York Exchange sold for $600,000. A few cautious souls ventured to wonder whether the rise could continue forever, but the great enthusiastic majority, getting richer daily in that fine new era, was confident that the sky was the only limit.

Waiting, three months ahead, was a black October day. But most of us, in July 1929, had no idea that we were watching the events leading up to the tragedy.

Huge Flood Savings From Gilbertsville

—From Engineering News-Record.

The economic value of the flood protection that will be afforded to the Mississippi Valley through the construction of Gilbertsville Dam on the Tennessee River is estimated at $200,000,000 in a report submitted by T.V.A. to the President and by him to Congress. The estimate is derived from studies made by Charles W. Okey, T.V.A. senior hydraulic engineer, and endorsed by Sherman M. Woodward, chief water control planning engineer.

Okey based his studies on the thesis that present flood protection in the Mississippi Valley is inadequate, but that an additional two feet of free-board—obtained either through lower water levels or through higher levees—would render the valley safe. He therefore estimated the monetary value of complete flood protection in the valley, as compared with the present situation, and called this the value of an additional two feet of protection. This value he set at $381,378,000.

T.V.A. engineers believe that Gilbertsville will reduce the maximum Mississippi flood by more than two feet between Cairo and the mouth of the Arkansas and probably by at least one foot between the Arkansas and the Red. Applying these conclusions to Okey's figures, they obtain the $200,000,000.

Okey divides his economic value of two feet of protection into the following classes:

Cities	$ 6,700,000
Railroads	10,550,000
Highways	1,500,000
Unprotected marginal areas	6,182,000
Backwater areas	32,240,000
Floodway areas	11,304,000
Reduced levee maintenance	5,290,000
Reduced seepage damage	7,612,000
Protected agricultural area	300,000,000

The first three values are equated to the estimated cost of justifiable protection by the cheapest alternative method. The next five groups are obtained by capitalizing the probable annual damage from future floods. The final figure is the estimated increase in the value of land if complete flood protection were provided.

Food and Religion; A Call for Good Cooks

—Condensed from the weekly, Zion's Herald, *organ of American Methodism.*

While the physical basis of life in a free world by no means can solely determine the course of a man's spiritual development, yet it does constitute the foundation upon which he has to build his character. The human spirit inhabits a body, and the two seem to be inextricably woven together. Hence, food has something to do with the growth and progress of the inner life.

Startling indeed would be the showing, if it were possible to compile the list of the souls which in the history of the world have been damned by bad food. Cooks have a responsibility the proportions of which they scarcely realize. Half-cooked food, greasy food, tough meats, poorly seasoned vegetables, soggy pies, and doctored puddings—these are some of the reasons "why men leave home"—and the church.

A word or two should also be said about the follies of the eater. Many a person sins against his physical health by overeating, eating when tired or half-sick, gulping his food, mixing antagonistic elements in the same meal, or tampering with his diet at the behest of every "food specialist." Surely, true religion involves the proper care of the physical organism as well as the training of the mind and soul in the precepts of the gospel.

The French regard eating as something more than feeding. They insist upon good food properly seasoned and well cooked, made to appeal to the senses of sight and smell as well as taste and satisfy not only the physical hunger but also the æsthetic desire of the diner.

Now consider America and its feeding habits. We are on the rush. Breakfast—an orange and a dry cereal, washed down with a cup of coffee; lunch—a plate of hash, a piece of pie, and more coffee at a cafeteria; dinner—heavy meat, greasy potatoes, canned vegetables and fruit, coffee or tea, bread, and an oversweet dessert. It would be difficult to list more than a half-dozen restaurants of medium price in any of our large cities which serve really good food. And cafeterias! The noon football rush is on. Multitudes of lunchers with fifteen minutes at their disposal

fight for a tray, grab several plates of regimented food, and gulp the whole thing down in a jiffy. Other multitudes hurry over to the corner drugstore for what purports to be a meat sandwich and a cup of sickly coffee, with a "top-off" in the form of ice cream drenched with a heavy marshmallow concoction including chocolate sauce, or a banana surmounted by ice cream and the whole buried under cherries and nuts. If stomachs could talk! The churches are in the midst of an all but losing fight with the restaurants for the souls of men.

Nor are the churches themselves altogether free from this evil which so sadly hinders the cause of true religion. All too often the church "social" or men's club "banquet" with its cold ham, baked beans, potato salad, heavy pies, and strong coffee has driven down the spiritual thermometer of professing Christians below zero.

We need preachers and teachers, prophets and saints; but we also need, commonplace as the demand may seem, able and conscientious cooks who feel called of God to make the preparation and serving of good food their high vocation.

Das Schwarze Korps

A German View
If he reaches for his weapons he will lose half the world.

County Mergers; Two Examples

—*From* The St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

For the past twenty years, or ever since good roads and the automobile cut short-distance traveling time to a fraction of what it used to be, students of local government have been advocating county consolidation. But they have been so many voices crying from the housetops. As a matter of fact, the financial hardships of the depression have reduced the total number of counties in the United States by only three.

If the trend toward decreasing tax values goes on, county consolidation may perforce amount to something more than a theory. Missouri offers a perfect example of the way this sort of pressure is operating. State Auditor Forrest Smith has issued a report stating that fifteen Missouri counties are already bankrupt, faced with the alternative of repudiating all their obligations or consolidating with other counties. As an example, he points to one county with a floating debt of $100,000 and annual revenues of less than $35,000.

This condition, it should be noted, has come about in spite of a revolutionary shifting of local expenses onto the State and Federal governments. Care of the indigent aged and disabled and the unemployed has been assumed by the State and Federal governments. Since the beginning of the depression, some 40 per cent of the total cost of operating the Missouri public schools has been shifted from the county governments and their subdivisions to the State government, the revenue coming, for the most part, from the sales tax.

If, in spite of all this aid, so many of the counties are still staggering into bankruptcy it would appear that local pride and the self-interest of the various little courthouse rings may yet have to give way and permit county mergers to go through.

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—*From* The Dallas Morning News.

Texas offers one of the biggest opportunities in the country for county mergers in the interest of saving taxpayers' money and providing more efficient administration. The last census showed this State with 172 counties with fewer than 20,000 inhabitants each, and forty-six with fewer than 5,000 each. In these, taxes provide almost nothing for other county expenses after the salaries of officials have been paid. Schools are notoriously poor, local roads are neglected and nothing is done toward the prevention of disease.

Tax experts have estimated that the costs of county administration could be reduced 25 per cent through the merger of adjoining counties of less than 5,000 population. In Oklahoma, the State Chamber of Commerce estimated that a saving of $17,000,000 could be made by merging that State's seventy-seven counties into twenty. In thinly populated areas, almost any official could perform his duties for an area four or five times as large, without working more than an eight-hour day. And hard roads would enable even the most remote farmer to get to the courthouse in a two-hour drive.

The United States has had only two examples of county merger, but both have been highly successful. A

1917 merger of two counties in Tennessee resulted in a reduction of about 15 per cent in the tax rate and in the establishment of a modern school and highway system. Similar results were obtained when three counties were consolidated in Georgia in 1932. In addition to other benefits, the two rural counties gained health services they had been going without.

But whenever county mergers are proposed—as they have been in nearly every state—an outcry immediately arises from entrenched officials and from local merchants who believe that presence of a courthouse increases their trade. The political rings fight consolidation proposals more bitterly than they oppose such reforms as the manager plan or civil service. And usually they are successful in halting progress.

As a result, the county remains the most backward and most wasteful unit in the American system of government, per capita costs of administration increasing directly as population becomes more sparse. Some county officials, raking in fees in addition to their salary, have a bigger income than the Governor of their state, but spend most of their time building a political machine.

As a result of county inefficiency, more and more county functions are going to state and Federal agencies by default. Unless the county unit is to disappear—and with it much of the local self-government traditional to America—mergers and business management will have to be adopted to make county government more efficient.

Going, Going—Down

—*United Press dispatch from* Ogunquit, Maine, *under August 7 dateline.*

Sinclair Lewis, novelist, today foresaw "a world-wide moratorium on all arts" and the coming of new dark ages, perhaps in the present generation. This already has come to pass in Germany, Russia and Italy, Mr. Lewis said.

Up

—*United Press dispatch from* York, Maine, *also under August 7 dateline.*

The world is on a verge of "a big moral uplift," said Dr. A. J. Cronin, British novelist, on arriving here today.

American Living Costs in the North and South

—*Condensed from a press release of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor.*

The cost of living in five small Southern cities surveyed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics at the request of the Wage and Hour Division averages 3.1 per cent lower than in five Northern cities of the same size.

These calculations are derived from an investigation of retail prices and rents conducted by the Bureau as of December 15, 1938, in ten cities of ten thousand to twenty thousand population. The cities covered are:

Chillicothe, O.	Hattiesburg, Miss.
Dover, N. H.	Sherman, Texas
Hanover, Pa.	Statesville, N. C.
Holland, Mich.	Sumter, S. C.
Little Falls, N.Y.	Thomasville, N. C.

Numerous studies have been made comparing wages, incomes and actual levels of living in the North and South. The present survey was designed to show differences in the cost of living in these five Northern and five Southern cities, for comparable levels of living. Full allowance has been made for differences in prices, and for the apparent influence of climate upon fuel requirements and type of housing construction. With the exception of these items, the comparison has been made of the price of identical commodities.

Food is the largest item in the wage-earner budget. It constitutes from one-third to two-fifths of the total expenditures, being relatively more important at lower income levels than at higher ones. The investigation indicates that there is no significant difference in average food costs as between the two regions. This conclusion is based upon a consideration of the prices and the quantities of food customarily purchased by the families of employed wage earners in both regions combined.

The small difference in living costs of 3.1 per cent results largely from the lower cost of housing and fuel in the Southern cities as compared to the Northern. On the average, rents in the Southern cities are 7.6 per cent lower than those in the North for houses of the same age with the same number of rooms and with similar facilities. Fuel costs are 34.2 per cent lower in the Southern cities. Rent constitutes approximately 17 per cent of the wage earner's family expenditures in cities of this size, and expenditures for fuel, light and refrigeration combined about 8 per cent.

Rents were secured for houses of four, five, and six rooms having as a minimum, running water, inside flush toilets, and electricity for lighting. No attempt was made to secure rents for houses of the same type of construction in the Northern and Southern cities as differences in construction are naturally associated with differences in climate. Houses with gas room heaters in the Southern cities were treated as providing the same level of living as houses with furnaces in the Northern cities.

Bituminous coal, anthracite and fuel oil are the fuels most commonly used for heating by Northern wage earners; bituminous coal, wood and gas by Southern wage earners. The quantity of fuel assigned to each budget was based on the actual heat content of fuels customarily purchased by wage-earner families. A study of actual consumer purchases made in 1935–36 in small Northern and small Southern cities showed that approximately half as much heat is used by Southern wage earners as by those in the North. On the other hand, a larger quantity of ice is characteristically used in the South than in the North, and therefore a larger quantity was allowed for the South in the budgets used.

Other items of expenditures are somewhat higher in Southern cities than in the Northern cities. Average differences in the cost of clothing, furniture, furnishings and equipment and miscellaneous items are small: respectively 2 per cent, 3.8 per cent and 3 per cent higher in the Southern cities.

World Revolution Still Aim of Comintern

—Condensed from an article by A. Zekratch in Rossiya, *New York, organ of the White Russians.*

Woe to Europe if the key to solution of international relations should be handed to Stalin. And yet the great Western democracies insist that Stalin should be given the key. Thus, they not only link their fate with the Comintern (for it is high time to call things by their proper names), but they are trying to push the small countries, Esthonia, Latvia, Poland, and now Holland, Belgium and Switzerland, which have no illusions whatsoever about the so-called Soviet guarantees, into Stalin's lethal embrace.

The small states are not only sober but they are wise. They not only reject but they decisively protest against the foisted "solicitudes" of the U.S.S.R. as well as against the bloc of forces with which the U.S.S.R. would be connected. Thus the *Nation Belge* protests against attempts to include Belgium in the Soviet guarantees and so "give the Soviets a chance to meddle into Belgian affairs."

If we did not harbor in our bosom the hope of a new, truly Great Russia, if we did not see that, in her present state, she is the outstanding world's evil, if we did not understand that the game is going to end catastrophically for the entire civilized world, we would now say indifferently to perplexed Europe: "You have sown chaff and now are reaping wind."

Gigantic U.S.S.R., which has an airfleet of almost fifteen thousand planes, is now dealing its assistance to China in small doses—figuring that it should not have a preponderance over its adversary—so that the war can be prolonged, perhaps until other powers interfere, or the two warring countries are mortally weakened. In the first instance, Russia hopes for a world war with all its consequences—world revolution; in the second instance, it would have two victims, like ripe fruits for its communist maw.

The Spanish affair illustrated the open cynicism of Stalin's policy: on the one hand was the fear of singeing his own wings ("hold aloof from artillery fire"—Stalin); on the other hand profits were not overlooked, as witness Stalin's orders to sell munitions and war material for gold. Finally, Stalin refused asylum in the U.S.S.R. to Spanish Republicans after Franco's victory. This of course was not devoid of logic: let them remain in Europe as elements fermenting new revolutions.

All this has its deeper basis. For at each subsequent communist party convention the directions for achievement of world revolution are not revoked but are confirmed and planned out.

There is not the slightest doubt about the essence of Soviet endeavours. In a game with the Comintern there are no partners nor opponents —everything is only the hateful, capitalistic surrounding world. The aim of the game is to have everything that comes in contact with it demoralized, so that the cards will land in Comintern hands. The aim and the principles of its realization remain the same—world conflagration and world revolution no matter at what price, no matter by what means, with "partners" or adversaries.

Whitelaw —London Daily Herald

At the Cafe Danzig.

Tangier and Europe

—Condensed from The Manchester Guardian.

If Tangier were in the possession of a single Great Power it would be as formidable a naval base as Gibraltar, Ceuta, or Cape Tarifa. Cape Spartel, within the territory of the Tangier International Settlement, is the most north-western point of Africa and dominates the Straits. Yet under international rule Tangier is no menace to England or to France.

Tangier is situated within the Spanish zone in Morocco, which, in turn, is surrounded by French Morocco. During the Spanish civil war Tangier was naturally a danger-spot. The town has a mixed population. The Arabs hated all the Europeans. The Spanish were divided between the Republicans and Nationalists. Even the French were divided: the lower classes sided with the Spanish loyalists and the richer classes with the followers of Franco. This division even penetrated into the ranks of the international police. The Spanish commander of the gendarmery was a Nationalist; his two lieutenants sympathized with the Government. Even the French police were divided on the Spanish question. Under these circumstances it was evident that in case of trouble it would have been impossible to use the police. Fortunately there were only two serious incidents, both ending, however, in fatal casualties. That there were not more is probably due to the tact and diplomacy of the French general administrator.

Life is extremely complicated in Tangier owing to the nature of the International Statute. The nominal sovereignty in Morocco is exercised by the Sultan in Rabat, in the French zone. Rightly or wrongly, he is considered a puppet in the hands of the French, yet nominally he is also the ruler of Spanish Morocco and of Tangier, where his Viceroy, the Mendoub, resides. Nominal sovereignty in Tangier therefore rests with the Mendoub, but the statute of

December 18, 1923, placed the town under an international Administration. The Chief Administrator is a Frenchman; the Spanish administrator looks after hygiene and welfare; the British is in charge of finances, and the Italian is in charge of justice.

In the Mixed Tribunal there are two Spanish and French magistrates and one English, Italian, and Belgian. This Mixed Tribunal is the law court for Europeans. If an Arab or a Jew has a suit against a European it is tried by this tribunal. The claims of a European against an Arab, however, are tried by the Sultan's or Mendoub's Court. The Legislative Assembly of Tangier consists of four Spaniards and Frenchmen, three English and Italians, one Portuguese, one Belgian, one Dutchman, six Moslems, and three Jews. The chief of the gendarmery is a Spaniard; there are two Spanish and two French lieutenants and a Belgian non-commissioned officer.

Open Door for Spies

—Condensed from an article by William Forrest in The New Chronicle.

For the first time I have come back from a foreign trip with nothing to show for it: not even a stamp in my passport to prove that I have been, in fact, abroad.

True, it was only a cheap day trip to Boulogne. £1 return from Victoria. Seven hours in France! No passports required!

A British passport costs 15s., not to mention the trouble of taking one out. If passports were required it would no longer be a *cheap* day trip, and the people just wouldn't go.

If there is any valid criticism of these Channel excursions it is surely this, that they open wide the door for any crook, spy or undesirable who wants to reach or quit our shores.

No passports are required. You simply fill in the identity coupons which are attached to your ticket, hand over one of the coupons on the outward Channel crossing and another on the return journey. And that's that.

Take the hypothetical case of Mr. X, who is "wanted" by the police in England. One fine morning Mr. X goes to Victoria and buys an excursion ticket for Boulogne. At the platform barrier he is asked "Are you British?" and whether Mr. X be Argentinian, Armenian, Portuguese or Greek, he answers "Yes," and without more ado is allowed to pass and board the train.

In the train he duly fills in the so-called identity coupon. He has already chosen a name and address at random from the telephone directory, say, John Smith, of Bayswater Road.

As soon as he boards the steamer at Folkestone he goes down below to the passport office and hands over one of the identity coupons. He *may* be asked to produce some document proving that he is indeed John Smith of Bayswater Road. It is unlikely, however, that he will be asked, for the passport office has a thousand passengers to deal with in little over an hour, and there is no time to question all of them.

"But, Herman, I told you distinctly that we are not liberating Scotland until 1941."

London Express

Three and a half hours after leaving London Mr. X steps ashore at Boulogne, while the police are still looking for him in England.

Illegal entry into Britain is equally simple. All that Mr. Y, an I.R.A. terrorist, or Herr W, a Nazi spy, needs to do is to use the return half of a ticket brought over to Boulogne by an accomplice from London. Or, if the accomplice wants to return to London with Mr. Y, there is nothing to hinder him from (1) buying two tickets at Victoria, (2) filling in one set of identity coupons with his own name and address and the other set with a fictitious name, say, Albert Jones, for Mr. Y, and (3) passing twice through the passport office in the steamer.

On the return journey Mr. Y hands in the remaining Albert Jones identity coupon, and if the passport officer cares to check up, he will find that Albert Jones did in fact travel on the outward journey. And once again that's that.

Passports are the obvious remedy, but these, as I have said, would kill the excursions.

Then, why not *real* identity cards to which the purchaser of the ticket would be required to affix his photograph? That would make no difference in the case of those undesirables who wished to get out of the country, but it would stop those who tried to get in.

Thin Man of Europe

—Condensed from an article by H. R. S. Vaseau in Labour, *London.*

It is a well-established fact that Germany's fat supplies are 40 per cent short. Yet the *Frankfurter Zeitung* reports official figures which seem to indicate that the Germans are consuming more fat, more meat, and more sugar than they ever did before.

"In 1938," the *Frankfurter Zeitung* says, "consumption of meat per head was 57.7 kilograms (approximately 126 lbs.) against 48.9 kilograms in 1932. The consumption of sugar was 24.3 kilograms as compared with 19.1 kilograms in 1931, and in the consumption of butter, 8.8 kilograms as compared with 7.5 kilograms. It follows that the German people who grumble are most ungrateful to their Fuehrer who has provided them with all the necessities of life to a degree far in excess of what they ever had before he arrived.

Although we cannot tell to what extent the figures are falsified, we do know that their interpretation is incorrect, and I shall try to show how the German authorities work.

The figures given for the consumption of sugar do not refer to human consumption only, they refer to the amount produced minus the amount exported, and that is not the same thing. For instance, there is the industrial use for sugar, such as the production of glycerine, which is used in explosives, and to minimize the recoil of cannon after the shot.

As regards meat and butter, both are used for the production of margarine, and thus are made to count double in German statistics: once as meat and butter and once as margarine. German statistics, therefore,

are absolute rubbish, and in order to get a true picture of conditions we must consider symptoms instead of statistical figures. Normally the economist is very reluctant to do so because he knows how easily symptoms can give a wrong impression.

We know that many people go to Germany for a pleasure tour and come back full of enthusiasm, and convinced that the "symptoms" they have been allowed to see prove that everything is in the best of order. They are not aware that they have only been allowed to notice what the authorities wished them to see. The people with whom they got in contact were watched, the boarding houses in which they stayed were selected, telephones on which they talked were tapped, the restaurants in which they had meals received extra rations.

Thus the impression which they get of German conditions is just as incorrect as the statistics published by Herr Goebbels. But the symptoms I am going to give will probably prove more illustrative than the tourist stories of their trips with "blinkers."

Let us look out for the symptoms indicating the quality and amount of foodstuffs available for the population. There is quite a long series of new substitutes, the value of which is considered to be even greater than the value of the original product—by Herr Goebbels. Let us just describe two of them. A new egg called the "Milei" has been discovered. It is made of butter-milk and various chemicals. It is a yellow powder, and is claimed to be more nourishing than real eggs. This discovery, it is hoped, will reduce the consumption of natural eggs by 50 per cent. Nothing is said about vitamins in this Milei, and I suppose nothing can be said about them. But I do not doubt that consumption of natural eggs will be reduced by 50 per cent before long.

In a report in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of May 8, reference was made to tea. A new order has been published prohibiting misleading names for tea "made in Germany." The order finished by saying that the name, "German House Tea" *(Deutscher Haus Tee)* may only be used for Tea which is of agreeable taste and not detrimental to health. Surely the passing of such an order indicates that substitutes for tea were being produced from chemicals, and sold to the public, that were detrimental to health and not even of agreeable taste! Another report in the same daily paper informs us that lemons (!) are now made entirely from German raw materials!

Nebelspalter, Switzerland

The Wild Man

Once there was a wild man
Who slaughtered some of his neighbors.
The newspapers, of course, wrote about it,
And warned people against the wild man.
But the wild man read them and shouted:

"These disturbers! These well-poisoners!
These hypocrites!
They are out for a breach of the peace!
They are out for a breach of MY peace!"

Mannequin Parade

—Condensed from an article appearing in Forum, *Johannesburg.*

Since most of the German nation is being put into uniform, the national interest in clothes is understandable. In the highest circles this interest is fast developing into a passion, with competition very keen.

Herr Hitler's latest evening uniform has a white coat, with a silver and gold belt, together with the usual armband. The first pictures showing him and other leaders were given wide publicity. However, the desire to impress at the many functions held on diplomatic occasions has spread throughout the Nazi hierarchy and Marshal Goering is not getting all the limelight.

Herr Hitler commissioned a stage designer, Benno von Arendt, to design a fitting costume for the diplomatic service. He turned out a design in black, with silver trimmings. The diplomats were very pleased with this natty uniform until Dr. Goebbels took a hand in the game. One night several of the important officials of the Propaganda Department turned out in their new uniform. It was dark blue, with broad silver bands down the trousers, gold-braided shoulder straps and gold and silver aiguillettes. Herr von Ribbentrop was not amused. He considered that the propagandists looked too much like his diplomats (possibly even outshone them) and the matter is the subject of negotiations.

Since it is proposed that all German officials, including mayors, shall wear uniform according to rank, a

brighter Germany is in sight. As it is, all military reserve officers have dress uniforms, and most officials are in the reserves. The public funds pay for army and office uniforms, and the Nazi Party helps its poorer members to pay for theirs. Following the example of Marshal Goering, many sportsmen have specially designed uniforms. Most boys and girls are in uniformed youth organizations.

Monier *Le Canard Enchaîné*

Hullo? London? All's going well. . . . The pact is on the point. . . . of being signed. . . .

For Eden and Churchill in the British Cabinet

—Condensed from an article by J. B. Priestly in The News Chronicle, *London.*

People wonder when war will break out. Strictly speaking, war started at least three years ago. It was started not by the people of Germany, Italy and Japan, but by the crazily ambitious and quite unscrupulous groups that control those people. The leaders in this war of Axis aggression are the Nazis.

It is about as sensible and safe to imagine that the Nazi leaders are merely patriotic Germans dissatisfied with the Versailles Treaty as it would be to mistake a man-eating tiger for a rather large pussy-cat. It is useless asking them to settle down and become nice peaceful neighbors. They couldn't do it even if they wanted to. Nazi Germany must go on expanding, not because it needs *lebensraum* (that is just Goebbels' nonsense), but because it is now organized for conquest and absorption and for nothing else.

What do they want? The answer is: anything they can get. But reliable evidence suggests that the Axis now sees as its finest and fattest ultimate prey the British Empire, which it believes must disintegrate very soon. Many of the moves in this undeclared war of the last three years have been directed against the British Empire. I do not think they would have succeeded if these Axis strategists had not had the assistance of our own Imperialists, who are anxious, for reasons best known to themselves, to commit suicide.

When Japan spread itself over the Far East, when Mussolini spread himself in Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean, when Hitler began swallowing Central Europe, when Hitler and Mussolini together turned Spain into an Axis base of future operations, there were cries of "Bravo!" from the City, the Carlton Club and Mayfair.

And if the Axis Powers could have continued at the same rate of progress, within five years some of these same people would have been saying, "I think your Gestapo are wonderful" and half the staff of this paper would have been on the run.

Since our end of the Munich appeasement policy was found to bear some likeness to the reception of a well-directed kick in the pants, our intensely patriotic national government has decided to resist further aggression. But even now the strange suicidal impulse seems to be still there. The charming Von Ribbentrop still has his friendly correspondents in London, who tell him not to mind us. There are discreet little conferences in the City. And nearly every day in *The Times* there are persuasive letters, from good addresses, telling us that it is all a slight misunderstanding and that if we knew the Gestapo better (as we may do soon) we should discover that they are fine, stout fellows.

We are, of course, spending fabulous sums on armaments. But your High Tory, with his big business connections, has always believed in doing this. After all, for every penny he pays out on arms there is a possibility that he may have sixpence returned.

The Nazi method, imitated by its allies, is not to risk everything on a huge naked conflict, a war like the last, but to continue, with ever-increasing pressure, the present campaign. The trick is to keep the whole nation on almost a war basis, to run the propaganda machine for all it is worth, to promise anything to the idiots who will believe you, to create disorder in the countries to be attacked, to corrode and disintegrate, and then by a sudden move and the threat of overwhelming force to take what you want. We should all recognize the method by this time.

There are other and better tests of the sincerity of our government's protestations than huge armaments, national service, a form of conscription, for the Tories have always wanted such things. They are only too glad of an excuse to rush them through. But are they ready to set their boasted patriotism above their party and personal prejudices? If they are, then why is the definite public demand for the inclusion of Mr. Winston Churchill in the Cabinet being so obstinately resisted?

There are three good reasons why he should be included. First, he is a man of outstanding ability and experience, and nobody except the leaders of our present Cabinet believes it to be rich in these qualities. Secondly, the people want him there. Thirdly, his presence will at least do something to show the world, which has no confidence whatever in our statesmen, that we are in earnest.

The same arguments, with a few differences, apply to the return to office of Mr. Eden. Bluntly stated, he was dropped simply to please Mussolini, as part of a miserable policy that made us the laughing-stock of the world. The policy failed, as it deserved to do, so now let us forget it. Let us have Mr. Eden back, and suggest, for a change, that Mussolini throw overboard his mischievous Ciano (who will undoubtedly ruin him) and Hitler his Von Ribbentrop.

Wobbling and double-faced antics, talking one way in public and another way in the City, the Carlton Club and big country houses, can bring nothing but disaster. It has lost us every move in the game so far, flung away strategical advantages, ruined our prestige, and we cannot afford now to drop another point. The score is advantage to server, and it is not we who are serving.

Current History Presents

What's YOUR Opinion?

A monthly department conducted by George V. Denny, Jr., founder and moderator of America's Town Meeting of the Air and President of Town Hall, New York

The Question this month:

SHOULD ROOSEVELT RUN FOR A THIRD TERM?

AS the summer of 1939 draws to a close, one question above all others dominates the minds of the American people: Will Franklin D. Roosevelt run for a third presidential term next year?

Any discussion of national politics must get back to that question sooner or later, for until it is answered speculations on next year's national elections are of little value and predictions on the outcome of little meaning. A recent survey by the American Institute of Public Opinion—the so-called Gallup poll—showed that the American people are about equally divided on this question of whether Mr. Roosevelt will run for a third term. In mid-June, answers to the survey indicated, 48 per cent of them were convinced that he would run again; 52 per cent were convinced that he would not.

The reasoning of many of those who believe that Mr. Roosevelt may not be able to resist the lure of a third term was well expressed recently in the brilliant syndicated newspaper column which Joseph Alsop and Robert Kintner write from Washington: "He is a remarkable man, bold, unpredictable, obstinate. Above all, he is recklessly impatient of frustration, and frustration impends, for he has lost control of his party and cannot hope for Andrew Jackson's and Theodore Roosevelt's privilege of naming a successor. Under the circumstances, therefore, those who say there is no chance that the President will try for a third term are ignoring essential facts. He might not be elected. He might even fail to get the Democratic nomination. But it is clearly possible that he will make the attempt."

But if the American people are heatedly divided on whether or not Mr. Roosevelt *will* run for a third term, they are even more heatedly divided on whether he *should* run for a third term. It is this latter question that we purpose to examine in this department this month.

The technique of the department by now is familiar to readers of CURRENT HISTORY. By querying statesmen, religious leaders, educators, men and women prominent in various fields of activity, and by combing the press for relevant statements, we attempt to present each month a cross-section of opinion on controversial questions by outstanding authorities. That technique has been followed this month, as usual.

A word as to background before we take up this month's question: Should Franklin D. Roosevelt run for a third term? This background was clearly sketched in an article written by Raymond Clapper, crack Washington correspondent, and printed in CURRENT HISTORY for August.

The Constitutional Convention of 1787 was deeply concerned with keeping undue power from the President; nevertheless, it finally adopted the four year term as a feature of the Constitution, with no restriction concerning re-election. Of the thirty-two men who have held the office of President, only one, Grant, sought a third elective term. No man has ever been nominated for a third term by either the Democratic or the Republican party. Theodore Roosevelt sought a third term in 1912, but as a Progressive, not as a Republican, and did not seek a third *elective* term, since his first term, though of nearly normal length, began, not with election, but with the death of McKinley. Congress has twice—first in the House, then in the Senate; first to head off Grant, then to head off Coolidge—adopted a resolution declaring that the precedent of retiring from presidential office after a second term has become a part of our republican system and any departure from it would be "unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions."

But other times, other customs, the saying goes. Do these times require a break with precedent? What's YOUR Opinion? Mr. Roosevelt has touched the fringes of this third-term subject in several statements, but so far he has never clearly indicated

IT will be Mr. Denny's aim to assemble in this department each month a cross-section of opinion on controversial questions by outstanding authorities, as well as a special section of opinion by readers of CURRENT HISTORY.

We ask our readers to send in their opinions now on this month's question, "Should Franklin D. Roosevelt Run for a Third Term?" Letters should not exceed three hundred words and should be mailed before Sept. 12. They should be addressed to:

Mr. George V. Denny, Jr.
CURRENT HISTORY
420 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

whether or not he will run again.

Should he run again! Here are the opinions of:

Alfred M. Landon

Republican candidate for President in 1936, and former Governor of Kansas.

"In Kansas I believe the sentiment is the same as everywhere else in the country, and in my judgment the people are against extending the power of one individual over too long a period. The people, I believe, regard the third term idea as setting a dangerous precedent. . . .

"The President, worthy of the trust reposed in him by his fellow citizens, will disdain this suggestion made to him by meaner souls.

"I don't believe any man with the exaltation and the sense of public service and patriotism that comes from the high office of the Presidency will accede to such demands.

"He [the President] will consider that laying down his charge 'at a proper period is as much a duty as to have borne it faithfully.' "

Payne Ratner

Republican; present Governor of Kansas.

"I feel that a third term candidacy would be a dangerous thing. It would be particularly dangerous when coupled with the greatly increased emergency and long-time powers given to the President."

Carrie Chapman Catt

Lecturer; outstanding leader of women.

"I oppose a third term on principle, and my attitude has nothing whatever to do with Mr. Roosevelt's record or qualifications.

"A third term would establish a precedent in substitution of our present policy of eight years to a president when his service has been approved. Now, five men only can serve as president in a working lifetime.

"I have long believed, in common with other people in the United States, that the welfare of our nation would be greatly improved by an amendment to our Constitution which would extend the term of the president from four to six years and provide that one man could serve only one term. This would remove the universal habit of every president being obliged to spend much time in consideration of his second term. A six-year plan would lead to a broadly democratic government and would never travel in the direction of a dictatorship, which might be the case in the event the term of service is extended to three terms by precedent. If any man could be elected to a third term, some future man might press for a fourth or even a fifth term, in which case the democratic choice is gone.

"Let me repeat that Mr. Roosevelt and his record have nothing to do with this firm conviction."

Raymond Moley

Former member of the Roosevelt inner circle of advisors.

Opinion voiced last year at a Forum conducted by *The New York Herald-Tribune:* "Fourth of July orators have been making tiresome and usually irrelevant references to the wisdom of the Founding Fathers for so many years now that a cynical generation is inclined to clap its hands over its ears whenever these gentlemen are mentioned. But if recent events throughout the world have taught us anything, it is the reality, the freshness, the immediate pertinence of the central problem with which they wrestled—the problem of safeguarding individuals and minorities against tyranny — the problem of restraining power. . . .

"The fact of the matter is that, regardless of the hows and whys of the tradition [against a third term], the tradition exists—as rugged and vital as the living word of the Constitution itself. . . .

"The two-term custom is no moss-covered fetish. It is still what pedants call 'the sense' of the people. It is alive and kicking. It is valid and binding. It can defeat those who might challenge it, just as it defeated those who dared to challenge it in the past."

Rexford Guy Tugwell

Also former member of the Roosevelt inner circle.

Dissenting opinions voiced at the same *Herald-Tribune* Forum: "I don't know exactly what makes a tradition, but I feel certain that traditions are not imposed on a people! And opposition to a third term in the present case, is, I am convinced, special pleading on the part of those who are interested to prevent a particular man from continuing in office. It is not a sentiment which the American people especially cherish.

"It is sheer accident that no president in our history has yet had a third term; several have been willing; and in no instance can it honestly be contended that a candidate for the office has failed because that issue was raised against him. . . .

"Eight years is not too long for a reform government to complete itself. It may easily take more than that. If reactionaries can stop it before completion they will bless their luck, but progressives are committed to the full cycle of reconstruction. No superstition can blind them to this urgent need. Their purpose may well require the continuance of that certain man. If it does, he will have to serve, and the third term bogey will need to be laid away and forgotten."

Senator Joseph F. Guffey

New Deal Democrat, of Pennsylvania.

"Pennsylvania was, is and will be for Roosevelt, and Pennsylvania's seventy-two votes at the next national Democratic convention will be cast to make him our standard-bearer. A mandate of unprecedented magnitude to carry on to conclusion the work so speedily begun during his first term was given in 1936. The people were in dead earnest about that mandate and they are in dead earnest today about wanting him to carry out their program. I can say now that Pennsylvania does not want and will have nothing to do with any of the middle-of-the-road candidates."

Other Senators - - "Yes"

WILLIAM H. SMATHERS, Democrat, of New Jersey: "Every Democrat in the State believes that Mr. Roosevelt,

who carried New Jersey the last time by approximately a half million majority, can again sweep the State in 1940. They all believe that he will be drafted by the party to lead it to victory again next year.

"President Roosevelt is the one Democrat in the nation who can carry New York State in 1940, because he is the one Democrat in the country the progressive Mayor of New York, LaGuardia, will support against Dewey or any other reactionary Republican."

George W. Norris, Independent, of Nebraska, who says that, although he hopes Mr. Roosevelt will be re-elected in 1940, if he had his way he would choose "people I know who agree more fully with me on liberalism in government," adding: "Mr. Roosevelt is much more of a party man than I am. We don't always agree on everything. . . .

"No one who is known by the people or who has the confidence of the people stands nearly as good a show of election as he would. He has done under all the circumstances a most remarkable job. I would not want to put a straw in his way. I have always been one of those who did not favor a third term, but the question ought to be considered in the light of conditions that exist at the time. My own idea is that Mr. Roosevelt does not want to run."

Elmer Thomas, Democrat, of Oklahoma: "At the present time I can see no available candidate who can so well carry out a liberal and progressive administration as President Roosevelt. To me the solving of our problems in the interest of the people means more than adherence to any precedent; hence, I shall waive my inherent prejudice against any person being elected three times in favor of the election of a candidate who, in my opinion, will continue to carry out liberal and progressive policies."

Other Senators - - "No"

Patrick A. McCarran, Democrat, of Nevada, who withstood an Administration effort to unseat him in 1938: "By and large the people of this country are opposed to the third term for the President. That opposition is founded on history and no President, notwithstanding his ability and personality, has been able to break it down. I do not think it can be broken down in 1940 despite the outstanding popularity of President Roosevelt."

Edward R. Burke, Democrat, of Nebraska: "In the light of prevailing trends, should the third-term tradition be broken in 1940, no man can safely predict the fate of our form of government. . . .

"A single six-year term would allow sufficient time for a President to

George V. Denny, Jr.

work out his program, would eliminate to some extent the disturbing influence of more frequent elections upon business conditions, would enable an administration to maintain full efficiency throughout its term without being distracted by a campaign for re-election, would minimize the evils of a political bureaucracy and would check the trend toward a centralization of power and a consequent weakening of our form of government."

Guy M. Gillette, Democrat, of Iowa: "I am against a third term as a matter of principle, not as a matter of opposition to Roosevelt. I have repeatedly said that I would not vote for my own father for a third term nomination. No man in the nation is so big that there is not some one else among 130,000,000 people who can take his place."

Oswald Garrison Villard

Author, long editor of The Nation, *liberal weekly.*

"I am absolutely opposed to Franklin D. Roosevelt or anybody else running for a third term and I should consider the breaking of the anti-third term tradition at this stage of the world's lunge towards dictatorships treachery to the Republic. I am sorry to take this position because I am a New Dealer and because I am personally fond of Franklin Roosevelt. But my stand has absolutely nothing to do with personalities; it has to do with the conviction that, if you open the way to a third term, there is no reason why you shouldn't give a man a fourth term or a fifth. In other words, you are opening the way to dictatorship. It is the precedent of which I am so much afraid. We must not open the way for others less high-minded, less scrupulous, less devoted to the public welfare than Mr. Roosevelt, to lead us toward the destruction of the Republic.

"Finally, I do not believe that any one man in the United States is essential to any cause—the New Deal or any other. If a cause depends upon one man for its success, then there must be something wrong with it. Of course the New Deal will go on whether Mr. Roosevelt is in the White House or not. Its growth and development may be checked for a while by his retirement, but that is much more to be preferred than exposing the Republic itself to dictatorship."

Other Authors - - "Yes"

Christopher Morley: "My hunch is that F. D. R. will run again; that he will be elected; that there will be a hurlyburly about it all; and that by the time we are sixty years old we'll be glad it happened.

"A man who has started so many experiments—some of them a bit gaga, some very fine—is under a private obligation to keep trying. He has had an expensive education at the public charge, and we have a right to expect dividends on it.

"Moreover, the spiritual and temperamental upheaval caused in many Tory bosoms would be advantageous. Continued economic brouhaha would be disturbing. The advantages, in an adult nation, would outweigh the disadvantages.

"Other possible advantages of a third term: some continuity of policy, and the angina pectoris of the standpatriots. Possible disadvantages: too strong a diffusion of partisan office holders.

"I find no principle involved. Government should always be a matter of

expediency foremost. It is so in well-governed communities—e. g., bees, wasps, ants, beavers."

H. L. MENCKEN: "I am for the reelection of Roosevelt for a third term. He ought to be made to bury his own dead horse. It would be cruel and unusual punishment to permit any one else to take over the autopsy."

Mayor Edward J. Kelly

Of Chicago, Democrat, in a speech Aug. 12 before the National Convention of the Young Democratic Clubs, Pittsburgh.

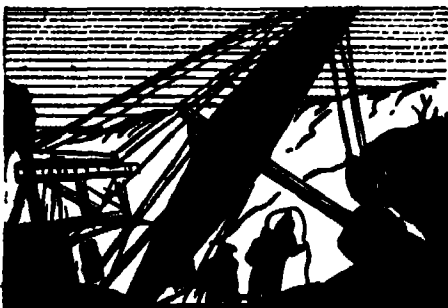
"The young democracy must marshal its forces and say to the President now:

" 'We want an answer to our prayers and hope. We want to face the future unafraid. You told us once that you had enlisted 'for the duration.' In this economic war against starvation and unemployment and in this social struggle against insecurity, Mr. President, we demand that you continue as Commander-in-Chief of our liberal humanitarian government.

" 'You have lost the right to your own personal life. You do not belong to yourself. You belong to the people and the people want your continued leadership. We want your steady voice to plead our cause. We want your steady head and hands to guide us in the American way that we should go. We want you to stay on in the fight to insure more work and more wages, to create more opportunities for men and women on the bottom. Mr. President, the young democracy will not take "No" for an answer.' "

Robert H. Jackson

Solicitor General, Department of Justice, in a speech to the Young Democrats, Aug. 11.

"The people who are demanding Roosevelt in person do so not only from personal loyalty but also because they feel that this is the only way they will have a chance to express themselves for a continuance of his social philosophy, which they regard as the vital issue of American democracy today. . . .

"It is idle talk of our democracy serving our people unless it is led by a strong President. There have been generations which did not appear to need strong leadership. They were lucky enough to live in times when the drift of the current gave them all the direction that was necessary, and any middle-of-the-roader or no one at all could safely occupy the White House.

"But these are not and cannot be such times.

"The youth of America will not again be satisfied with mediocrity in its leaders or cowardice in its programs. It has heard the voice of the greatest leader of men in our time. Whether he personally will accept a continued leadership, people of this land simply will not allow the retirement of the courage, the vision, and the ideals of social justice and economic fair play which they have learned from Franklin D. Roosevelt."

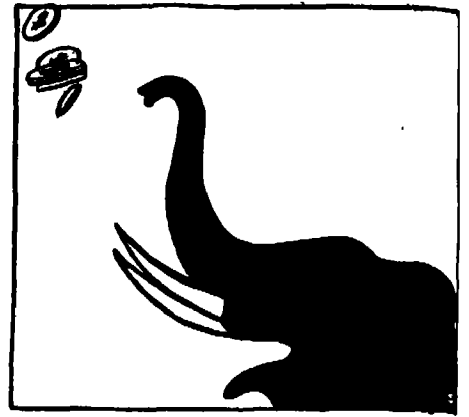
Frank Murphy

Attorney General in the Roosevelt Cabinet.

"The President has been the outstanding emergency leader in the history of our country. I personally hope very much that he can or would consent to continue, for I know no one with his attributes for leadership, courage and ability to fight for the people who are hemmed in by autocratic power, and it is his kind of leadership the country needs."

Other Cabinet Members - - "Yes"

HAROLD L. ICKES, Secretary of the Interior: "It is not too much to say that if Jefferson were President today he would consent to run for a third term in order to defeat economic royalism or fascism. It is my firm conviction that only in the continuance of triumphant liberalism in this country can there be any real assurance of our ability to withstand fascism.

"In principle I fail to see why any man is qualified to thirty years in

Congress while a man of equal or greater ability should be limited to eight years in the White House even although, by common consent, he is the man best qualified to carry on."

HARRY L. HOPKINS, Secretary of Commerce: "First, last and all the time, my choice for President in 1940 is Franklin D. Roosevelt and I believe that a great mass of the people agree with me. The New Deal is going right ahead and one of the first things to do is to control the next Democratic convention; I am confident that the President and other liberals will be in the majority."

Henry Sloane Coffin

President, Union Theological Seminary.

"I oppose a third term in principle. I think such power as the President confers should not be in one man's hands for more than two terms.

"Moreover, I think Mr. Roosevelt has stood the strain of office long enough, and should not risk another four years. I also think he has shown all the ingenuity of which he is capable, and has made too many enemies to be able to put through much more legislation."

Other Religious Leaders - - "No"

MORRIS S. LAZARON, Rabbi of Baltimore Hebrew Congregation: "The Congress coalition of partisan politics and personal jealousy has done more to foster and promote a third term for Mr. Roosevelt than anything the President himself could say or do. It is natural for a leader to wish to carry through what he has started. Yet I wish Mr. Roosevelt would come out with an unqualified statement that he does not want and

will not accept renomination. Millions of voters in both parties who believe in the social objectives of the Administration, even though they may criticize much of the detail of its legislative framework, millions who see only disaster in the reaction that is running like a rip tide, would be relieved by such an action of the President to find the issues lifted above personality and sharply defined.

"The President, by yielding to the sound American tradition against a third term, will thereby place himself in the strongest possible position to further the general welfare without laying himself open to the charge of playing politics. He will be more powerful than he is today and could act not only as leader but as conciliator. That is what we need if we are to keep the nation united. Nothing so strengthens a man's influence with men as when they know he has no personal axe to grind."

RALPH W. SOCKMAN, Pastor, Christ Church (Methodist Episcopal), New York: "Although I do not regard it as fair play to use the pulpit for the discussion of partisan political questions, I feel free to say through the columns of CURRENT HISTORY that I am against a third term for Mr. Roosevelt. Admitting that his dynamic personality and creative imagination put heart into our country in 1933, I believe that the present time calls for a different leadership. The confidence needed now will come not through starting new experiments, but through a show of economy and balanced budgets. My hope is that Mr. Roosevelt will step gracefully out of the campaign and then from the sidelines use his personal popularity to prevent the forces of reaction from undoing all the social gains of the last decade.

"Regardless of Mr. Roosevelt, I am opposed to the third term in principle. With the extension of government control and with the enlargement of executive activities, the lengthening of the presidential term puts too much power and temptation into the hands of one man. Furthermore, we are in the middle of no emergency which makes it dangerous to swap horses. And let us hope no such emergency will arise."

Now What's YOUR Opinion?

Address letters to George V. Denny, Jr., CURRENT HISTORY, 420 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.

FROM READERS OF *What's YOUR Opinion?*

To the Editor: Democracy IS putting men back to work! We saw idle men—we saw jobs that needed doing—we spoke through channels already devised by Democracy and said, "Put those men to work. Build us schools. Dig us sewers. Make us broad highways. Span that river with steel. Harness that flowing power. Make playgrounds for our children. Bring us arts and music. Put those men to work!" And on a scale never dreamed of before Democracy put men to work—millions of them—at jobs we wanted done. Millions of men who had no place when Democracy had ebbed low.

Recent years have seen an unprecedented growth in the number of public servants we have put to work to provide services we need and could never have except through public agencies. We are calling upon city, state, and nation—institutions of our own devising—for an increasing variety and amount of services. "Give us better schools. Assemble needed information. Make our highways safer. Bring us more pure water. Save our fertile soil." Democracy puts men to work.

Perhaps the most nearly democratic organism we have is the Rochdale cooperative. Farmers uniting to produce and distribute feed and fertilizer. Users of gasoline and oil establishing their own distribution plants—purchasing clubs growing into cooperative stores. Throughout the retrenchment years of the depression, the cooperative has steadily increased its payroll.

Democracy is not a form of government; it is a spirit that motivates the action of men. The form of government that encourages Democracy to flourish does not of itself guarantee that it will function. Democracy functions fully in a small group here, a large group there; it functions partially in many places. Where Democracy is functioning men are going back to work.

LESLIE E. BROWN

To the Editor: Can Democracy Put Men Back To Work? Yes, but it must be a true Democracy, not one of a quasi nature which we now have. By this I mean that until we supplement our political freedom with economic equality we only go half way. As long as a relatively small number of individuals own and control most of our wealth and resources all our boastings of political democracy become empty words.

We apparently are going to have to set some definite limit on individual holdings of wealth; we just cannot reconcile the feudalistic practice of large personal fortunes with democracy. All figures seem to show that this trend toward concentration of wealth in the hand of the few has become intensified under the New Deal.

Until we have a truer democracy in its economic as well as its political aspect, to take up the consumption slack in our business balance-wheel I do not believe that we can look to much improvement in the unemployment problem.

E. G. DOERN HOEFER

To the Editor: That democracies are more inept than other forms of government is not borne out by history or facts. There is no difference in the power wielded by any government leader. The difference is that the democratic leader's use of power is subject to review at stated periods, a dictator's only when it becomes intolerable and provokes a revolution, a remote possibility that does not usually enter into his calculations. Because governmental power is equal there is nothing a dictator can do that a democracy cannot do, although perhaps more slowly. But this slowness tends to keep action on a reasoned, sound basis, the speed of the dictator tends toward a choice of expedients which relieve, but do not permanently cure.

This democratic need for discussion, consideration and agreement is all to the good in economic change. Economic systems are not laws to be changed at will; they are outward expressions of a way of life, are inherent in the individual.

DONALD G. STEWART

To the Editor: Can Democracy put men back to work? Yes. It has put one million teachers to work in its public schools. It has put to work some three million in its postal service, highway construction, forest conservation, river and harbor controls and betterments.

Democracy can put every employable citizen to work in the production, conservation, process, transport and distribution of foods, clothing, shelter, hospitalization and sundry services to man, —if it will acquire and dedicate to public use the land, resources, power plants and shop equipment on and in which they need to be employed. Without ownership of post offices, roads, school buildings, waterways and forests, democracy would be helpless to employ so many as it now does.

Those private adventurers who now own the means of wealth production and distribution, on whom our people have relied for employment, can no longer afford employment because they are bound by the law of accretion, growth and expansion by profit, which is capitalism. This law demands of them that they fight off every cost demand, of which wages and taxes are greatest, if they are to survive.

But the survival of capitalism is not essential to democracy. Cooperative enterprise may serve us as well and it is not subject to capital demands that restrict wealth production and employment to profitability.

WILL EVERETT

To the Editor: I have been a reader of your magazine for many years and like it very much. I wish to present a thought on the subject of the unemployed.

To me it seems to be a question rather easily answered. Our corporations are not able to employ workers because there is such a lack of purchasing power among them. I believe our employers are not able to shorten hours to what would be necessary to give work to every worker now without a job. As far as money is concerned, there is plenty to loan to every concern worthy of credit, and being the most productive people ever known, we now can produce more goods in six months than we have money to buy back in a year. The problem therefore is to so shorten hours that all can be put back to work.

DR. L. B. HAWES

BUSINESS

KING COTTON IN TROUBLE

BLAIR BOLLES

For more than a century, America controlled the world cotton supply. The white bolls grown in Georgia and other Southern states were spun across the seas in Lancashire and worn as robes by Chinese on the other side of the globe. Long before the Civil War, indeed even after the World War, cotton was the chief American crop and America's foremost export commodity. It was the foundation of the South's economy, supporting thousands of farmers, ginners, merchants and exporters.

Now, however, the United States has such vigorous rivals for the cotton export markets which she once considered her own that she is crying for mercy. In the cotton year ended July 31, 1939, American cotton exports amounted to 3,362,000 bales the smallest figure since 1882. In 1937–38 they were 5,672,000 bales. From 1923 to 1933 they averaged 7,553,000 bales. But while the American share of it grows smaller, world consumption has increased by 3,000,000 bales since 1932.

Weeks ago, therefore, Secretary of Agriculture Wallace invited representatives of nine governments, besides our own, to meet in a World Cotton Conference in Washington during the first week in September. The ostensible purpose of the conference is to divide the world cotton market among the ten countries and their dependencies by establishing an export quota system, fixing the world trade, as the trade in rubber and tin and sugar now is fixed, by international agreement. But an additional purpose of the United States is to stabilize that share of the market which we have left before our rivals can reduce it further. It was our fear when we invited foreign delegates to attend the conference that they would listen politely to the American arguments, discuss the ramifications of the cotton trade, and then, without having done more than talk or listen, leave for home, to try to enlarge even further their own various shares of the world market. We realized that two considerations would tend to keep these cotton exporting nations from participating in a stabilizing agreement: first, they would find it difficult to explain to their different peoples why they agreed to limit the expansion of a profitable commerce; secondly, their invasion of the American cotton market, at its peak last year, represented the climax of an historic trend, which had its origin almost forty years ago. In President Roosevelt's famous phrase, they might say, "We planned it that way."

For years the cotton growers of the American South and the cotton spinners of the English northwest were almost as interdependent as citizens of one country. But about 1900 the English grew restive at the thraldom of one of their great industries to a single group of foreign agriculturists. The American habit of reducing cotton acreage after a low-price season (this was a voluntary operation long before the A.A.A. instituted government-dictation of acreage) disturbed England's continuity of supply for her mills. England therefore began a search for other sources. She found that such developing lands as Brazil, Peru and Argentina, which were assuming consequence as consumers of processed cotton, might well produce—and they later did produce—raw cotton. Gradually, the all-importance of American planters to cotton manufacturers diminished. The World War quickened the American commerce temporarily (in 1919 the cotton crop here was worth $2,000,000,000 to its growers), but the years of the New Deal have recorded its decline.

Yet the dilemma which induced Secretary Wallace to call the World Cotton Conference coincides not so much with the New Deal as with the depression. The decline of buying power traceable to the post-1929 crisis was reflected in great surpluses of cotton. President Hoover initiated and Secretary Wallace continued the policy of making loans to growers on their cotton when the price was so low that there was no profit in selling it. Today the government holds in warehouses more than 11,000,000 bales as collateral for loans —loans made as long ago as 1931 and as recently as 1938, loans of $560,894,986, loans which really are gifts. The government is not free except by special act to sell its cotton security.

This warehoused cotton is a standing price-depressant, a supply almost the equivalent of the whole new crop moving to market, which is just below 12,000,000 bales. Together the loans and the early New Deal crop-control program have contributed to the plight of our overseas cotton commerce and offered America's cotton rivals the opportunity which interested the Lancashire mill men forty years ago—to challenge American supremacy.

When our acreage-reduction policy was invoked in 1933, the United States still held at least its accustomed percentage share of the export market; the chief consumption trouble lay at home. Now the home market flourishes, but our foreign sales are comparatively slight—we control less than half the world market, three fourths of which once was ours. The lessened production which the government decreed encouraged our rivals to increase production, and government loans have kept off the market thousands of bales which foreign manufacturers would have been glad to buy. For all the great surpluses, we have on hand the smallest amount of free cotton—cotton subject to sale—that we have had in many years, fewer than 3,500,000 bales. This is 42 per cent less than at this time last year and 34 per cent below the last ten years' average.

Egypt, British India, and Brazil have found especial advantage in our recent cotton policy. England bought 1,521,000 bales from us in 1937–38, 394,000 in 1938–39. At the same time India increased her sales to England by 132 per cent, Brazil by 110 per cent, and Egypt kept the envious sales position she had attained the previous year. Yet Secretary Wallace insists on retaining the loan policy, and Cotton Senators, spurred by a warehouseman's lobby, would not let him drop it if he wished to.

"There is a facetious saying in West Texas," Representative Crawford of Michigan recently said, "that if government loans will only hold out for a few years more, there will be

a substantial increase in the value of West Texas farm lands, not for agricultural purposes but as sites for new warehouses in which to store government cotton."

Mr. Wallace is looking into the possibilities of withdrawing some of this warehoused cotton for distribution among the needy through the blue and orange stamp plan already applied to food. Furthermore, to offset the downhill rush of our foreign cotton commerce and to cut further into the national surplus, the Department of Agriculture, the Administration and Congress have combined on four steps:

1. A barter agreement with Great Britain, which will give us British rubber in trade for 600,000 bales of American cotton, to be stored against military needs.
2. A cash sale of 135,000 bales of cotton to France and Switzerland. This goes at $6 a bale below the world price.
3. An Export-Import Bank operation financing the sale of 250,000 bales of raw cotton to mills in Spain.
4. A 1.5-cent government subsidy for all cotton exported.

"The purpose of this export program," Secretary Wallace explained when it was announced in July, "is to assure the United States its fair share of the world trade in cotton and to do so by restoring the normal competitive position of American cotton in world markets." This announcement was still fresh when the International Cotton Federation, meeting at Zurich, Switzerland, adopted a resolution urging the United States government to consider the "absolute need of returning to customary fundamentals and principles of trading"—in other words, of returning to free competition.

The September conference is a blackjack on which Mr. Wallace, while issuing the invitations to the conference, relied to help make the conferring nations see his point of view. "It is our hope that the need for making export payments will be a temporary one," the Secretary says. "In my opinion, one way to make such a program temporary would be the conclusion of an effective and equitable cotton agreement." Other cotton countries, however, would seem more inclined to fight the American export subsidy with subsidies of their own than to bargain it away. After a long international history, America's cotton future seems to lie at home.

Vitamin Alphabet Going Out of Style

—*From* Science Service.

The vitamin alphabet, that is, designation of the various vitamins by letter, is going out of style. For example, if you want to be really up-to-date, you must learn to say ascorbic acid instead of vitamin C when you are referring to the substance in orange juice (or other citrus fruits, tomatoes, and other vegetables) which is known to prevent and cure scurvy.

This may be discouraging, especially if you pride yourself on having really learned the vitamin alphabet, or most of it. But the scientists who have most to say about vitamins—the nutritionists and biochemists—are trying their best to get the vitamins out of the alphabet. They make the point that the letters did very well for names in the early days of vitamin discoveries when only a few were known and not much was known about them. Now, however, since there are about as many vitamins as letters of the alphabet, with half-a-dozen going under the name of B, it is confusing and even leads to inaccuracy to call these essential food factors by letter.

Some of the vitamins have been identified chemically and even made synthetically. They have regular names, just as other chemicals have. Vitamin C is ascorbic acid. Thiamin is the beriberi preventing and curing substance that once went under the name of vitamin B or B_1. Nicotinic acid, the stuff that is curing

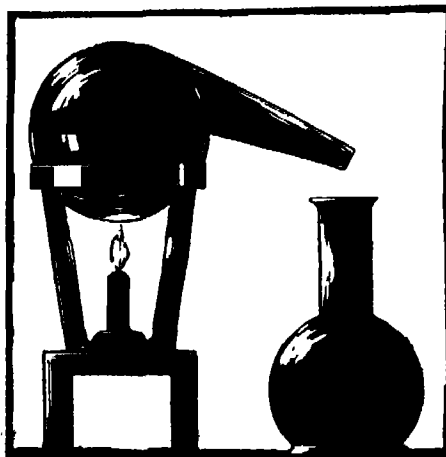
pellagra, is the chemical that was variously called vitamin B_2, vitamin G and the P-P or pellagra preventing factor. Riboflavin is another diet essential that was once labelled vitamin B or vitamin G. Recent discoveries have shown that it is necessary for the health of both man and other animals.

The anti-sterility vitamin, formerly called E, is now known as alpha tocopherol. Vitamins A and D may keep their letter names for some time, because there is not so much confusion about them as about the B vitamins. Until the chemical composition of other vitamins is discovered, however, scientists favor calling them by descriptive names, not by letters.

Ice Water Fears Are Groundless

—*Condensed from the Rockford, Illinois,* Register-Republic.

The American Medical Association has dispelled one of America's best established gastronomic doctrines: that drinking ice water on hot days invites indigestion, if nothing worse. Says the Association: "There is no reliable evidence that ice water causes chronic injury." These are comforting words for people in good health who drink ice water on hot days and feel very uncomfortable about it, remembering how they were warned against it in childhood. The medicos assert further that "ice water taken in large quantities with a meal probably, through coolness, slows down gastric digestion for a few minutes, but this is probably of little significance." The statement adds that, although tepid or warm water meets the real needs of the body, it fails to give the impression of supplying immediate refreshment. With this assurance people who prefer ice water may now continue to drink it and enjoy it with no qualms over possible injury to the digestive system.

The doubters who continually take the joy out of life by warning of ill effects from iced beverages should be silenced effectively. Bring on the hot days!

Chaplin's New Film

—Condensed from The New York Daily Mirror.

The twitching moustache of Charlie Chaplin is more menacing to brush-lipped Hitler today than all the bombs in England.

For the "Little Tramp," who Will Rogers said is better known in Zululand than Garbo is in Arkansas, has taken his cracked, over-sized shoes out of the ether he actually keeps them in between pictures, and has begun shooting "The Great Dictator."

Chaplin spent the last three years writing "The Great Dictator," or "A Story of a Little Fish in a Shark Infested Ocean." If he sticks to the script he will still use the ageless character of the pathetic Little Tramp with battered derby, the baggy pants and flippant cane. But he will also risk his reputation by deviating from the character to talk and play a serious role—the Dictator Hinkle.

In the story Charlie returns home from the war, in which he shouldered arms for his native country, "Ptomania," against the "Alliars" to find that "Furor Hinkle" is absolute boss of the land. Hinkle's partner in crime is rival dictator Musemup, who orders his soldiers to stop all traffic when he wants to tell smutty stories.

Because of his amazing resemblance to the "Furor," Charlie gets into all sorts of trouble, winds up in a concentration camp, escapes dressed as a storm trooper. He is mistaken for the "Furor," takes his place, has "Hinkle" thrown into a concentration camp, and then with his Air Minister "Herring," starts a war against the neighboring country "Vanilla."

The dream ends when Charlie wakes up in his prison with an evil-faced storm trooper leering down at him.

Chaplin is doing more than risking the character he has nurtured for over 27 years. He can add up beforehand all the tremendous losses involved in having "The Great Dictator" barred from Italy and Germany, most of South America, almost certainly in Spain, Portugal and Poland, and possibly in England if appeasement becomes the fashion again. Japan will be an open question. The Japanese are warmly devoted to Chaplin, and on his birthday always parade through Tokyo in a ritual carrying a hundred different figures of the comic Little Tramp.

But if "The Great Dictator" could be shown in Germany, or in the countries feared by or sympathetic to the Nazis, Hitler would have to quit—or shave off his moustache.

Charles Chaplin and Adolf Hitler, interestingly enough, were born in April 1889, and within four days of each other.

Chaplin has never overcome completely the oppressive memories of his childhood poverty. He was born in a London East End boarding house. He is not Jewish. His father was a poor music hall baritone, his mother a half-French gypsy. She died in a London poorhouse.

Moses: Idealist In Action

(Continued from page 28)

"Rabble," snarled Smith. "That's me!" Finally, after the case had been in court twenty-five times, August Heckscher donated $262,000 to the State to buy the land. Not long afterward, it became Heckscher State Park—with camp sites, bridle paths and swimming facilities for seventeen hundred people.

In 1927 Smith made Moses his Secretary of State. It was Moses' first paying job. He worked diligently at it but kept one eye on Long Island, on which he concentrated again in 1929 when Roosevelt, replacing Smith as Governor, disregarded the latter's plea that Moses be retained in the cabinet.

However valuable Moses might have been as Secretary of State, his release was a boon to New Yorkers. Since 1924 he had been working toward what was to be his most popular project—Jones Beach. Now that he was free, he saw it through.

When he chose this spot, it was desolate stretch of sand and gras —the seaward side of a heavy san bar off Long Island—accessible onl by boat. Moses was convinced tha it could be made into a first-rat beach resort. By 1931 he had wrangled enough land for a parkway approach. Next he argued with th State for an appropriation. He go a pitifully small one, but used i cleverly. He did not try to make i go a long way; he put every cent o it into the foundation for a bath house—the kind of a bath-house h wanted. Then he invited the legislators to inspect his work. They swallowed hard and voted him some rea money—$15,000,000.

Today Jones Beach, thirty-three miles from New York by parkway and bridge (following the sign of the sea-horse), is conceded to be the finest place of its kind in the world It offers two miles of spotless sand, two big brick bath-houses with fifteen thousand lockers, and parking space for fifteen thousand cars. There are moderate-priced restaurants, swimming pools, paddle-tennis courts, handball courts, archery ranges, rinks for outdoor roller-skating, and an amphitheatre for light opera.

In short, Mr. Moses put his heart into Jones Beach. The results are impressive. This past summer more than 4,000,000 people visited it—30,000 on weekdays, 60,000 on Saturdays, 120,000 on Sundays. In its ten and one-half years of existence, it has never had a drowning case, perhaps because there is a life guard every fifty yards along the shore, and if you look the least bit uncomfortable he comes galloping out to retrieve you.

Tolls from the three approaching causeways to Jones Beach, and the parking lot (25 cents), support maintenance and each year leave about $300,000 over.

By 1933 Moses had gained so sound a reputation that he decided to go after the Fusion nomination for Mayor of New York. But in New York City the powerful Samuel Seabury refused to back him, suspecting a move to get Moses' Tammany friend Al Smith into the picture again. Moses thereupon bowed out and supported Fiorello LaGuardia.

After the election LaGuardia gave Moses the pick of city jobs. He snapped up that of Park Commissioner, insisting on certain conditions: the parks of all the City's five

boroughs were to be under his control, and the five commissioners who had run them (for $62,000 in salaries) were to be removed. Moses would do the job for $10,000, and expected the co-operation of the entire City. The conditions were met. Moses wrote in longhand a detailed outline of his plans for New York City and gave it to the Mayor. He says he has followed it to the letter.

He started this new chapter in his career with an inheritance of sixty-nine thousand relief workers and $182,000,000 of relief funds. But the men were without tools or reliable supervisors. In three days, after a threat to resign, Moses got the tools, plus five hundred hand-picked non-relief supervisors, and the first of eighteen hundred projects was under way. Governor Lehman, aware that Moses was then one of the few men with definite ideas on how to use relief funds, made him head of New York State's Emergency Public Works Commission, and Moses, with characteristic thoroughness, planned projects for every part of the State.

In the fall of 1934 Moses took his first real tumble. He ran against Lehman for the Governorship—to hold the Republican Party together, he says. Whatever his motives or ambitions, the campaign was a little like the Dempsey-Tunney fights. Moses swung from the floor and Lehman avoided the blows.

After a frightful drubbing at the polls Moses returned to his job on New York City's parks. He found them in miserable condition. Buildings, bridges and fences were falling apart. Trees and grass were dying. The zoos were firetraps. The animals were frowsy and undernourished, and elderly keepers sat about with shotguns on their knees to kill them in case of fire. Playgrounds were unsafe and usually closed.

MOSES set out to renovate the city's 119 parks, build more than 300 new ones. He snatched land right and left, began building before anyone knew what was happening. He condemned a four-block tenement area on the lower east side for a giant playground, and when landlords and bankers hailed him into court, he licked them by putting neighborhood mothers on the stand. Their testimony was simple: "We don't want our children killed in the street."

In parks already existing, Moses kicked out chiselling concessionaires or forced them to charge fair prices. In Central Park he cleaned out an ancient sheep-fold and erected the Tavern-on-the-Green, where people can now dine, dance and drink, indoors or out, at moderate prices. He completely rebuilt the zoo, fertilized the grass and doctored the trees. Today Central Park is one of the city's major prides.

Where there wasn't room for a whole new park, Moses built tennis courts, swimming pools and baseball diamonds. One run-down legacy was Jacob Riis Park, in Brooklyn. He lengthened its beach, put up new bath-houses, tied it to one of his nearby parkways. Finally it became a pocket-edition of Jones Beach. Up on Pelham Bay, Moses reclaimed a great tract of sand and swamp and made it into Orchard Beach, now accessible by subway or auto and drawing two million visitors a year.

Perhaps Moses' most extraordinary feat on Manhattan Island was the construction of the West Side Express Highway. Running along the Hudson River front from Canal Street to the George Washington Bridge, it provides New York with a long-needed northern exit to Westchester. It had been talked about for at least fifty years, but Moses made it a reality. Under his hand this waterfront fringe turned from a dirty dump and runway for the N. Y. Central Railroad into a grass and concrete ribbon which speeds motorists the ten-mile length of the island in twenty-five minutes. The trains continue to run, but are hidden beneath the highway. Ramshackle wharfs have become yacht basins. Muddy lots have turned to shaded parks.

ON the other side of Manhattan, in the famed "Dead End" locale, Moses is building a similar highway, which, when finished, will connect with the great Triborough Bridge he flung across the East and Harlem Rivers three years ago. His concern with that bridge was close and at times exciting. Mayor LaGuardia made him head of the Triborough Bridge Authority in 1933. Forthwith, Harold Ickes, disliking to see an ardent anti-New Dealer with $44,000,000 of P.W.A. funds at his disposal, issued Order 129, forbidding city job holders a controlling voice on a project using such funds. Moses threatened to resign as Park Commissioner to keep the T.B.A. job, but the press and the public made such a howl in his behalf that the Ickes order was rescinded.

New York City augmented the P.W.A grant with another $16,000,000, and Moses started work in November 1933, promising the bridge would be finished by July 1, 1936. He kept an average of one thousand men working steadily and lived up to his promise. Today the bridge connects three of New York's five boroughs—Manhattan, Bronx and Queens. In reality, it consists of four bridges over water and twelve over land, with fourteen miles of highway approach—a total road surface of seventeen and a half miles. Spare land around and beneath the bridges has been converted into tennis courts, baseball diamonds and playgrounds. And in passing, Mr. Moses reached out to turn nearby Randall's Island into a recreation center with an amphitheatre and floating stage for theatrical productions.

The Triborough Bridge was built with such economy that it was refinanced by private bond issue at a profit of $1,365,000 to the federal government. Its upkeep is covered by revenue from a 25 cent toll, and there is enough extra income to insure its being completely paid for in twenty-five years.

Long before this bridge was finished, Moses was looking for a way to connect it with the Northern State Parkway, one of his main traffic arteries on Long Island. There seemed to be only one answer: to build a link road through that vast, steaming,

malodorous waste known variously as Corono Dump and Flushing Meadow. Every inch of the dump would have to be reclaimed; to travel on a road *through* it would be a most unpleasant experience. But such large-scale reclamation seemed prohibitively expensive.

Soon, however, there was talk of a World's Fair. Moses bided his time. Searching for a Fair site, the promoters finally came to him. He licked his chops over this meeting in an article he wrote for *The Saturday Evening Post:* "I welcomed them with open arms. The Fair was the obvious bait for the reclamation of the meadow. I told the Fair enthusiasts that the Flushing Meadow was the only place in New York where they could get any co-operation from the Park Department while I was its head."

In the end, he forced the Fair promoters not only to build on the Meadow, but to install permanent sewerage and water systems, to leave permanent structures for an athletic field house and a boat house, and to give him a lien on the Fair's first $2,000,000 in profits, with which he will clean the place up, build the City a fine new park and finish his parkway to the bridge. It was a hard bargain, but the Fair officials cannot really complain. Last year Moses erected the $17,785,000 Bronx-Whitestone Bridge, fourth longest in the world, which provides a direct route to the Fair for Westchester and New England.

All these highways and bridges are part of a larger plan. Out around the southwestern rim of Long Island and Brooklyn, Moses has been building what he calls the Circumferential Parkway. One arm sweeps up eastward and will connect with the parkway leading off the Bronx-Whitestone Bridge. Another arm reaches around the tip of Brooklyn to come within swimming distance of lower Manhattan, where the West Side Highway begins. When the gaps are closed up, there will be a smooth road belt around the whole of Manhattan and Brooklyn. The remaining work on this project will cost $28,000,000. It will encompass thirty-three miles of parkway with sixty-nine bridges. The only gap likely to cause trouble is that between Brooklyn and lower Manhattan. It was over this that Moses and the War Department recently clashed. Moses is convinced that his bridge project was rejected without regard to its merits, that the tunnel favored by his opponents would never pay back its cost—$80,000,000—and that it couldn't carry enough traffic to justify building it anyway. Against this, he stacks his $44,000,000 bridge and its ability to carry just twice as many cars each year. As for the fear that the bridge might some day be bombed from the air, he says it's nonsense and that the army engineers who first saw his

plans never even raised the issue except to say that it was irrelevant.

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Problem Child of the Pacific

(*Continued from page* 35)

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malodorous waste known variously as Corono Dump and Flushing Meadow. Every inch of the dump would have to be reclaimed; to travel on a road *through* it would be a most unpleasant experience. But such large-scale reclamation seemed prohibitively expensive.

Soon, however, there was talk of a World's Fair. Moses bided his time. Searching for a Fair site, the promoters finally came to him. He licked his chops over this meeting in an article he wrote for *The Saturday Evening Post:* "I welcomed them with open arms. The Fair was the obvious bait for the reclamation of the meadow. I told the Fair enthusiasts that the Flushing Meadow was the only place in New York where they could get any co-operation from the Park Department while I was its head."

In the end, he forced the Fair promoters not only to build on the Meadow, but to install permanent sewerage and water systems, to leave permanent structures for an athletic field house and a boat house, and to give him a lien on the Fair's first $2,000,000 in profits, with which he will clean the place up, build the City a fine new park and finish his parkway to the bridge. It was a hard bargain, but the Fair officials cannot really complain. Last year Moses erected the $17,785,000 Bronx-Whitestone Bridge, fourth longest in the world, which provides a direct route to the Fair for Westchester and New England.

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'Cross Country by Car

LEWIS GANNETT

FIVE years ago Lewis Stiles Gannett, highly rated literary critic of *The New York Herald-Tribune*, motored across America, wrote a book about what he saw, and called it *Sweet Land*. Several weeks ago Mr. Gannett again got behind the wheel in an effort to determine whether there had been much change in the intervening five years. His conclusions this time appeared not in a book but in his regular book review column, providing an out-of-the-ordinary treat for his *many readers. They are reprinted herewith by permission of The New York Tribune, Inc.*

STRUTHERS BURT showed me a map which is popular in the West. It is labeled "A New Yorker's Idea of the United States"; and on it New York City and Long Island appear as considerably larger than all the west coast states and New Jersey as bigger than Texas. And he told about one of the greatest of New York editors who thought that Oklahoma was on the Canadian border.

I retorted with the weather reports in *The San Francisco Chronicle*. They appear in two columns, one labeled "Western Stations," which includes California, the other "Eastern Stations," which begins at Salt Lake City and extends eastward. (Salt Lake City, for the benefit of provincial editors and others in New York City, is 785 miles east of San Francisco, a day's ride for a Westerner, and 2,349 miles west of New York City, which is a long way to drive in hot weather.)

It was breakfast time in the cookhouse at the Three Rivers Ranch, and conversation about the United States became general. A man from Minnesota told of his son, who successfully passed an examination on Communism in China just before leaving Minnesota for "the West." The boy unpacked his bathing suit on arrival in Wyoming and looked around for the Pacific Ocean. His American school had taught him to locate Hunan and Chungking on the map of Asia, but he did not know how much country the Forty-niners had covered; indeed, he did not know what a covered wagon was.

I remembered my own schooling in Rochester. I could recite the list of all the kings of England before I was graduated from No. 23 School; but the names of Jedediah Smith, Junipero Serra, Crazy Horse, John Augustus Sutter, the Choteaus, Sequoyah and Alexander Sevier meant nothing to me until long after I was out of college; and I had no conception of the romance and majesty of Sam Houston's life until, long afterward, I read Marquis James's *The Raven*.

Driving across America gives one at least a sense of the magnificent distances that separate the sections of this continental America. It gives one also a realization that the twin gods of modern America; the idols to which we pay tithes from Calais, Me., to San Diego, are roads and schools. It is six years since I first drove west and was impressed by the lavish temples being built to education in the most out-of-the-way towns and by the millions poured into concrete ribbons over which so few cars seemed to pass. There is no end to it; dirt roads give way to gravel and gravel to concrete; and in the heart of the desert you see the old winding ribbons of deserted concrete which have given way to broader, straighter highways.

The products of the schools drive those roads at what seems to a timid Easterner to be an alarming pace. Our New York Governor vetoed a fifty-mile speed limit; but in Missouri, in mid-continent, you see signs warning you, because a curve is coming, to slow down to fifty miles an hour. In California the legal limit is forty-five miles an hour, but on the four-lane highway leading east from Berkeley I rode in the slow lane in a steady procession and watched the fast cars flash past us in the middle lane—then glanced at my own speedometer and discovered that the slow cars were ambling along at sixty-five.

But what do the schools teach, and what do the highways mean to those who travel them? What picture emerges in those schools of the past or of the future of this America so interlaced with concrete highways? What is America to a child of the automobile age?

A BRAND new road links the Jackson Hole country south of Yellowstone Park to the Star Valley on the Idaho border, home of the "best Swiss cheese in America." A bronze plaque, set in a stone monument at Alpine, proclaims to any who stop to read it that "Here in September 1812 the returning Astorians, led by Robert Stuart, were attacked by Indians and their horses stolen. Commemorating the opening of this Snake River Canyon Road built by the Civilian Conservation Corps, dedicated July 4, 1939, by the Historical Landmarks Commission of Wyoming." That is a romantic statement, particularly in a newly settled valley where log cabins are still common, if you have read Washington Irving's *Astoria* or any of a dozen modern retellings of that pioneer effort to colonize the Northwest. But you cannot read it from a moving automobile, and I doubt that the children of the Star Valley learn anything about the Astorians in their schools. They learn how William the Conqueror overcame Harold the Saxon, and are made to read Shakespeare.

The West, of course, is not all of America, though it can be as provincial in its egotism as the worst Bostonian; and I would not rob any

child, old enough to enjoy him, of his Shakespeare. But I could wish for more sense of the continent in American schools and for more signs along the highways like those of Montana —big enough to read without getting out of your car and written in a rip-roaring laughing Americanese.

Hollywood may help—Hollywood and the sound American instinct for the native dramatic. The Westerns were the best of the old films, and the new Westerns—"Union Pacific," "Dodge City," "Stagecoach" and such —are at least better than pious lies about the Pilgrim Fathers.

The vogue of American historical films and novels may be only a passing mode; it may indicate a deepening sense of the continental heritage. As one drives from rolling New England through the smoking Pennsylvania and Ohio towns to the sun-drenched wheat and corn of the Mid-West, on through the blue-green cotton fields to the brown Southwest, where Indian and Spanish heritages are still alive, to bastard California, and back through the still vast cattle and sagebrush country that only a generation ago was hostile Indian territory, however, one wonders how any novelist could gather into one book the mingled strains which make up the past and present of America.

Well, Hollywood is trying. A few days ago we were driving through Utah, that strangely beautiful but almost overpowering state where the lush-green irrigated valleys lie at the foot of weirdly colored and contorted mountains. (Sentimentalists name the mountains after Indian temples, but, though the geographers do not recognize them, the natives have such pleasant names for striped pink and white and chocolate ranges as "Rock Candy Mountains.") At Cedar City, surrounded by traditions of the Mormon settlements, a company of California actors was engaged in filming Walter Edmonds's novel of New York State in the American Revolution, *Drums Along the Mohawk.* Hollywood plus Mormon plus old New York; it ought to be something!

He was a live-looking boy in his young twenties, and he started talking as he poked the nozzle of the hose into the gas tank. "Nice day for driving," he said. "How many?"

"Fill it up," I said. "Not much traffic today."

"No, nor last night, either. Drove into town last night and you'd never have knowed it was a holiday."

"What do you call 'town'?" I asked. "Columbia?" (Columbia was twenty miles west.)

"I never been in Columbia but once in my life," he said. "I meant Fulton, seven miles south."

"How about St. Louis?" I asked. "Do you ever get there?"

"Went through just once, four years ago."

I thought I had discovered the original Missouri stick-in-the-mud. "How'd you happen to get that far away?"

"I was on my way to Texas," he said. I looked surprised. "I don't belong here," he continued. "I was raised in Ohio, but things is slow back there. Oh, I've seen the country, forty-seven states of it. Never been in Florida. I ranched a bit in Texas; I chauffeured in Los Angeles; I ran a shooting gallery in Omaha. Tried it back East again, even up in New England, but I don't like it. I like

Texas best. Some day I'm going back."

"How'd you land here?"

"Oh," he said, "I sort of thought I'd look up the folks, but when I stopped in here I found this fellow needed a hand pretty bad, so I just settled down. Been here ever since."

"How long ago did you settle down here?"

"Seven weeks ago tomorrow." That was what he called "settling down."

He'd worked on the Goodnight Ranch (in the Palo Duro Canyon in the Texas Panhandle), that Professor Haley described in *Charles Goodnight, Cowman and Plainsman*, but he had never heard of the book. He carried some letters of recommendation in his pocket, admitted that he could do almost anything, and said he could usually pick up some sort of a job. "Never went hungry more'n a day at a time."

He seldom read newspapers, never had time to try a book, sometimes turned on the radio when business was slack, but didn't think much of it. "I'd rather talk to folks," he said. "All sorts of folks come by here."

The tank was full, the windshield clean; he had even checked the tires as he talked. Another car drove up. "Good-by," he said. "Come back soon."

That is the standard filling station adieu in the West, but I took it literally. "Will you be here?" I asked.

He seemed startled by the question. "You never can tell," was his answer.

. . . You never can tell what you'll find in these United States. One moment you think it's all alike: the same "modernistic" chairs on the same porches in all the comfortable little towns from the Hudson Valley to the Kaw; the same funny hats and toeless shoes on the same frizzle-haired girls parading the same sidewalks from the Bronx to Kansas City; and along the roads the same succession of signs: beer, paint, tires, shoes, coffee shoppes, "modern" cabins, spark plugs, ice cream and the same series of orange Burma Shave signs punctuating the fence posts:

Passing school zones take it slow
Let our little shavers grow.

But the countryside behind the signs is never twice the same. The sheer physical beauty of this country never ceases to amaze me. I grew up in western New York, but I can never fully remember the charm of

the Finger Lakes country. You drive through its rolling hills in poppy time, roll down the pleasant meadowlands of the Wyoming Valley, pause at the canyons of the Genesee, and you wonder what landscape has to do with literature. Thousands gaze on English creeks and hills because English poets have made them beautiful. These American hills await their Wordsworths.

New York State has dotted its roadsides with signs recalling story and history—but the signs are in letters about the right size for horse-and-buggy readers. Drive at forty miles or upward and you cannot read them. Pennsylvania tells you primly why each town received its present name; but place names, even when Indian, are not always poetry. Ohio does not bother with historic "markers" at all. Remembering Louis Bromfield's *The Farm*, we looked in Mansfield's central park for the statue to Johnny Appleseed. It was not there, and none of the bench warmers knew what we were talking about when we asked for it. The waitress in the Parkway Café had as little knowledge of the father of Ohio's roadside apple trees, but she suspected that a teacher across the aisle would know. After a general café consultation, unanimity was reached: the statue was in another park a mile and a half away.

So America is bored by its past, negligent of poetic tradition? Drive into Greenfield, Ind., and you change

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your mind. The newsboy's face brightens when you ask where is the James Whitcomb Riley house; obviously, he would rather tell you that than sell you a paper.

Greenfield (population 4,188) bought that house with no outside help; Greenfield maintains it; it is Greenfield's pride, as clearly as Hannibal, Mo., is proud of its every Mark Twain relic. Eleven thousand people from forty-eight states and thirty-five foreign countries have visited it, they tell you proudly; but the signatures of which they are proudest are the scrawls of three grandchildren of Little Orphan Annie herself. The custodian remembers Mr. Riley, and recites his folk poetry well and simply; and the furnishing of the house is as honest as the walnut of which the Hoosier poet's father built the spiral staircase. There isn't a stuffed deer from Canada, a screen from China, or a relic of the Holy Land in it—none of the irrelevant hodgepodge with which so many local museums are crammed.

The trundle bed, the candle moulds, the iron teakettle, the ugly vinegar cruets, the home-made washstand are authentic, simple and evocative. The old folks who visit are most interested in the home stuff that appears in the familiar verses, the custodian assured us; but the school children take most interest in one object which has become locally famous. It is said to be the only one of its kind left in Greenfield; it is a buggy whip.

Times change. So do show pieces. One of the show pieces of Lawrence, Kan., is the stripped Model T in which two journalism students last summer made the trip to Mexico City. The boys differed a bit in their statistics: one reckoned that they had had only seventy-two blowouts on the road, the other said they had had ninety-three flats. They agreed that they had had a wonderful time.

The spirit of adventure is not dead. In another decade some of the schoolboy Model T treks of today will seem as romantic as anything in the covered-wagon days.

WHERE does the East begin? Rolling down the long, straight highways all the way eastward from Wyoming, we have been debating that question, and watching for signs.

It looked like East when we saw the first big red barn, after a thousand miles of sunburned sagebrush country where the cattle roamed free and the horses, if penned at all, were in an open corral. . . . But that first red barn was near Murdo, S. D.

There was a cool touch of Eastness in the air in the first town with shade trees (cottonwoods, to be sure) and green lawns and white-painted houses set back from the streets. . . . That was away back in Douglas, Wyo., and just outside the town the prickly pear fought with the sagebrush.

It was East, definitely, in Albert Lea, Minn., when the waitress apologized for handing out silver dollars in change, saying that she had no paper money. The real West still feels more comfortable with hard money than with printed matter.

And it was East in Kenosha, Wis., when something in the air made me put on a necktie before going into a restaurant, for the first time east of California. Bryan, Ohio, was Far East; I donned a coat.

Wisconsin looks beautifully Eastern when you come down out of the sunburned plains. West of the Rockies, and east of the Sierras (where the West ends and California begins), is the contorted desert country—no such smooth, sandy desert as pleases the Eastern imagination, but a wildly beautiful, angry, empty region, where the amazing patches of lush irrigated green, bordering with knife-edge sharpness on parched brown, only accentuate the eeriness of a land obviously unintended for

human occupation. South of the incredible Tetons and the wild Wind River Mountains, the Wyoming Rockies are no such shining wall as in Montana or Colorado—they are merely the crest of a long, slow swell that lifts the continent without obvious effort from Mississippi-level to seven thousand feet, and their eastern slopes look little different from the western. The mountain ranges marked on the map seem trivial; the plains are the colossus the great, rolling, parched high plains, where the deer and the antelope should never have ceased roaming. Even the sunflowers this year withered long before July in fields that had once been plowed; you can still see the scars of "dry farming" on the fringes of the Dust Bowl.

The pathetic brown efforts of western Dakota farmers to grow wheat fade as you head East to yellower wheat fields, then to blue-green corn, a rest to tired eyes. East of the Missouri even the hills are gray-green rather than brown. But most of the towns still flaunt the wide treeless streets of the West. Water is still too precious to waste on mere grass-plots; and across half of South Dakota most of the trees once hopefully planted are dead.

There were stiff, dead branches in the tops of Douglas, Wyo.'s, cottonwoods. It was in Minnesota that we saw the first row of healthy maples shading a street. It was in Wisconsin that we saw tall, arching elms. Maples and elms made us feel at home; yet there are as nobly shaded streets in Michigan, Illinois, and even in William Allen White's part of Kansas, as in any New England village.

ALL this "East" was Middle West. A man who snoozed in a moving automobile, and woke up almost anywhere in Iowa, Missouri, Minnesota or Wisconsin, would know at a glance that he was out of the Dakotas, Colorado or Wyoming, but he might easily persuade himself that he was in New Jersey or Pennsylvania. He would see a green land, a land of white farmhouses and big barns, of well tended flower gardens and tree-lined roads. They would be straighter roads than in the East, but any bit of them might be lifted from a seaboard commonwealth.

That word "farmhouses" is another link between Middle West and East. West of the Missouri you never hear of "farms"; and in California any plot of land with a walnut tree on it is called a "ranch." In Wyoming a ranch hidden back in the hills, where the water flows clean from the mountains, may grow vegetables and grain, but it is still a "ranch"; the word "farm" would sound dudishly Eastern. . . . In the eastern Dakotas that change occurs; "ranches" turn into "farms."

If the snoozing traveler woke up in a filling station, his eyes might deceive him, but his ears would soon tell him whether he was in the East or Middle West. For the Middle West talks Western. From the watershed of the Mohawk westward to the Pacific, north of Mason and Dixon's line, the letter "a" rings clear and flat, and the good letter "r" is honored to its burry full; but only in Philadelphia does "r" reach the Atlantic seaboard. (The South, of course, drops its "r's" as conscientiously as New England and the Hudson Valley. Traveling westward, we listened carefully. The soft Southern drawl lasted west of Fort Worth; the Pecos River seemed to be the Southwestern frontier of the "r" as it once was the frontier of the law. But El Paso talks Western, rather than Southern, and I don't mean West'n. I mean Weste*R*n.)

What essence marks off Middle West from East I still don't quite know. The flatness of the land spells something to the eye, but parts of New Jersey are as flat as anything in Ohio or Wisconsin; the Mississippi River Valley at Prairie du Chien might be the Delaware, except for the majesty of the stream.

We talked it over; we finally concluded frivolously that you could best tell the difference in a restaurant. Where a T-bone steak costs four times as much as a hamburger, that's East. (In Kansas the T-bone was quoted at double the chopped meat; in Wyoming, restaurants offer both at the same price.) Where there is rye bread on the table, as well as spongy white, that's East. There is likely to be sugar in the salad dressing west of the Allegheny; that's a Western perversion, but the West is more likely to have honest black pepper on the table. There is one infallible test, applicable only at breakfast. In the West the "hot cakes" served in almost any restaurant are palatable; but there is never the faintest pretense of maple in the "syrup." In the East the "pancakes" may be heavy, but there is likely to be a suggestion of maple in the treacle. And here in the mountains of Pennsylvania one sees signs: "Maple syrup for sale."

There's one more difference: there's a pile of books on a desk a bit to the east of the Hudson River, and this column will now have to give up "things" and return to books. East, for many Americans today, is where we earn the right to vacations in the West; and the Middle West is the highway between New York and the snow-topped mountains. For months after we come home we still smell the wild clean fogs of Big Sur, the yellow hills of Napa, the sugar pines of Big Creek and the lupine meadows above Jackson's Hole.

The Chinese Are Like That

(Continued from page 25)

The presence of poverty in China is not an incident of life, but a constant factor. It never occurs to a Chinese that there is any reason why a good proportion of his fellow men should not be hungry and cold. They have been so for ages and will continue to be so long after he is dead and there is nothing he can do about it. The man who is hungry today will be hungry again next week even if you do give him a bowl of rice today. If a fellow clansman is hungry, he must of course, be fed, but that is a family duty and is not necessarily motivated by any considerations of humanity. There are a great many benevolent institutions scattered through the country, but the activities of most of them are directed toward burying the dead rather than toward preserving the lives of the living.

Foreigners who live long in China unconsciously adopt the same point of view. We see around us so much poverty and so much obvious physical suffering that we become hardened. If we did not life would be a perpetual burden. It is only when I am taking visitors about and listen to their exclamations of horror and sympathy that I realize how hardened I have become through the quarter of a century of constant contact with distress. Hardheartedness becomes a measure of self-protection. The wells of pity run dry.

THERE is a lot of exceptionally good Hollywood talent going to waste in China. And of all the showmen, none exceeds the beggar in talent. It is his business in life to arouse pity and he does this very effectively, making clever use of every bit of stage property that comes to his hand. Only an artist in his particular line could produce such rags as he wears. It would not be accomplished by ordinary disintegration coming about through natural causes; nor could any disease known to medical science create the sores which decorate his limbs. There is a story, rather generally believed, that these sores are detachable and are taken off in the evening when the day's work is done.

One of the most successful beggars I ever knew was a woman who operated on the Garden Bridge, which is a center of traffic in Shanghai. Her stage property was a small child whom she hugged in her arms while pleading for coppers with which to buy food for the infant and so prolong its life for another day. I suppose the child was really hungry most of the time, for she had to keep it from getting fat in order to avoid spoiling the stage effect. But there was never any danger of it starving, for she rented the child and had to pay the mother a good share of her earnings. Usually the child slept through the performance, but sometimes it wakened and cried, which added to the effect, except to those observant enough to note that a starving child could not cry so lustily.

The device was a very effective one, but the difficulty was that with the passing of time the natural growth of the child made it too heavy to carry about, and so a smaller one had to be procured every few years. Over a period of about ten years I saw her use five different infants. At length this enterprising and hard-working beggar died of what might be called "high living," for she smoked more opium than was good for her and so passed out of the picture. During her lifetime police respected her proprietary rights to this particular racket and did not interfere with her, but they have seen to it that she has no successor. The sight was too harrowing for the unsophisticated eyes of tourists.

Should Married Women Work?

(Continued from page 16)

DR. MINNIE L. MAFFETT
President of The National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs

The fact that the new industrial order and the new developments in commerce and science have forced women to earn outside the home merely makes their task more difficult, but by no means obviates its necessity, and the marital status of women frequently emphasizes, rather than relieves, this pressing need.

That the women of America own approximately one-half of the invested wealth of this country is a well known fact. That the taxes they pay go to the support of the government is equally evident. It would seem reasonable and just therefore to assume that the right of women to work has nothing whatever to do with sex or marital status but to the inalienable right, as an American citizen, to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" guaranteed by the Constitution to both men and women in this beloved country of ours.

If, however, the married woman of the future should be forced from business by such fantastic legislation as was introduced into various state legislatures during the past few months, by legislators she helped to elect and whose salaries are guaranteed by the taxes she pays, she would glean small satisfaction from the knowledge that her economic demise had resulted from her own choice of marriage against economic freedom.

FRANCES PERKINS
Secretary of Labor

The belief that married women should be discriminated against in the matter of jobs fails to take account of certain basic principles. One of these is that except in a relief program jobs must be awarded on qualifications and not on need. Thus where married women hold jobs in private or public employment it is because they are qualified for such types of work. Any wholesale or arbitrary move to oust them would be upsetting to their employers as well as to the women themselves. This is especially true since many married women are often doing work for which they are better suited than men, or which men do not want except as a makeshift in an emergency.

The very considerable and necessary attention given to work projects for the needy in recent years tends to influence people's thinking in a way unknown prior to the depression. They stress unduly the need factor in normal employment, particularly in regard to married women. But in some instances they would even apply this theory to the family, and thus imply that one wage earner per family is adequate. This is a wholly unsound, unrealistic, and unfortunate approach to our unemployment problems. Moreover, it is un-American.

RUTH BRYAN OWEN ROHDE
Former United States Ambassadress to Denmark

The movement to limit or curtail the employment of married women rests on several fallacies:

1. The assumption that all husbands are able to work. (Overlooking the invalids and incapacitated.)
2. The assumption that all husbands are willing to work. (Overlooking the wastrels.)
3. The assumption that all husbands have an earning power sufficient for the support of their families. (Overlooking the adverse circumstances which have crippled the earning power of millions of men.)
4. The assumption that a married woman may not have dependents, other than her children to provide for. (Overlooking parents, brothers and sisters who may need her help.)
5. The assumption that married women work to satisfy a whim when statistics show plainly that it is almost invariably to meet an economic necessity.

MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
First Lady, Social Worker, Newspaper Columnist

Many women, after marriage, find plenty of work in the home. They have no time, no inclination or no ability for any other kind of work. The records show that very few married women work from choice, that they are working only because a husband is ill or has deserted them, or there are special expenses caused by illness or educational requirements in the home. There may even be fathers, mothers, sisters or brothers to be supported. It seems to me that it is far more important for us to think about creating more jobs than it is for us to worry about how we are going to keep any groups from seeking work.

KATE SMITH
Famous Singer, Radio Star, Commentator

The question has so many angles that a brief answer is difficult. But here goes: I believe it all boils down to whether a capable, intelligent woman should stand idly by when her loved ones are in need, or whether she should pitch in and put her brain and her hands to work to earn the necessary money to provide for them. It is not a matter of sex. Many married women today are successfully rearing children and managing a household—plus holding down a job. The old argument—that if the so-called weaker sex would keep out of the business world men would get work—seems to me to be a fallacy. If that were true, it never would have been necessary for married women to get into business in the first place.

Undoubtedly, the first married woman to hold a job did so to augment the family budget, or to support an invalid husband. One might just as well insist that rich men stop earning money; that elderly men stay at home; that youngsters wait a few years—that all potential wage-earners step aside in order to give married men with a family the opportunities they seek.

MRS. SAIDIE ORR DUNBAR
President, General Federation of Women's Clubs

There can be no one answer to this question. Certainly the married woman has the same right as any other citizen to work, to create and to use her talents. Certainly she should not be discriminated against because of sex or marital status, for she has the same civil rights as any other citizen. It is also true that she usually confronts the same need of employment as her male companions. Most women who work do so because it is necessary to provide additional funds during illness of the regular wage-earner; because their husbands' wages are inadequate to maintain a decent standard of living for the immediate family and often dependent relatives; or because of the unemployment of their husbands.

Our answer to this question must be based upon facts. In 1910, 24.3% of all women in the United States were gainfully employed. In 1930, 25.3% were employed—a gain of only 1%. This does not indicate the replacement of men by women workers.

No one seems to question a man's right to work, although he may have great wealth—or even to question his income from several sources.

Certainly, the married woman has the *right* to work; whether she should work depends upon the circumstances of the individual family.

Will Women Lose Their Jobs?

(Continued from page 18)

Cabot, of Boston, recently noted that many of his nervous patients were women suffering for want of serious occupational interest.

Nazi Germany thought it could casually disregard these important questions when it decided to oust its 800,000 women workers from industrial and governmental life. For years Germany had been looked upon as the foremost example of a nation in which, to the benefit of the state, equal rights for women were scrupulously upheld. The Nazi regime waved the women out of their jobs and herded them back to the home, where they were told to bear children.

However, as Clifford Kirkpatrick revealed in *Nazi Germany: Its Women and Family Life*, the Nazi conception of woman as a biological instrument soon changed when it was realized that no such large bloc of labor could be displaced—or even replaced—without severely upsetting the national economy. "The 'sacred' mothers went back to the machine," observed Dr. Kirkpatrick, "and the employment of women even increased."

In marked contrast is the attitude of Sweden, where the working woman, particularly the working wife, is taken for granted. Several years ago Sweden was alarmed by a rapidly declining birth rate. Like the United States, it too had economic problems, said to be caused in part by the number of women employed outside the home. A Population Commission was named to investigate all phases of family security. Its recommendations, summarized in the Geneva *International Labor Review* for June 1939, have this to say about the working wife:

"Unless women have open opportunities and consequently free choice in the matter of remunerative work after marriage, there will most certainly be fewer marriages and also fewer children. The Population Commission . . . have not only stressed the necessity for adjusting attitudes and opinions to new social conditions and new family structures, but have also proposed practical measures to restore a greater harmony between the productive activity of women and their function as mothers."

The record of the United States in recent years has not been spotless in the matter of discrimination against married women on federal payrolls. The Economy Act of 1933 contained a provision—the famous Section 213—against dual job-holding by married couples working for the government. Congress has since admitted the mistake, and has repealed the ban, but the damage had been done—an example had been set for discrimination-minded states.

In its study of the effects of Section 213, the Department of Labor—itself headed by a married woman, Frances Perkins—found that 50 per cent of those who lost their jobs because of it were unable to obtain employment as late as three years after it went into effect. Seventy per cent of the job-losers were in the income group under $2,000. Altogether, 1,835 names were removed from the government payroll. The results, according to the Department, were "unhappy." Any state toying with the idea of a local "213" will find ample evidence, in Report 1562 of the Department of Labor, that its efforts are likely to miscarry.

State legislators who have been thinking of possible discrimination against married women might also ponder an advisory opinion rendered this summer by the Massachusetts Supreme Court. Considering a bill to ban married women from public service, the Court declared it was contrary to both the State and the federal constitutions to "discriminate arbitrarily against any class of citizens," adding that women—married or unmarried—are members of the State, and "like other citizens are entitled to the benefit of the Constitutional guarantees."

It would be futilely optimistic to feel that this one court decision will be enough to halt the discrimination bandwagon. Whether it can be stopped must depend on the strength of our determination not to set aside one of the fundamental uprights of our democratic structure for a "solution" to our economic problems, when in fact it will be no solution at all. For in the final analysis this question of women and jobs will be fought out on the issue of equal rights and opportunities for men and women alike.

The "Montclair Way"

(Continued from page 20)

jingling in its pocket more than $500,000 in cash.

Montclair is conspicuously a wealthy community; it is, so to speak, a de luxe dormitory for successful New York men of affairs. That was no help to the cause of good government; it was, in fact, a severe handicap, for your commuter notoriously ignores home affairs, neglects to vote, and leaves government in the hands of the little local ring. It is harder to arouse the Montclairs to civic action than it is to stir up interest in the self-contained towns. If it can happen in Montclair it can happen anywhere; good municipal government is perfectly possible whenever citizens buckle down and really go after it.

Of course, you have to get the right kind of men in office. Montclair's commissioners are convinced that business organizations should not merely encourage, but require, their executives to take part in local government, even though it takes time from their regular duties.

Montclair's commissioners have been actuated by a compelling philosophy. They believe, deeply, that democracy grows from its roots, that the best way to preserve and nourish it is to make local government healthy and vigorous through the participation of everyone in the community. Despite the demands of their own businesses, they have given their time and skill to their community because they feel that only a wide-awake, interested citizenry in every town in the country can keep the American way permanently alive.

And they're a little cocky these days, because they've seen their philosophy justified by actual experience.

Hungarian Goose-Step

(Continued from page 30)

In the southeast there is a more threatening situation. If Hungarian troops continue their provocative acts on the Rumanian frontier, Bucharest will not hesitate to start war, declared or otherwise. In the last few weeks there have been serious fights between Hungarian and Rumanian free troops, with many reportedly killed on each side. But no casualty figures were issued. King Carol of Rumania declared recently that, as long as one Rumanian lived, not one acre of Rumanian land would be given away. However, under German pressure the Hungarian press shouts daily for immediate return of Rumanian-owned Transylvania, at least. It is obvious that Germany is waiting for that moment when a "serious incident" occurs on the Hungarian-Rumanian frontier to swarm down and "protect" Hungary.

A BOOK much discussed these days in Hungary is a small grey volume confiscated recently by the police. Its title is *Germany's Prospects in Case of War, as seen in Official German Literature.* The author is Dr. Ivan Lajos, a lecturer at the University of Pecs. The first week of its publication it sold 25,000 copies. Soon after its appearance, on July 22, 1939, the book was confiscated by order of the Ministry of Justice.

In its preface, the author warns his compatriots of "predatory" Germany, reminding his country of the events of 1914–18. By citing German official statistics, he discloses the Reich's lack of raw material and skilled labor, her need of food. The theme, in other words, is that Hungary's alliance to Germany would be disastrous, because Germany is certain to lose any war. The author quotes effectively the recommendations of Alfred Rosenberg and other top-flight German Nazis that Hungary be transformed immediately into a German colony. Small wonder the Nazi-dominated Hungarian authorities confiscated the book after the German Ambassador went into a paroxysm of rage.

At the same time that the former Premier Bela Imredy tries to hasten the Nazi conquest of Hungary, another former head of the government, Count Stephen Bethlen, is attempting to stem the flood of German propaganda. Hungary's "Great Man," having retired from politics because of Nazi activities, is trying to form an anti-Nazi group among the old Hungarian aristocrats. These have always been antagonistic toward Hitler, and Bethlen now urges them to travel throughout Europe to recruit the aid of the democratic powers.

It is a paradox that this anti-Nazi movement in Hungary is largely an underground one. Bethlen is aided by Count Gyula Karolyi, brother-in-law of Regent Horthy, who until March 29 of this year was President of the Upper House; he resigned as a mark of his opposition to anti-Semitic legislation inspired by the Nazis.

Pressed by Germany, Hungary is now energetically claiming those territories lost as a result of the War and the Trianon Pact of 1920—Transylvania to Rumania and Croatia and Slavonia to Yugoslavia. In this there is a certain irony. Hungary is discovering that to ask for territories and to get them are not the same thing. In the partition last year of Czecho-Slovakia, the Budapest government seized 4,787 square miles of Ruthenia, which brought an added population of 1,064,000 men and women who were accustomed to the relative freedom of the now defunct Republic. Under Hungarian and Nazi dominated rule, this sizable element of the population is restive and discontented, and is a constant threat to Hungary's stability in the north. If the nation was prepared for some difficulty in reabsorbing Transylvanians into the nation, her leaders were entirely unprepared for the headache presented in the gift from Hitler of Ruthenia.

That Hungarian sovereignty over Hungary, even in the superficial form it takes today, has not long to endure is apparent to any perceptive visitor to Budapest. For the decade following the World War, Budapest inherited the gayety and charm that were once Vienna's. Tomorrow she may follow even further in the path of her sister city of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, and under the Nazi rule the goose-step will replace the *czardas.*

TRUE PICTURE OF YOURSELF AS A BOOK-READER

Here is a list of some good books widely talked about lately. Check those you have wanted very much to read—and those you *have* read.

Why continue to miss—as you so often have—new books you know you will deeply enjoy?

THE self-examination provided at the right will show *the degree* to which you may have allowed procrastination (it is nothing more, when analyzed) to keep you from missing new books which you want very much to read. How often have you promised yourself to do something about this!

There is something simple you can do, and as effectual as it is simple. Over 200,000 families—persons like yourself—have found it effectual. Become a subscriber of the Book-of-the-Month Club. This has become the most thorough-going service ever devised to help perspicacious book-readers save money on new books, and keep them from missing those they are most interested in.

What Is Involved

You are not obliged, as a member of the Club, to take the book-of-the-month its judges choose. Nor (this is a frequent misapprehension arising from our name) are you obliged to buy one book every month from the Club. Here is the simple system:

Publishers submit all their important books to us. These go through the most careful reading routine now in existence. It is not unusual for a single book to be read by nine different preliminary readers before it is even recommended to Club members. At the end of this sifting process, our five judges choose one book as the book-of-the-month.

But this choice is not in the least binding upon you as a member. You receive a carefully written report about the book *in advance of its publication.* If you decide from this report that it is a book you really want, you

—CONTINUED ON OTHER SIDE

This list represents those books which have been most in demand by our members who constitute an excellent cross-section of the nation's reading public.

INTENDED TO READ	NON-FICTION	YOU DID READ
☐	Inside Asia—John Gunther	☐
☐	Wind, Sand & Stars—Antoine de Saint Exupéry	☐
☐	Days of Our Years—Pierre van Paassen	☐
☐	America in Midpassage—Charles A. & Mary R. Beard	☐
☐	Reaching for the Stars—Nora Waln	☐
☐	Huntsman, What Quarry?—Edna St. Vincent Millay	☐
☐	Autobiography With Letters—William Lyon Phelps	☐
☐	A Peculiar Treasure—Edna Ferber	☐
☐	Andrew Jackson—Marquis James	☐
☐	Benjamin Franklin—Carl Van Doren	☐
☐	You're the Doctor—Victor Heiser, M.D.	☐
☐	Listen! the Wind—Anne Morrow Lindbergh	☐
☐	Moses and Monotheism—Sigmund Freud	☐
☐	Alone—Richard E. Byrd	☐
☐	Designs in Scarlet—Courtney Ryley Cooper	☐
☐	I Wanted to be an Actress—Katharine Cornell	☐
☐	We Shall Live Again—Maurice Hindus	☐
☐	Philosopher's Holiday—Irwin Edman	☐
☐	The Promises Men Live By—Harry Scherman	☐
☐	Dry Guillotine—Rene Belbenoit	☐

	FICTION	
☐	The Yearling—Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings	☐
☐	Grapes of Wrath—John Steinbeck	☐
☐	Wickford Point—John P. Marquand	☐
☐	Captain Horatio Hornblower—C. S. Forester	☐
☐	Seasoned Timber—Dorothy Canfield	☐
☐	The Patriot—Pearl Buck	☐
☐	The Brandons—Angela Thirkell	☐
☐	Here Lies—Dorothy Parker	☐
☐	The Web and the Rock—Thomas Wolfe	☐
☐	Address Unknown—Kressmann Taylor	☐
☐	Tellers of Tales—Ed. by W. Somerset Maugham	☐
☐	The Sword in the Stone—T. H. White	☐
☐	Adventures of a Young Man—John Dos Passos	☐
☐	Rebecca—Daphne du Maurier	☐
☐	The Woman in the Hall—G. B. Stern	☐
☐	All This, and Heaven Too—Rachel Field	☐
☐	Tree of Liberty—Elizabeth Page	☐
☐	Wine of Good Hope—David Rame	☐

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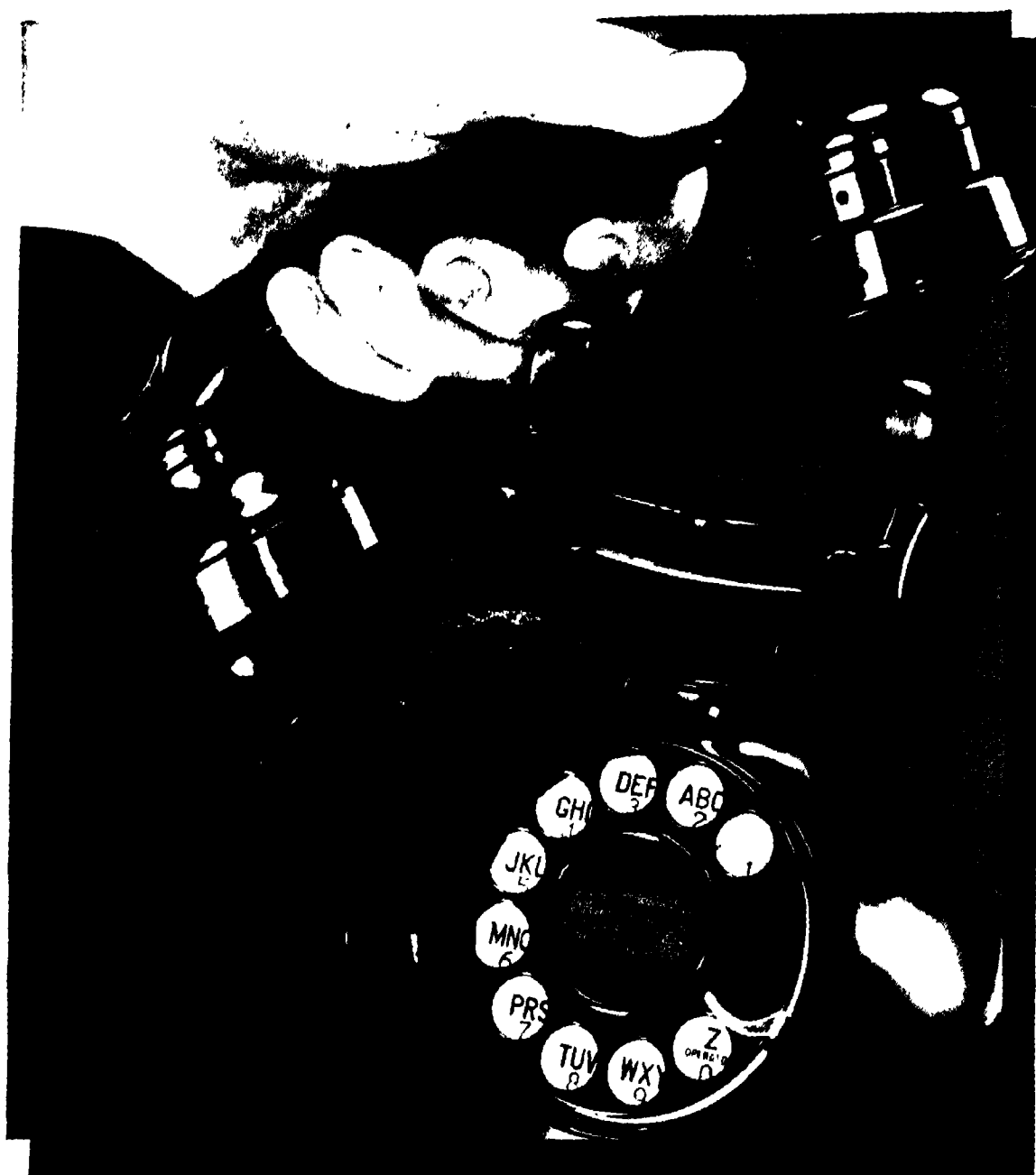
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BELL TELEPHONE SYSTEM

The World Today in Books

NORMAN COUSINS

THE faculty adviser of a West Coast college current events group has written to ask whether this department would furnish a comprehensive list of new books which might help people understand a Europe at war. The request is a good one; instead of the usual extended discussions of a few books, the section this month will be devoted to a general review of current titles of particular value at a time when the supposed cradle of civilization has been converted into a torture rack of unparalleled barbarism.

The list is best begun, perhaps, with books which enable us to look at history through the eyes of the history-makers. Two such books are Eduard Benes' *Democracy Today and Tomorrow* and Winston Churchill's *Step by Step, 1936-1939.* Two months ago this department reported on two other titles in this grouping: Neville Chamberlain's *In Search of Peace* and Anthony Eden's *Foreign Affairs.* The importance of these books stems more from what they say than from the prominence of their authors' names. For each carries a message; in fact, a remarkably identical message. If a least common denominator were to be drawn, it would be an affirmation of democratic principles and a determination to halt the encroachment of totalitarianism.

Of all four, Dr. Benes' book is perhaps the most eloquent on the meaning of democracy. Now an exile in America where he is visiting professor at the University of Chicago, the former President of Czecho-Slovakia is no outsider in the life-and-death struggle against the spread of strong-armed totalitarian idealogies. Dr. Benes' country was forced to cut off part of itself so that the Nazi steam-roller could be appeased and Europe assured an "enduring peace." But as Vincent Sheean has pointed out, it was "not peace but a sword." Having charmed or frightened Britain and

New Books Providing Background for War

BOOK	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	PRICE
Democracy Today and Tomorrow	Eduard Benes	Macmillan	$3.00
Step by Step 1936-1939	Winston Churchill	Putnam	4.00
**Foreign Affairs*	Anthony Eden	Harcourt, Brace	3.00
**In Search of Peace*	Neville Chamberlain	Putnam	3.50
The Revolution of Nihilism: A Warning to the West	Hermann Rauschning	Alliance	3.00
Stalin: A Critical Survey of Bolshevism	Boris Souvarine	Alliance	4.50
Let the Record Speak	Dorothy Thompson	Houghton, Mifflin	2.75
**Poland: Key to Europe*	Raymond Leslie Buell	Alfred A. Knopf	3.00
Toward an Understanding of the U.S.S.R.	Michael T. Florinsky	Macmillan	2.50
The New German Empire	Franz Borkenau	Viking	2.00
**Journal of Reparations*	Charles G. Dawes	Macmillan	5.00
Juggernaut: The Path of Dictatorship	Albert Carr	Viking	3.00

*Recently reviewed in this department.

France into acquiescence and into a false sense of security, the Nazi leader waited for the opportune moment, jumped in and nailed the Czechs to his imperialist mast.

One would imagine Dr. Benes today would be bitter, not only toward the invader but toward the nations that made such an invasion possible. But no, both in this book and in his public statements—especially since the war began—he retains hope in the ultimate liberation of his people and in the defeat of political barbarism.

His book—written before the outbreak of the present war—seems amazingly prophetic. There could be no question, he wrote, that sooner or later the issue of democracy or dictatorship would culminate in war: "I absolutely deny the possibility of the co-existence of contrary regimes—democracy and dictatorship. Either one or the other must disappear if the peace and collaborations of nations are to be re-established."

Dr. Benes devotes his entire book to an analysis and interpretation of the development and growth not only of democracy but of the full range of political doctrines. He traces and explains the forces behind their origin, revealing their counterparts back through history. Yet this is no abstract study, no misty discussion of conflicting theories of government Dr. Benes' book bears a direct relation to what is happening today; it is a bridge, in effect, spanning the gap between ideas and events.

IN common with Eduard Benes, Winston Churchill also foresaw the inevitability of a showdown with power-crazed dictatorships. His fear, as expressed in *Step by Step, 1936-1939,* was that England would not wake up to the danger until it was too late. "One by one the lights in Europe are going out. . . . Perhaps we shall not see them again in our generation." He said that before Parliament almost two years ago, repeated those words last fall in a book called *While England Slept.* He wrote and talked and shouted, warning that appeasement served only to build up Germany for the day when she could force her demands as successfully upon the major powers as she had upon the smaller states.

Now that England has at last accepted the challenge, is there yet time? Has she not waited, as he had often feared, until Hitlerism would be too strong to overcome? There is no direct answer to this question in *Step by Step, 1936-1939* for it consists of Churchill's public papers only up to June of this year. But even after the absorption of Czecho-Slovakia in March, Churchill wrote that the forces opposed to Nazidom faced their eleventh hour but were still stronger than Germany.

Winston Churchill counted heavily upon the intervention of Soviet Russia against Germany. "The loyal attitude of the Soviets to the cause of peace. . . . imparts a feeling of encouragement," he wrote less than half a year ago. In the light of the general cancelling out of grievances between Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany, Churchill, along with other equally prominent observers, has suddenly found himself backing the wrong horse.

In this connection, it is pertinent to recall that Raymond Leslie Buell, both in his recent book, *Poland, Key to Europe* (reviewed July, 1939) and in an article for CURRENT HISTORY *(Poland in a Nutcracker,*June, 1939), pointed out that Germany and Russia seemed to be heading for an agreement of one form or another. More-

(Continued on page 4)

October CURRENT HISTORY 1939

THE WAR IN EUROPE

AMERICA AND THE WAR

GENERAL ARTICLES

DEPARTMENTS

COVER PHOTO FROM SOIBELMAN

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FORTY years ago, when it took six days to drive an automobile from Detroit to New York and there were only 8,000 motor vehicles registered in the whole United States, the first National Automobile Show was held in New York City. This year's fortieth National Show at Grand Central Palace, October 15-22, focuses the attention of 25,000,000 automobile owners who pay $1,500,000,000 a year in taxes.

The infant industry of 1899 has become a prime source of public revenue. This billion-and-a-half is double the average annual expenditure of the whole Federal government for the years 1899-1906. It was not until 1909 that Congress began appropriating a billion dollars a year, and it took the war year of 1917 to boost Federal spending above $1,500,000,000. Yet today automobile taxes alone reach that figure, and overtaxed owners have a bone to pick with the public authorities. CURRENT HISTORY presents an article (see Page 53) by Thomas P. Henry, President, American Automobile Association, on this 40th anniversary of the National Automobile Show, to argue the tax case for the motoring public.

(*Continued from page 2*)
over, he said that the whole of Central Europe — Poland especially — feared that the two giants would come to an understanding which might spell the doom of small neighboring states—perhaps even Europe. Alone among the experts who correctly anticipated a Nazi-Soviet rapprochement, Mr. Buell oriented his prediction around the specific issue of Germany's dispute with Poland. He wrote that Poland never took seriously Russia's eloquently-expressed professions of sympathy for victims of fascist aggression nor her frequent declarations that the Soviet alone was not afraid to stand up to Germany. Rather did Poland fear, said Mr. Buell, that she would be "caught in a nutcracker," that the "handclasp between two mailed fists would crush her as completely as a blow from either one." In short, rapprochement between the two giants would mean and it did—Poland's partition.

LIKE Mr. Buell's work, two other new books — Hermann Rauschning's *The Revolution of Nihilism: A Warning to the West*, and Boris Souvarine's *Stalin: A Critical Survey of Bolshevism* anticipated that the supposed enmity between Soviet Russia and Germany would be replaced by an active and even militant "friendship" Mr. Rauschning, whose book is unquestionably the most important work yet written on political and ideological Nazi Germany, writes that if National Socialism fails in its effort to isolate France and attract Great Britain to its side, it will "ally itself with Bolshevik Russia and undertake the partition of the world from the opposite pole."

Where Dr. Rauschning discusses the possibility of such an alliance in the light of Nazi political expediency, Boris Souvarine views it from the Russian position. The many analogies between Bolshevism and fascism, says Mr. Souvarine, make a joint relationship almost inevitable, "unless one admits the possibility of a complete divorce between essence and form."

Hermann Rauschning and Boris Souvarine have much in common. Both were important figures during the early existence of the regimes they now condemn. Dr. Rauschning was President of the Danzig Senate, a leading member of the Nazi Party, but resigned when called upon to carry out actively in the Free City the Hitlerian policies of minority persecution and suppression of opposition groups. National Socialism had attracted Dr. Rauschning because he felt a radical change was necessary in Germany, but the dynamics of Nazism in action were more than he could stomach. Boris Souvarine's disillusionment was equally profound: he was at one time a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International but cut his ties with the Soviet when he realized that the one-party, one-man state, as typified by Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia, had as its primary concern the extension of power, rather than the needs of the people.

The Revolution of Nihilism will leave no doubt in the minds of those who had looked to Nazism as a counteracting agent against encroachments from the Left that Nazism itself is an adaptation of Bolshevism. For Nazism, says the author, has been moving toward a Socialist revolution ever since 1931. And that is why there was never any question that Germany and Russia would join hands. If we bear in mind that this book was written more than a year ago the following quotation seems to be a phenomenon of prediction: "A German-Russian alliance is Hitler's great coming stroke."

Similarly, Souvarine says that Stalin regarded the alliance in the same light. As a dictator with absolute powers and no check on his decisions, he could make the Soviet jump through whatever hoops he wished, do as many flips and somersaults in policy as he ordered, secure in the knowledge that the opposition and the medium through which they might have spoken were crushed, or at least effectively silenced Strictly speaking, *Stalin* is not the biography of the Russian ruler; it is the biography of the Soviet. It is a step-by-step account of the establishment of the Soviet state and its development. In the light of what has been happening in Europe these last few weeks, *Stalin: A Critical Survey of Bolshevism*, becomes timely and important reading.

Another important recent book on Soviet Russia is Michael T. Florinsky's *Toward An Understanding of the U. S. S. R.*, an interpretative account of the theory and practice of Russian communism. Professor Florinsky arrives at substantially the same conclusions regarding the Soviet as does Boris Souvarine. He, too remarks at the completeness of totalitarianism established in the nation, and finds an inconsistency in the statement by Russian leaders that their country is a dictatorship of the proletariat with the frequent claim that it is a democracy. Thus far the Soviet experiment, he says, has proved that a socialist economy can exist, but "it still remains to be proved that it is more equitable and more efficient than an organization based on private property and private initiative.

The Revolution of Nihilism was originally published in Europe; were it not for Dorothy Thompson, it seems probable that Dr. Rauschning's book might not now be published here. For it was mainly through Miss Thompson's column that the book became known in the United States. With the zeal of a lone crusader Miss Thompson championed the book, describing it one of the most significant to have been written in recent years. She predicted it would have enormous political influence. Interestingly enough, Miss Thompson's comments on the Rauschning book are contained in *Let the Record Speak*, another of the books on our background reading list. As the title indicates, Miss Thompson's book is made up of her newspaper columns. For the most part, they are concerned with her writings on foreign affairs; that means, for the most part, Germany.

Dorothy Thompson, during the last half dozen years, at least, seems to have adopted as her mission in life the awakening of the world—especially America—to the true nature of the Nazi state. She is convinced that the National Socialist revolution in Germany, if allowed to expand without let or hindrance, will sweep on until it dominates the globe. Nazism to her represents the "most world-disturbing event of the century and perhaps of many centuries," eventually leading to a "modification of the social order with serious repercussions on the whole world." Moreover, as she says in her introduction to this volume, she believes that

sooner or later the West—not excluding ourselves—would have to face that challenge.

Here, then, for the record, is her appraisal of men and movements, ideas and events—not in retrospect but as they happened. It is not a new book in the sense that all its material is appearing for the first time, but it is new as a unit—and that it is a valuable unit there can be little question.

AGREEING with both Dr. Rauschning and Miss Thompson in their conception of Nazi dynamics in a world role, is Franz Borkenau, author of *The New German Empire*. Compact, interestingly written, this book is a study of German imperialistic aims and a survey of countries which she seeks to bring under her control. Dr. Borkenau examines the political structures of the regions supposedly in the path of German imperialism—in Europe, Africa, and the Americas—evaluates them in terms of resources and raw materials, and discusses the facility or difficulty involved in their passing under Nazi domination.

As for the threat in this hemisphere, Dr. Borkenau finds it centered largely in Latin America. Yet even here the position of the United States is too strong to warrant immediate alarm. Should a European war find Germany the victor, however, Dr. Borkenau predicts that the threat to the United States by way of Latin America would become both strong and dangerous.

Albert Carr's *Juggernaut: The Path of Dictatorship* belongs among the titles which help round out a background for the understanding of today's events, but it may be as significant ten or twenty years from now as it is today. For its theme is not fixed by time; indeed, it is as old as time itself. The theme is dictatorship and its leading exponents, covering a wide range from Frederick the Great and Napoleon to Hitler and Stalin.

Mr. Carr, pursuing the key to the personalities of dictators and seeking something in the way of a standard measuring rod, has set about gathering significant biographical data on twenty representative strong men, who, in addition to the four already mentioned, are Attaturk, Alexander, Bismarck, Bolivar, Caro, Cromwell, Gomez, Lenin, Louis XIV, Mussolini, Metaxes, Napoleon III, de Rivera, Robespierre, Richelieu, Salazar.

HISTORY IN THE MAKING

War and U.S. Neutrality

THE seventy-sixth Congress of the United States met in special session on September 21 to discuss the European war and what it means to America. The Senators and Representatives had been summoned from farm and fireside to consider President Roosevelt's request that the Neutrality Act of 1937 be revised.

The framers of that act wanted to keep America out of foreign war. To do so, they sought first to learn why the country entered the World War, and in their Munitions Inquiry's reports they found, or thought they found, a principal answer: Munitions Sales. By selling arms to the Allies, they argued, America ultimately acquired such a stake in Allied victory that entry into the war was inevitable. The thing to do, then, was to avoid making that mistake again. So the Neutrality Act decreed that, on the outbreak of any foreign war, the sale of arms to the belligerents should be embargoed.

When Europe plunged into the present war on September 1, President Roosevelt proclaimed the required embargo, but made no bones of the fact that he did not like the idea. For months he and his advisers had been urging that the embargo be dropped. They wanted to substitute the "cash-and-carry" principle, the brain-child of Bernard M. Baruch, that would allow nations at war to buy American munitions so long as they paid cash and carried the purchases home in their own ships. Such changes, the Administration argued, would be fairer to all belligerents, since all would have the legal right to buy supplies in the American market.

Isolationists — those who want nothing of Europe or Asia and their troubles—opposed changing the law. Convinced that it was good insurance against American participation in foreign war, they stood fast. In the last Congress they were strong enough to balk revision. The coming of war, however, revived the controversy.

Stripped of formal language, the questions at issue were two: (1) Should America help Britain and France—Germany, blockaded, could not buy our munitions even if we agreed to sell them to her—by lifting the arms embargo? (2) Would such aid ultimately drag the United States into war?

By answering "Yes" to the second question the isolationists scored an advantage over the Administration, for public opinion, however much it might feel that America should eventually intervene if necessary to prevent Anglo-French defeat, was firmly convinced at the start of the present war that the country should do its utmost to stay out of it.

Double Anniversary

CURRENT HISTORY was born in war time. Founded by *The New York Times*, it first appeared in December 1914 in answer to an urgent need. Amid a welter of conflicting fact, rumor, and propaganda a publication devoted to background and interpretation of towering men and crashing events filled a want that the gatherers of news working under the stress of day-to-day occurrences, could not meet. That need exists today. Once more a world war batters at the gates of civilization and once more neutral America is exposed to conflicting fact, rumor, and propaganda

Once more CURRENT HISTORY will give its readers authentic, objective interpretation. It will provide a record for today—and tomorrow—that no other monthly magazine can now attempt to provide.

Twenty-five years ago CURRENT HISTORY dedicated itself to presenting "common sense about the war." Today, in an anniversary year, the publishers reaffirm their intention to give a complete, unbiased picture of the greatest catastrophe of the modern world.

Heretofore CURRENT HISTORY has scrupulously maintained editorial non-partisanship. Its editors will continue to maintain this attitude. But on one point we are committed. We are against American participation in the present European war. We want America to stay out of that war. Should circumstances, not yet apparent, arise to affect the national well being, we shall, of course, be prepared to alter that position. Until then—and may the moment never arrive—we are opposed to those influences which would involve us in armed conflict with any nation in the world.

Borah as Leader

William Edgar Borah, Senator from Idaho, was a natural as leader of the isolationists. The "lone lion" is aging—he is seventy-four—but has lost little of the vigor that twenty years ago marked his battles with Woodrow Wilson over the League of Nations. He remains one of the Senate's great orators, a master of the spoken word, with a formidable knowledge of foreign affairs. He knows, besides, how to move the public. He showed that as he opened the debate on the Neutrality Act in a national broadcast stressing the probability that the law's repeal would spell American intervention in the European war.

In the thirty-two years Borah has sat in the Senate, years that have tinged his shaggy mane with gray, he has worked constantly for world peace while opposing all international organizations such as the League of Nations or the World Court that might aid his cause. He has been for disarmament—the Washington Arms Conference of 1922 was called largely through his influence. From 1924 to 1933 he was chairman of the Sen-

THE SECOND WORLD WAR

ate Foreign Relations Committee, and he made that post, already important because of the committee's influence over treaty-making, as much a focus of interest as the State Department itself.

Last summer, the Administration was pressing for changes in the Neutrality Act, arguing that Germany would hesitate to start anything if she knew in advance that the United States would freely sell arms and munitions but that she herself would be blockaded from the American market. At a White House parley Secretary of State Hull told Senators that war was a real and immediate danger. Senator Borah scoffed, insisted that his sources of information were as good as the Secretary's, refused to consent to changes in the law.

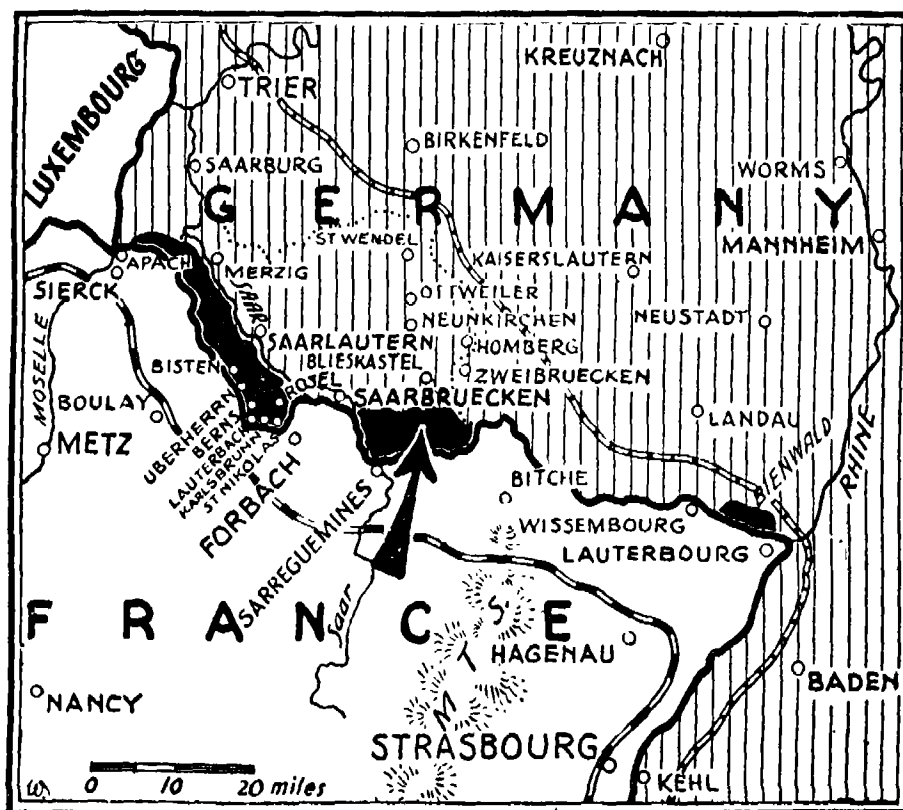
Borah lost that gamble, as events in a few weeks proved. But he has not weakened in his insistence that the Neutrality Act be kept as it is, without the change of a comma, as a guarantee that America stay out of war. His opponents have said he was gambling again, that the law was no guarantee of peace, but Borah would have to be shown, and on his side as the great foreign policy debate opened in Congress were some Senate powers, among them Arthur H. Vandenberg of Michigan, Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota, Bennett Champ Clark of Missouri. All were to give the nation such a debate on foreign affairs as it had not known since the debate over the League of Nations at the end of the first World War.

Red-Brown Bomb

History may record that the Second World War began on August 24, the day thunderstruck officials of Moscow's Central Airport cast embarrassed eyes upon Swastika flags draped on the buildings, but so carefully placed that they were not visible from the street. The flags, symbols of arch-fascism in the capital of fascism's avowed arch-enemy, Communism, were secured only after a frantic search in and around Moscow.

At 1 P.M. the huge monoplane *Grenzmark*, Hitler's "flying chancellery," roared in from the West. Out stepped German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop, creator of the anti-Comintern pact which had linked Berlin, Rome and Tokyo. Accompanying him were thirty-two Nazis, including Dr. Friedrich Gaus, an expert treaty-drafter. Soviet officials were there to greet the Nazis, as was the Italian Ambassador at Moscow. Conspicuous by his absence was the Japanese Ambassador, who had not been informed that Ribbentrop was expected.

The welcome over, Ribbentrop entered the bullet-proof, twelve-cylinder limousine provided by Soviet Foreign Commissar Viacheslav Molotov, and proceeded through streets lined by O.G.P.U. men to the former Austrian Legation, not far from the headquarters of the British and French military missions which were attempting to woo Stalin into an Anglo-French alliance against Nazi Germany.

Ribbentrop and Molotov immediately got down to business, and, late that night, in the presence of Stalin, a ten-year non-aggression pact was signed between Nazi Germany and Communist Russia. On the face of it, the Russo-German agreement in which not a loophole could be found- gave Hitler a free hand to tackle Western Europe and Poland, left Stalin to take whatever attitude he pleased toward Japan and China. Japan promptly changed its Cabinet and was ready within three weeks to conclude an agreement with Russia calling for a cessation of border clashes in the Far East. The Hitler-Stalin understanding also proved to be the precursor of the Russian invasion of Poland, which began September 17.

Allied penetration into the Saar. Note that advances have been in No-man's Land, some distance from the first major fortifications.

Britain Goes to War

From the instant the news was flashed to the world that Berlin had reached an agreement with Moscow, Europe's "war of nerves" reached a frenzied pitch. Everyone knew that there was going to be war--yet there was hope that somehow the zero hour could be postponed. The War of Words went on, accompanied by ultimata, long and agonizing silences, studied replies, and counter-ultimata. Peace "survived" through the fateful "war month" of August. Then, at dawn on Friday, September 1, a German plane dropped a bomb on the fishing village of Puck, on the Hel Peninsula. A few minutes later the training ship *Schleswig Holstein* sent a shell screeching through the Polish ammunition dump, an underground depot, at Westplatte.

More notes were dispatched between Berlin and London. Finally, on Sunday, September 3, Britain declared war. Six hours later, France followed suit after Hitler refused to heed both Powers' last warnings that he withdraw his troops, then pouring pell-mell into Poland. Thus was Germany jolted into war on the very scale the Nazis had hoped and even planned to avoid.

As Great Britain entered the Second World War, she already was prepared for the worst. A full week before hostilities were declared, the government had assumed sweeping control over the life and property of every man, woman and child in the Kingdom. Under the emergency powers conferred by Parliament, 105 regulations were issued depriving citizens of many of their liberties for the sake of safeguarding the realm. Wireless transmitters, the possession of unregistered homing pigeons, photographing or sketching many specified areas, even possessing knowledge of ship movements—all were made unlawful.

On August 28, more than 650,000 London school children had returned to their classrooms after the summer holidays carrying gas masks and two days' emergency rations in a rehearsal for a mammoth evacuation of children when war did come and dread Nazi bombers might thunder out of the skies. The planned mass evacuation called for the removal of nearly two million children, the mothers of children under five, the crippled, the aged and the blind. The same precautions were taken in the other congested areas of England and Scotland.

When war did come the evacuations took place with speed and precision. But when no planes came after more than two weeks of war the women and children, the aged, the halt and the blind began to trickle back into the cities. Officials explained the quiet life in the countryside seemed less preferable to the city dwellers than the fear of being trapped in air raids.

More than $550,000,000 of world trade may be affected by the war.

New Spots for Old Faces

Meanwhile, a new war-time Cabinet was formed by Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, and the two British statesmen best known to Americans were brought in to lead the Empire in what has officially become, not merely a war, but "the struggle against Hitler." Winston Churchill, long a foe of the Nazi regime, was returned to the Admiralty post he held during the first World War. Dapper Anthony Eden, who broke with Chamberlain over his appeasement policy of 1938, was named Dominions Secretary, with the vital task of maintaining contact between the Dominions and the home government.

Without fanfare, the Duke of Windsor returned to London to assume duties during the dark days ahead. At any other time, that fact would have made headlines blaze a foot high. But the quiet return of the former King Edward VIII and his American-born duchess from their three-year exile in France was hardly noticed.

Not until the war was two weeks old was it officially announced that British Tommies actually had gone into the trenches. But Britain early struck its first blow when bombers attacked the Kiel Canal, claiming to have damaged German warships. On the same day, and the next, British planes "bombarded" the Ruhr area of Germany, adjacent to Belgium and Holland, with six million leaflets telling the German people they were being "duped into a senseless war" by their Fuehrer. This feat was hailed as the beginning of the greatest propaganda war in history. But when few bombs were dropped, and there was little fighting on the western front, people in Britain began to inquire, "What kind of a war is this, anyhow?"

The Nervous Neutrals

Most nervous of all the little neutral nations are the Baltic States of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania, for they, like the rest of the world, have no idea what secret clauses exist in the Russo-German pact. While it was widely suspected that Hitler and Stalin had agreed to partition Poland —the fourth partition in that nation's history—there is also the possibility that the Soviet has been given a free hand to recapture the Baltic nations, once a part of Imperial Rus-

sia, while Germany is allowed to sally forth at will into the Balkans.

Therefore, while the seven nations associated with the Oslo trade conventions—Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxemburg, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland—also sought to preserve their neutrality, the Balkans were especially concerned over the fate of Poland. By mid-September, three strong influences were at work in the Balkans: The Allies, the Germans, and the Russians.

One result of the Russo-German pact which Hitler apparently did not foresee was the sudden move in Yugoslavia to end the long-lived conflict between Serbs and Croats which provided muddy waters in which Berlin had planned to fish. Dr. Vlatko Matchek, now Deputy-Prime Minister, a foe of Nazism-Communism, and known to 500,000 Croats as "the Great Patriot," was responsible for securing autonomy for the Croats. He resisted all advice from Hitler, settled his problem internally and confronted the Reich with a rather formidable opponent.

Bulgaria presents a particularly intricate problem in the Balkan puzzle. By joining the losing side in the last World War, Bulgaria lost her Thracian territories and some of her western lands to Yugoslavia. Such defeats embittered Bulgaria, and it was natural that she should be drawn first toward Italy, also discontented with her lot after the World War. Later Germany took advantage of Bulgaria's territorial claims to try to win her completely over to the Axis. Complicating things, however, Bulgaria signed a pact of "perpetual friendship" with Yugoslavia, renouncing her revisionist claims for the time being at least. But if there were a chance of falling upon an isolated Rumania in company with other strong powers, Bulgaria might not be averse.

Johnstone-N.Y. World Telegram
Gorilla Warfare

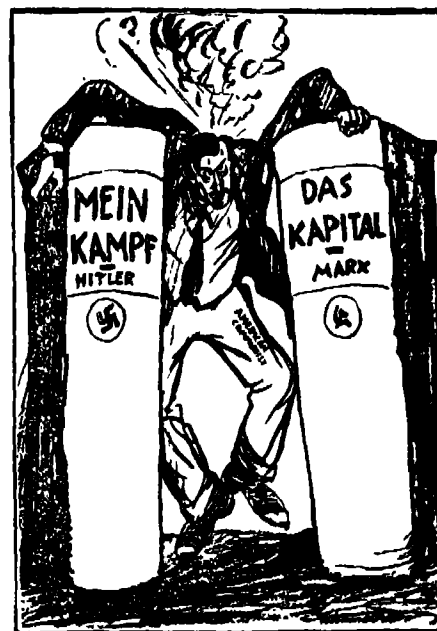
Rumania is unlucky because her rich soil is a constant lure to her enemies. Her political position is determined by her wealth in oil and corn and her racial minorities, and she is indispensable to Germany. The promise of strict neutrality given by Germany to many countries in the case of war was given to Rumania only on the outspoken condition that Rumania continue to deliver her goods to the Reich.

Jolt to Japan

While Britain and France were stunned by the news of the Nazi-Fascist treaty, Japan, Germany's partner in the anti-Comintern pact, was jolted as if by an earthquake. Berlin had given Tokyo no warning. Bewildered, the Japanese Cabinet resigned to a man.

Left isolated in the Far East, with a powerful Soviet apparently given a "go ahead" signal along the vast border extending from the steppes of Mongolia, along the Japanese-sponsored Empire of Manchukuo to the Pacific, Tokyo at first feared that her two-year campaign to build up a "New Order" in East Asia might come to naught if the Russian bear had a mind to travel southward. Quickly a new cabinet was formed, with General Nobuyuki Abe as Premier and Foreign Minister. The new Cabinet immediately set about reorientating itself.

Japan had had adequate reasons to be suspicious of Germany before Berlin's treaty with the Soviet Union, the very power against which the anti-Comintern pact was ostensibly directed. For Japan was painfully aware that Germany was selling supplies in China to her other enemy, Chiang Kai-shek. This knowledge had undoubtedly accounted for Tokyo's hesitation to enter into a definite military alliance with Germany. Nor was Japan mollified by Berlin's cynically open indication that the new Berlin-Moscow agreement was only a temporary expedient, by the hints from Germany that Japan herself should make a pact with Moscow.

On the contrary, Japan began to wonder what secret arrangements

Duffy—Baltimore Sun
The Book Rack

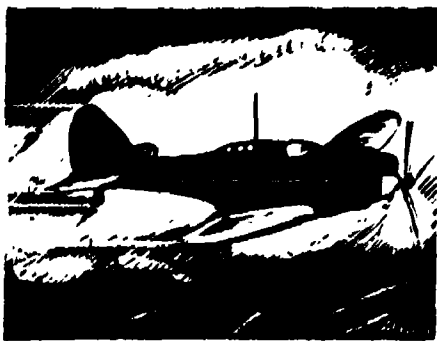
existed between Berlin and Moscow concerning the Soviet's position in the Far East, especially when Red Army troops were reported massing on the Sovietized Outer Mongolia border. At first this appeared ominous, but Moscow quickly assured Tokyo that troops were being sent to the west front, and not to the east, as later proved to be the case.

Armistice in the East

In mid-September, the new Japanese Cabinet sprang a surprise when it engineered an armistice with the Soviet in the "test war" that had been raging for five months on the borders of Manchukuo and Soviet Outer Mongolia. This was seen as having a tremendous effect upon Japan's campaign in China. The Soviet had been openly supporting Chiang Kai-shek with munitions and men, and Soviet-trained officers—both Russian and Chinese—had been leading the guerrilla warfare against the Japanese in North China.

Sane Oriental observers believed that the truce on the Mongol frontier might lead to a non-aggression pact between Moscow and Tokyo, who have been traditional enemies in the Far East since 1895. But in Tokyo it was denied vehemently that a non-aggression pact was in the immediate making. At the same time, Japan launched large scale military operations against the Chinese in a final drive to end the China "Incident".

In Tokyo the stock market reacted favorably to the truce with gains registered in stocks of business cor-

porations having connections with the Soviet Union, while the impression prevailed in financial circles that the Abe Cabinet was succeeding in its plans for settlement of all pending questions with the Soviet and "those foreign powers whose problems ought to be readjusted."

Declaring that the Russo-Japanese truce did not mean the readjustment of all the problems between Japan and the Soviet Union, the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, mouthpiece of conservative and financial circles, did admit that the truce went a long way toward clearing up ill feeling between the two rival powers. The *Hochi* pointed out that the truce dealt a fatal blow to the Chiang government, "which had been dreaming that the non-aggression pact between Russia and Germany would give Moscow a free hand, at least so far as bringing strong pressure to bear on the Japanese."

That a Russo-Japanese non-aggression pact is still a matter of conjecture, however, was the opinion of neutral experts who saw that Japan is now in a better position than ever to deal with the British in China. Threats of a pact, they held, would be a powerful bargaining instrument for Tokyo in forcing Britain to yield more concessions in China.

While Tokyo insists that Japan will be neutral in the European war, there is yet a strong possibility that there may somehow be evolved a Four Power realignment of Germany, Russia, Japan and Italy, which would prove a serious menace to the democracies in both Europe and in the Pacific. This, at least, is one of Berlin's ambitions.

German-Russian Pact

Text of the German-Russian non-aggression agreement:

The German Reich Government and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, moved by a desire to strengthen the state of peace between Germany and the U.S.S.R. and in the spirit of the provisions of the neutrality treaty of April, 1926, between Germany and the U.S.S.R., decided the following:

ARTICLE I. The two contracting parties obligate themselves to refrain from every act of force, every aggressive action and every attack against one another, including any single action or that taken in conjunction with other powers.

ARTICLE II. In case one of the parties of this treaty should become the object of warlike acts by a third power, the other party will in no way support this third power.

ARTICLE III. The governments of the two contracting parties in the future will constantly remain in consultation with one another in order to inform each other regarding questions of common interest.

ARTICLE IV. Neither of the high contracting parties will associate itself with any other grouping of powers which directly or indirectly is aimed at the other party.

ARTICLE V. In the event of a conflict between the contracting parties concerning any question, the two parties will adjust this difference or conflict exclusively by friendly exchange of opinions or, if necessary, by an arbitration commission.

ARTICLE VI. The present treaty will extend for a period of ten years with the condition that if neither of the contracting parties announces its abrogation within one year of expiration of this period, it will continue in force automatically for another period of five years.

ARTICLE VII. The present treaty shall be ratified within the shortest possible time. The exchange of ratification documents shall take place in Berlin. The treaty becomes effective immediately upon signature.

Drawn up in two languages, German and Russian.

Moscow, 23d *of August*, 1939.

For the German Government:
RIBBENTROP.

In the name of the Government of the U.S.S.R.:
MOLOTOFF.

Red Russia's Role

Exactly what role the Soviet was to play in the Second World War was not at first made clear. But the German-Polish war was not a week old before there were strange stirrings within Russia. And by mid-September Russia had mobilized more than four million men, and large forces were concentrated along the Polish and Rumanian frontiers.

Suddenly at dawn on September 17, Soviet troops marched across the Polish frontier along a five hundred mile front stretching from Latvia to Rumania. Led by planes and tanks, the Red army plunged into Poland, "in defense of eleven million Ukrainians and White Russians (Byelo-Russians) of Eastern Poland," after Moscow had declared that the Polish government had "ceased to exist." Crushed by the German juggernaut and with their backs to the Russian border, the Poles offered little resistance.

The Soviet General Staff radioed from the field that the "population everywhere meets the Red army units with jubilation." But it was not until hours later that the people in Moscow learned of the invasion of Poland notwithstanding Stalin's declarations that Russia did not desire an inch of anyone's territory. Even as the Red tanks roared across the Polish Ukraine, the Soviet sent notes to Britain, France and other powers reiterating that the Soviet was "neutral" in Europe.

While it had long been suspected that the Nazi-Communist pact had tacitly called for the fourth partition of Poland, the Communist press in the United States—which had floundered helplessly trying to explain how the two clashing ideologies managed to weld in the first place—declared:

"With the total collapse of the treacherous and semi-fascist Polish government, the Polish people—including the White Russian and Ukrainian minorities—were left completely at the mercy of the Nazi invaders . . . . As Hitler's hordes advanced further into Poland, the atrocities against the Jewish people and other minorities exceeded some of Fascism's goriest deeds. In this situation the Soviet government sent in the Red army, as an army of liberation, to protect the Ukrainian and White Russian minorities, after the semi-fascist Polish government had ceased to exist . . . .

"Freed from tyrannical rule of the greedy landlords and the corrupt nobility, all these minorities for the first time can chart for themselves a life of freedom, happiness and peace as have their brothers in the land of Socialism."

It was with dread, however, that most of the world watched the Red horde on the march. With the Russians taking up the war on Poland, with Poland's President Moscicki and Foreign Minister Beck having fled into Rumania, the Nazis immediately began to shift divisions to the Western Front. On September 19, Adolf Hitler declared to the world that the Soviet invasion of Poland was in per-

fect accordance with Germany's and Russia's plan to "settle the situation" in Eastern Europe. Despite persistent reports that, having conquered Poland, he would ask for a "permanent peace," Hitler told the world that Germany was prepared to fight to the end.

Hemisphere Defense

President Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy and its corollary, "hemisphere defense," were immediately brought into focus by the outbreak of war. A testing time was at hand. The Administration acted quickly.

In the opinion of President Roosevelt, and many others, the New World, however divergent in nationality and culture, is as one in its freedom from the traditions and rivalries that so often have brought Europe to disaster. Democracy, even in lands that give it mere lip service, is a New World aspiration. New cultures are shaping in North and South America. A new civilization is in the making.

Often these ideas have seemed glittering generalities, but they have influenced Washington's policy, the more as the menace of European dictatorship grew dark on the horizon.

U. S. and Canada

A year ago, Canada, grown into an independent nation since the last war, drawn to the United States by a thousand economic ties, conscious of its "North Americanism," was given an American guarantee of her integrity against foreign non-British domination. This was part of the system of "hemisphere defense." Since the days of James Monroe, the United States has opposed the thought of any foreign power's gaining new footholds in the Americas.

Canada's declaration of war against Germany a few days after the present conflict broke out did not weaken the American pledge. President Roosevelt reiterated that foreign domination of Canada would be resisted. The reason, of course, was not wholly altruistic. Should a hostile foreign power obtain rights in Canada, air bases and naval bases could menace the United States.

Germany immediately assailed the American pledge as meaning that Canada could attack, but not be attacked. Some Americans wondered just how far the United States would go if there were need to honor the plighted word.

U. S. and Latin America

Latin America, more so even than Canada, was a cause for worry. In many Latin-America countries are large colonies of German settlers still loyal to the Fatherland. Until the coming of the war they formed "little Germanies," sometimes in the heart of jungle country, where the swastika was freely displayed, Nazi propaganda circulated and German spoken. These peoples could well cause trouble--for example, by helping to establish bases for German subs and commerce raiders on the sparsely settled Latin-American coasts.

To prevent such action would naturally be the task of the neutral governments under which these Germans live. But it might be too difficult for a single nation—Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina discussed a joint naval patrol—and should war threaten any New World nation, something far more important than patrols or counter-espionage would be in order. Concerted action might be necessary to protect this hemisphere.

These general and specific thoughts were in mind when Panama—at the instigation of the United States—called a Pan-American conference to meet in Panama on September 21. So significant did the conference seem that Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles headed the American delegation that sailed southward to attend it.

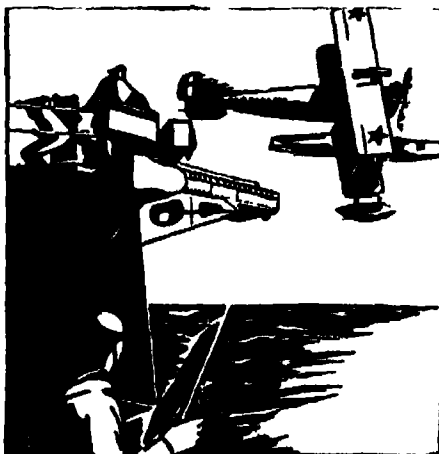
War Business

War, even when thousands of miles away, always raises hob with business. Trade routes are disrupted, communications broken. Old markets are closed, new ones opened. Sources of supply dry up. Demand for some goods dwindles, for others expands. Speculation appears on the Stock Exchanges with hopes for war-time prosperity.

The United States learned all this in the World War, when, after the first shocks of dislocation, a boom got under way, showering gold on farmer, worker, employer and speculator. Then came the post-war collapse and economic disaster. The country has not forgotten entirely, though Washington wondered last month how long memory would last, for the signs of a war prosperity appeared almost as soon as Europe's armies moved into action.

While normal trade with Europe was disrupted, a host of orders came from Britain and other countries for goods once obtained from Germany. South America, where German barter had been gaining, was forced to turn to the United States. Prospects of large European food orders loomed. The steel industry took on new activity, and the munitions-makers wondered how long it would be before they too began to feel the spur of war orders. Stock Exchanges boiled at the war's opening, then calmed as bears and bulls alike wondered just what the near future might hold.

Though prices for commodities showed some increases—a sudden upturn in sugar costs caused temporary hoarding among housewives — the government apparently believed that the situation was well under control. In the first place, great wheat and cotton surpluses exist, ready to be dropped on the market. Farmers, moreover, have so restricted their planting of staples that it would be easy to expand production and keep prices from skyrocketing. As a matter of fact, the government would like to see commodities higher. Ever since 1933, with little success, it had been striving to jack up the prices of wheat and cotton, corn and hogs. A war now seemed likely to turn the trick.

War's impact—it was felt at a moment when business generally was looking better—promised to relieve the government, temporarily anyhow, of some headaches. Higher commodity prices would aid farmers. Increased industrial activity would reduce unemployment. Better business all around would raise the Treasury's revenues and ease the government's financial pains. As to what would come when the boom, if boom there was to be, had passed, that was a problem for the economist.

Chronology of the Second World War

AUGUST 19—Viscount Halifax, Britain's Foreign Secretary, interrupts his vacation and returns unexpectedly to the Foreign Office as the suddenly intensified German "war of nerves" against Poland indicates that a major European crisis looms over the Free City of Danzig.

—German dispatches report strong Polish detachments moving up to the frontier of the Polish Corridor.

—Slovakia reports that its army, pledged to co-operate with Nazi German forces, is gradually mobilizing, and two divisions are moved up to the Polish-Slovak frontier, joining German troops already there.

—President Albert Lebrun breaks his vacation to make a surprise inspection of France's powerful Maginot Line.

—Pope Pius XII renews his pleas for peace. An official statement in Berlin warmly approves the Pope's appeal, adding that, in effect, it recognizes the justice of Hitler's demands against Poland.

—Official Washington, which was tense before the Munich settlement a year earlier, regards the European situation calmly. President Roosevelt is fishing off Newfoundland, Secretary of State Cordell Hull is on vacation at White Sulphur Springs, Va., Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau is in Europe and Secretary of War Woodring, returning from a routine inspection tour of Panama, finds himself ranking executive in a tranquil capital.

AUGUST 20—While military missions from London and Paris, after months of diplomatic failures, strive to swing Moscow into a British-Franco-Russian alliance to "stop Hitler," Soviet Russia signs a trade pact with Nazi Germany providing credits of 200,000,000 marks to the Russians. Foreign observers say it can have only a commercial, not a political, significance.

—Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain breaks his Sabbath holiday and hurries to London because of grave reports from Berlin and Central Europe.

—Pope Pius sends an emissary to Warsaw to plead with Polish leaders to seek an amicable agreement.

AUGUST 21—*Germany and Russia throw* London, Paris and other world capitals into a furor with a sensational joint announcement of a ten-year non-aggression pact. News of the Russo-German pact stuns the Balkans. Officials in Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Hungary fear it may lead to Poland's doom.

—King Leopold of the Belgians, who was twelve years old when his country was ravaged by the First World War, calls a conference of the seven nations associated in the Oslo trade conventions —Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland—to seek a peaceful mediation.

—Washington diplomats ponder three questions as the result of the Nazi-Bolshevik pact; whether a fourth partition of Poland is on the way; whether Britain and France will fulfill their pledge to go to war for Poland; whether Japan, ally of Berlin in the anti-Comintern pact, will now swing toward Britain, her World War ally, and the United States.

AUGUST 22—Following a four-hour Cabinet meeting, the British government calls an emergency session of Parliament for Thursday (the 24th) to rush through a bill giving the government special powers.

—Acting in the crisis caused by the Berlin-Moscow pact, Premier Daladier holds a long conference with Gen. Maurice Gamelin, French Commander-in-Chief. All France stands guard, with reservists called to the colors, bringing the armed forces to 1,500,000.

—Albert Forster, Nazi district leader of Danzig, indicates that the Free City soon will be returned to the Third Reich.

—German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop leaves by plane for Moscow to conclude negotiations on the Russo-German non-aggression pact, while the Soviet insists the treaty is a "peace step."

While not completely surprised by the Berlin-Moscow agreement, Tokyo obviously is hard hit. Authoritative quarters say Germany had threatened to conclude such a pact with Russia while Japan was hesitating concerning a military agreement with Berlin and Rome. Meanwhile, Russia sends reinforcements to the forty-five-mile Outer Mongolia frontier, where a "test war" between Russia and Japan has been under way since May.

AUGUST 23—London and Paris, faced with Berlin's threat of "a war by Saturday," warn Hitler they will resist, and begin calling up a combined army of approximately 2,500,000 men. Britain is prepared to send thirty-two divisions —300,000 men—to the Continent while England's mighty armada takes positions to bottle up Germany.

—Hitler receives Sir Nevile Henderson, British Ambassador, at Berchtesgaden and is handed the British government's first proposals, described in Germany as "aggressive demands" to preserve peace.

—Italy is calm, and there is no attempt to whip up a war fury among the people.

—While awaiting authentic information concerning the terms of the Berlin-Moscow pact, the Turkish government reaffirms its mutual assistance agreement with Britain and France. Franz von Papen, Germany's Ambassador to Turkey, flies to Angora to renew attempts to draw Turkey out of the Anglo-French bloc.

—King Leopold, in the name of the seven nations in the Oslo group, addresses the world by radio in a moving appeal to avert the impending war.

—President Roosevelt, admittedly disturbed by the European situation, cancels plans for a ceremonious landing at Annapolis from the U.S.S. *Tuscaloosa*, hurries ashore at Red Bank, N. J., and boards a train for Washington to plan the safeguarding of U. S. neutrality and the evacuation of 100,000 Americans from Europe.

AUGUST 24—Germany and Russia sign the non-aggression pact binding each of them against associating "with any other grouping of powers which directly or indirectly is aimed at the other party," and pledging each to refrain from any act of force against the other. Worried world capitals fear this is Moscow's "go ahead" signal to Hitler.

—Hitler again receives Ambassador Henderson in Berlin, but the conference ends on a blunt note after fifteen minutes and Sir Nevile, rebuffed, leaves the chancellery speechless.

—Prime Minister Chamberlain asks Parliament to enact emergency bills giving the government virtual dictatorial powers to deal with any emergency. The House quickly accedes to the request, 457 to 4.

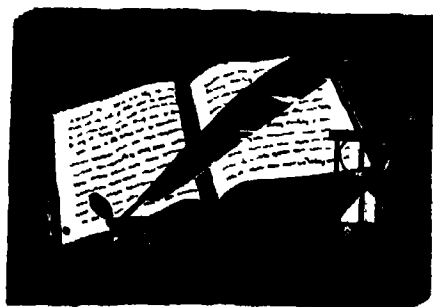
—Danzig Senate votes to make Albert Forster, Nazi leader, the Free City's Chief of State. City anxiously awaits decree annexing it to Germany. It is announced that the 13,200-ton *Schleswig Holstein*, German navy cadet training ship, will visit port next day.

—Warsaw announces Poland will not tolerate annexation of Danzig by Germany, and by 6 P.M. the Polish army completes occupation of its posts of combat.

—President Roosevelt appeals directly to Hitler and President Moscicki of Poland suggesting methods of avoiding war. Earlier in the day he had asked the King of Italy to seek a peaceful solution of Europe's crisis.

—Evacuation of Paris is begun after the government orders everyone whose presence is not "indispensable" to find safety outside the city. Hundreds of thousands of reservists entrain for the frontier.

—Pope Pius broadcasts a fervent appeal for peace.

AUGUST 25—Climaxing a day of diplomatic activities in Berlin, the German capital is isolated when phone and cable communications are suddenly severed.

The German national celebration at Tannenberg, marking the defeat of the Russians by the Germans in the World War, is officially cancelled. German ships at sea are ordered home.
—Britain expands and places on record in a formal treaty of alliance its pledge to defend Poland to the end against direct or indirect aggression by Germany, thus warning Hitler that London is "not bluffing" this time.
Premier Daladier, in a radio speech to the French nation, defines the cause for which, in a few hours, he might have to send his countrymen to war, and declares that France's safety is linked to Poland's liberty.
—After President Moscicki of Poland accepts President Roosevelt's request for a peaceful settlement between Poland and Germany, the text of the reply is relayed to Hitler by Roosevelt with the request that the Nazi government "show as much consideration for the welfare of the world."
—Italy sees hope for peace following the intense diplomatic scuffle in Europe. *Il Messagero* hints Mussolini may take a hand in settling the crisis. At the same time, Italy receives its first official warning to prepare for war when the 1903 and 1913 classes are called to the colors, bringing the number of men mobilized to 1,500,000.

AUGUST 26—British Cabinet fails to reach an agreement on the terms of a reply to the message of Hitler containing his demands for the return of Danzig and recognition "in principle" of Germany's right to those lands taken from her by Versailles.
—Robert Coulondre, French Ambassador, presents France's two-point reply to Hitler: first, France does not want to fight, but intends to keep her guarantee to Warsaw; secondly, if Germany wants a peaceful solution, she must negotiate with Poland as with an equal power.
—Nazi party congress at Nuremberg, scheduled for September 2—six months earlier Hitler had designated it as "the congress of peace"—is postponed.
—Italy identifies herself as being jointly responsible for Hitler's latest Polish proposals and gives strong indication Italy will press for satisfaction of her own demands for Tunis, Djibouti and Suez.
—A reshuffle of the Japanese Cabinet is forecast after Premier Baron Kiichiro Hiranuma confers with leaders over the signing of the German-Soviet non-aggression pact which necessitates an abrupt change in Tokyo's foreign policy.

AUGUST 27—In a seven-page letter to Premier Daladier, Hitler reveals that his demands on Poland include the return of Danzig and the Corridor and implies he will insist on other "adjustments" at Poland's expense.
—The British Cabinet resumes its debate on a reply to Hitler. The British delay keeps the entire world on tenterhooks.
—Rumors in London of a "hitherto undisclosed offer from Berlin to negotiate a twenty-year non-aggression pact with

Britain and France if the Fuehrer is given the right of way in Poland."
—Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King of Canada sends an appeal to Hitler, Mussolini and Moscicki to avoid war.

AUGUST 28—British Ambassador Sir Nevile Henderson flies from London to Germany with a message reaffirming Britain's intention to support Poland.
—Hitler reveals that he is willing to have some friend, such as Mussolini, negotiate after he indicates that he believes direct talks with Poland will be futile.
—The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. postpones ratification of the Russo-German non-aggression pact in view of the confused international situation.
—The Emperor of Japan commands Gen. Nobuyuki Abe, retired, to form a new Cabinet as the Hiranuma Cabinet resigns in a body. General Abe, a moderate, is seen in a position to swing Japan back into the ranks of the democratic powers.

AUGUST 29—Hitler and his advisers begin work early in the day to draft a reply to British note. Hitler's reply is received in London late at night, and Prime Minister Chamberlain and Foreign Secretary Halifax study it until nearly dawn. Contents of the note are not revealed.
—Britain goes grimly ahead with military preparations. British official circles insist, however, there is still hope Hitler may be induced to participate in a conference for general European settlement.
—War preparations continue along the Franco-German salient as Germany closes the frontier at Strasbourg.
—Italy urges civilians to evacuate all large cities
AUGUST 30—Britain rejects Hitler's proposal that London persuade Poland to send an emissary to Berlin immediately to "confirm" the surrender of Danzig and the Corridor to the Reich. In refusing to coerce Poland and give Hitler "another Munich," London restates its intention to support Poland.
—Declaring that Hitler's peace proposals constitute an "insult" to Polish national sovereignty, Warsaw calls up another 1,000,000 men.
—France places railroads under Army control. Gen. Maxime Weygand, seventy-two-year-old World War hero and former Commander-in-Chief of the army, flies to French-mandated Syria to take command of allied French, British and Turkish forces in the Near East.
—Hitler forms a war council of six men, with Field Marshal Hermann Goering named head of the Ministerial Council for National Defense, wielding an authority second only to Hitler's.
—The Slovak government surrenders its powers to the German military, which has been occupying this German protectorate on Poland's south border.
—The Japanese army rushes large forces into Manchukuo through Korea and North China to guard vulnerable points along frontiers of Siberia and Outer Mongolia, Soviet protectorate, following reports that Russia, freed of a German menace, has moved 300,000 Red troops into the Far East.
—Moscow insists that no Red army troops are being moved into the Far East, asserting that, on the contrary, the Soviet is reinforcing her western frontiers.
—President Roosevelt meets with the newly organized War Resources Board, a group of industrial experts named to gear the nation's economic machinery for any emergency.
—After being held at New York for thirty-six hours for search by federal authorities in quest of war contraband, the $20,000,000 German luxury liner *Bremen* sails without passengers. The huge French liner *Normandie* remains at New York on orders from France, despite permission from U. S. officials to sail.

AUGUST 31—German government publishes sixteen-point proposal made to Polish government for settlement of differences—a proposal which, in the German view, Poland "rejected." Proposals provide for immediate return of Danzig to the Reich, a plebiscite in the Polish Corridor under direction of an international commission, demilitarization of both Danzig and the neighboring Polish port of Gdynia, and, in event of acceptance of the proposals, immediate demobilization of both Germany and Poland.
—Poland's answer to German announcement of terms is that Warsaw will insist on full restitution of her rights in Danzig, stand firm and use the might of her army of 1,000,000 men.
—Britain orders complete mobilization and begins mass evacuation of 3,000,000 non-combatants from cities. Strict censorship is imposed and buildings are requisitioned for emergency hospitals in case of air raids.
—France, following stand taken by Britain, refuses to yield to Hitler's program.
—Premier Mussolini, as Minister of War, divides Italy into two military commands in further intense war preparations. Crown Prince Umberto is assigned command of the southern half, including African Libya, with Marshal Graziani, veteran of the Ethiopian conquest, in charge of the northern half.
—By unanimous vote, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. ratifies the non-aggression treaty with Germany.
—British, French, Italian, German and Polish envoys at the Vatican are handed notes from Pope Pius which Papal Secretary of State Luigi Cardinal Maglione describes as pleas for peace.

SEPTEMBER 1—Declaring that no course is left but to "meet force with force," Hitler issues a proclamation to the Ger-

man army at 5:11 A.M. Immediately, Germany launches an undeclared war against Poland. By 5:45 A.M., Germany's high command announces that troops are quickly advancing in Pomerania, East Prussia and Silesia. At 6:05 A.M. Warsaw reports the Polish cities of Cracow, Teschen and Katowice have been bombed. Twenty-five minutes later, Puck and Westplatte, in the Polish Corridor, are bombed.
—Hitler tells the Reichstag "I will lead you to victory, and if not to victory then to my own death. For I shall not live in defeat." Even while the Nazis are fighting to seize Danzig, the Reichstag formally accepts the Free City back into Germany. Three Nazi armies smash into Poland.
—Fourteen German planes drop bombs on Warsaw after three previous air attacks are driven off by anti-aircraft guns.
—Chamberlain tells the British Parliament that, unless Berlin suspends all military operations against Poland — presumably without loss of time— Britain will fight.
—France decrees general mobilization and proclaims a state of siege throughout the nation.
—President Roosevelt announces that he believes this country can stay out of a European war.

SEPTEMBER 2—France and Great Britain dispatch a new ultimatum to Hitler giving him until noon Sunday to halt invasion of Poland.
—Count Ciano, Italian Foreign Minister, holds an unexpected conference with French Ambassador Andre Francois-Poncet, strengthening impression that Mussolini is working with Paris to prevent the German-Polish conflict from growing into a general war.

SEPTEMBER 3—Britain and France, 25 years after the outbreak of the World War, declare war on Germany. Britain's declaration comes at 11:15 A.M., 15 minutes after expiration of an ultimatum to Hitler that he answer a demand to withdraw from Polish soil. France enters the war automatically six hours after Britain when the French ultimatum expires.
—Hitler meets the French and British ultimatums with silence. After accusing Britain of encircling Germany to further British ambitions for world domination, he leaves the Chancellory to take command of his armies in the field.
—Poland's armies, cheered by news that Britain and France have entered the war, smash across the northern border into German East Prussia.
—Washington moves swiftly to invoke the neutrality act and set in motion its carefully geared machinery for easing the economic shock to this country of a conflict abroad. President Roosevelt addresses the nation, urging the United States to keep calm.
—The British liner *Athenia*, with 1,450 passengers and crew aboard, is submarined off the northern Irish Coast. The sinking of the vessel, fleeing the war zone, and bound for Canada with many Americans on board, jolts the U. S., which recalls the torpedoing of the *Lusitainia*, an act which helped to catapult America into the last war.

SEPTEMBER 4—France strikes along the Western Front with land and air forces in what military observers describe as a double flanking movement to relieve pressure of the German armies on Poland.
—German planes pour explosive and incendiary bombs on Warsaw, starting large fires.
—Rescue ships speed toward Irish and Scottish ports with at least 1,000 survivors of the *Athenia*.
—Great Britain "bombs" Germany with six million leaflets accusing Hitler of starting the war. Periodic radio broadcasts begin in London's war of propaganda.
—The Netherlands government protests to London against the flight of British warplanes over Dutch territory in the propaganda raid on Germany.
—The British cruiser *Ajax* captures and sinks the wheat laden German freighter *Olinda* off Montevideo, Uruguay.

SEPTEMBER 5—French forces penetrate into German territory and make contact with German troops on the western front.
—Berlin announces the capture of the two rich Polish industrial cities of Katowice and Chorzow, near the Polish-German frontier in Silesia.
—President Roosevelt declares the neutrality of the United States and reserves for American nationals their full rights under international law.
—The British steamer *Bosnia* is set ablaze by gunfire and torpedoed 100 miles off the Scottish coast; a Norwegian tanker rescues the crew of 23. The German ship *Carl Fritzen*, bound from The Netherlands to Buenos Aires, is sunk.
—Stocks soar in heavy trading on the New York Stock Exchange; the war babies spurt from 5 to 20 points.
—India proclaims a state of grave emergency and the Defence of India Act is promulgated.
—The Union of South Africa Parliament votes to follow Britain into war.

SEPTEMBER 6—German Army, after lightning advance from the north, shells Warsaw at dawn. Evacuated by the Polish Government and Foreign Embassies, the city is described as partially destroyed.
—Mussolini orders the dismantling of air raid shelters in Rome.

SEPTEMBER 7—Berlin officially announces the German Army is within twenty miles of Warsaw.
—The Polish garrison, at Westplatte, Polish military depot in Danzig harbor, surrenders, after being under German air and naval attack since early on the morning of September 1.
—British reinforcements move up to join French forces on German soil.
—The 7242 ton British freighter *Manaar*, is sunk off Portugal by a submarine. The crew, picked up by Dutch and Portuguese ships, declare that the *Manaar* was attacked without warning.
—The U.S.S. liner *Washington* speeds to answer an S.O.S. from the British freighter *Olivegrove*, torpedoed off the Irish coast.
—In the face of reports of unwarranted increases in the price of sugar and other commodities, Mayor LaGuardia acts to prevent profiteering in New York City.

SEPTEMBER 8—Germany diverts at least six divisions—96,000 men—to reinforce the Westwall as French and German armies battle along a 90-mile front.
—Desperate hand to hand fighting between German advance units and the defenders of Warsaw rages in the streets of the city's suburbs.
—French bombing planes rain explosives on the main Westwall forts to blast an opening for gathering French troops.
—Allied planes bomb the strongly fortified German naval base on the Island of Sylt, near the western end of the Kiel Canal.

—The Duke and Duchess of Windsor end their exile and leave Cannes for England where the Duke will take up war duties.
—Berlin has an air raid alarm as residents celebrate "the fall of Warsaw."
—President Roosevelt proclaims a state of emergency in the United States and announces the country's armed forces will be increased to 632,000 men.

SEPTEMBER 9—Warsaw radio announces that, although the capital is "under constant bombing, we will not yield!"
—The French officially report that the Germans are counter-attacking on the Western front. The French Army holds 200 square miles of German territory, including the rich coal deposits of the Saar basin.
—Field Marshal Goering, Air Force Commander and Number 2 Nazi, announces to the people of Germany that the Army will have completed its task in Poland within a week, when 70 divisions or 1,050,000 men, can be moved to the Western Front.
—The British War Cabinet decides to base its policy on the assumption the war will last three years or more.

SEPTEMBER 10—Hammered by long range artillery, air bombers and tanks, Warsaw not only holds against the Germans but even claims to have beaten them back.
—The German high command in Berlin reports that two Polish armies are trapped north and south of Warsaw.
—Soviet Russia prepares to meet the danger of a European war reaching Russian frontiers by calling up reserves.
—Canada formally declares war on Germany, rounding out the lineup of the 600,000,000 people of the Empire behind their King. Only Ireland holds out.
—President Roosevelt is expected to issue a summons for a special session of Congress to amend the Neutrality Act. A filibuster is threatened.

SEPTEMBER 11—An official statement in London declares that Britain will not make peace with any government headed by Adolf Hitler, but announces its willingness to negotiate at any time with a German regime whose word can be trusted.
—German High Command claims success on all Polish fronts.
—The French War Office reports "important progress" east of the Saar Basin.
—A survey reveals that at least 21 ships of the British merchant marine with a gross of 100,000 tons have been sunk by submarines, mines and shells in the ten days since the war began.
—The American freighter *Wacosta* carrying an undetermined number of passengers reports being stopped off the Irish Coast by a German submarine.
—Rumania hastily concentrates troops along the Russian border as the Red Army mobilizes on the western frontier.

SEPTEMBER 12—Prime Minister Chamberlain flies to France for a meeting of the Allied Supreme War Council where it is decided that the two countries will "devote their entire strength and resources" to the war.
—Germans approach Lwow, Ukrainian capital, as the East Prussian columns weld a steel ring around Warsaw.
—Lieut. Gen. Yoshikiro Umezu, new Commander-in-chief of Japanese Army in Manchukuo, declares Japan and Soviet would do well to negotiate boundary difficulties, indicating a Russo-Japanese peace.
—President Roosevelt reaffirms his pledge to defend the Dominion of Canada from attack, under the Monroe Doctrine, declaring the United States is bound to protect all possessions of the Allied and neutral powers in the Western Hemisphere.

SEPTEMBER 13—Germany announces Polish guerrilla warfare will be penalized by bombing of open towns. Lord Halifax counters with a warning of retaliation.
—Tension heightens in Shanghai following a Japanese proposal that the British and French forces withdraw, and leave the task of defending the city to the Japanese army.

SEPTEMBER 14—Official Russian paper *Pravda* attacks Poland for ill-treatment of minorities.
—Senator Borah declares over the radio that repeal of the arms embargo under the present circumstances would amount to a U. S. entry into the European war.

SEPTEMBER 15—Soviet Russia and Japan agree to an armistice in their "test war" on the Manchukuo-Outer Mongolia border. This is viewed as a prelude to a non-aggression pact aimed at British and American interests.
—President Roosevelt indicates the sole task of a special session of Congress called for September 21, will be to deal with the neutrality legislation. He defines American territorial waters as extending "as far to sea as the nation's interests require them to go."

SEPTEMBER 16—Berlin issues an ultimatum to Warsaw that the city be evacuated on pain of destruction. On the West Front the Battle of the Saar results in a heavy artillery duel.

SEPTEMBER 16—Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay negotiate to pool their naval strength for coast protection.
—Tokyo denies a Soviet non-aggression pact is being negotiated and that Germany engineered the truce.

SEPTEMBER 17—Russian troops march into Poland at dawn with the approval of the German Government. Moscow informs the Polish Ambassador the Red Invasion is "to protect its own interests and to protect White Russian and Ukrainian minorities." Russia declares, at the same time, the Soviet is maintaining its neutrality.
—Reports of the Red Army's march alarms the Balkans, particularly Rumania, which has a 1,000,000 Russian minority in the former Czarist territory of Bessarabia.

SEPTEMBER 17—If the U. S. decides an act of war has resulted from the invasion of Poland, the arms embargo will be extended to include Moscow.

SEPTEMBER 18—Red Army troops push deep into East Poland after crossing the 500 mile frontier stretching from Latvia to Rumania.
—Polish Embassy in London accuses Russia of aggression. Chamberlain confers with Ministers but gives no indication whether or not Britain would declare war on the Soviet.
—President Ignaz Moscicki and Foreign Minister Josef Beck flee into Rumania as Polish soldiers cross the frontier.
—German troops are shifted from the East to the West front, after Russian invasion virtually causes Poland to cease to exist.

SEPTEMBER 19—Adolf Hitler, in a talk from Danzig broadcast internationally, declares Germany will fight to the finish. He denies charges Germany seeks to dominate the world.

Notes and Documents

In all, 12 letters and documents were included in the official correspondence between Great Britain and Germany over the Polish issue. The first British note, signed by Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, and dated August 22, 1939, emphasized Britain's determination to uphold its pledge to aid Poland in the event that country faced aggression. The German reply, dated August 23, stated that Germany found it impossible to renounce her demands upon Poland and was prepared to fight for them if necessary. The third document, a translation of the text of a verbal communication made to Sir Nevile Henderson, British Ambassador to Germany, by Chancellor Hitler on August 25, emphasized Germany's insistence that it had no ambition to dominate the world; that it would insist on a "solution" to the problem of Danzig and the Polish Corridor. Britain's answer, as contained in a letter of August 28, agreed that some disposition could and should be made of the dispute, and suggested immediate negotiations toward that end. Excerpts from the ensuing correspondence follow:

Reply of the German Chancellor, dated August 29, to the British letter of August 28:

Though skeptical as to prospects of a successful outcome, they [the German Government] nevertheless are prepared to accept the English proposal and enter into direct discussions.

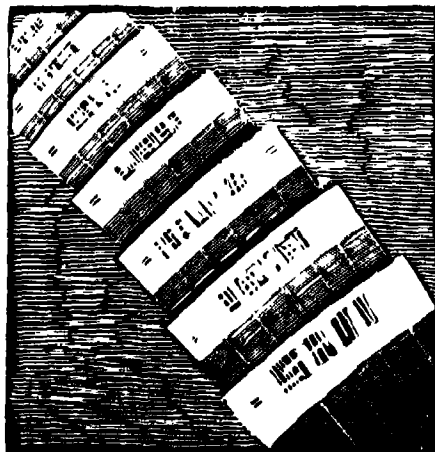
The German Government desires in this way to give the British Government and the British nation proof of the sincerity of Germany's intentions to enter into a lasting friendship with Great Britain.

The Government of the Reich felt, however, bound to point out to the British Government that in the event of a territorial rearrangement in Poland they no longer would be able to bind themselves, give guarantees or participate in guarantees, without the U.S.S.R. being associated with them.

The German Government have never had any intention of touching Poland's vital interests or questioning the existence of an independent Polish State. The German Government, accordingly, in these circumstances, agree to accept the British Government's offer of their good offices in securing the dispatch to Berlin of a Polish emissary with full powers. They count on arrival of this emissary on Wednesday, Aug. 30, 1939.

The German Government will immediately draw up proposals for a solution acceptable to themselves and will, if possible, place these at the disposal of the British Government before the arrival of the Polish negotiator.

Telegram from the British government to Sir Nevile Henderson, sent at 2 a. m., Aug. 30, 1939:

We shall give careful consideration to

the German Government's reply, but it is, of course, unreasonable to expect that we can produce a Polish representative in Berlin today, and the German Government must not expect this.

It might be well for you at once to let this be known in the proper quarters through appropriate channels. We hope you may receive our reply this afternoon.

Message sent through Sir Nevile Henderson from the Prime Minister to the German Chancellor at 2:45 p. m., Aug. 30, 1939:

We are considering the German note with all urgency and shall send an official reply later in the afternoon.

We are representing at Warsaw how vital it is to reinforce all instructions for avoidance of frontier incidents, and I would beg you to confirm similar instructions on the German side.

I welcome evidence in the exchange of views which are taking place of that desire for Anglo-German understanding of which I spoke yesterday in Parliament.

Telegram from the British government to Sir Nevile Henderson, sent at 5:30 p. m., Aug. 30, 1939:

In informing the German Government of renewed representations which have been made in Warsaw, please make it clear that the Polish Government can only be expected to maintain an attitude of complete restraint if the German Government reciprocate on their side of the frontier, and if no provocation is offered by members of the German minority in Poland. Reports are current that the Germans have committed acts of sabotage which would justify sternest measures.

Telegram from the British government to Sir Nevile Henderson, sent at 6:50 p. m., Aug. 30, 1939:

We understand that the German Government is insisting that a Polish representative with full powers must come to Berlin to receive German proposals.

We cannot advise the Polish Government to comply with this procedure, which is wholly unreasonable.

Could you not suggest to the German Government that they adopt the normal procedure, when their proposals are ready, of inviting the Polish Ambassador to call and of handing proposals to him for transmission to Warsaw and of inviting suggestions as to the conduct of negotiations?

The German Government have been good enough to promise they will communicate proposals also to His Majesty's Government. If the latter think they offer a reasonable basis, they can be counted on to do their best in Warsaw to facilitate negotiations.

Reply, dated midnight, August 30, from Great Britain to the German Chancellor's communication of August 29:

1. His Majesty's Government appreciate the friendly reference in the reply of the German Government to the latter's desire for an Anglo-German understanding.

2. His Majesty's Government repeat that they reciprocate the German Government's desire for improved relations, but it will be recognized that they could not sacrifice the interests of other friends in order to obtain that improvement. . . .

3. His Majesty's Government note that the German Government accept the British proposal and are prepared to enter into direct discussions with the Polish Government.

4. His Majesty's Government understand that the German Government accept in principle the condition that any settlement should be made the subject of international guarantee. . . .

5. His Majesty's Government also note that the German Government accepts the position of the British Government as to Poland's vital interests and independence.

6. His Majesty's Government must make an express reservation in regard to the statement of particular demands put forward by the German Government. They understand that the German Government are drawing up proposals for a solution. No doubt these proposals will be fully examined during discussions.

7. His Majesty's Government are at once informing the Polish Government of the German Government's reply. The method of contact and arrangements for discussions must obviously be agreed with all urgency between the German and Polish Governments, but in His Majesty's Government's view it would be impracticable to establish contact so early as today.

8. His Majesty's Government fully recognize the need for speed in the initiation of discussion, and they share the apprehensions of the Chancellor arising from the proximity of two mobilized armies standing face to face. They would accordingly most strongly urge that both parties should undertake that, during negotiations, no aggressive military movements will take place. His Majesty's Government feel confident that they could obtain such an undertaking from the Polish Government if the German Government would give similar assurances.

9. Further, His Majesty's Government would suggest that a temporary modus vivendi might be arranged for Danzig which might prevent occurrence of incidents tending to render German-Polish relations more difficult.

On learning of these developments, the Polish government informed Great Britain during the afternoon of August 31 that they would authorize their Ambassador in Berlin to inform the German government that Poland had accepted the British proposals for negotiations.

Ambassador Lipski, of Poland, was not received by Herr von Ribbentrop, German Foreign Minister, until the evening of August 31. After this interview, the German government forthwith broadcast the sixteen proposals which follow. M. Lipski at once tried to establish contact with Warsaw but was unable to do so because all means of communication between Poland and Germany had been closed by the German government.

Following is the translation of a message communicated to the British Ambassador in Berlin by the German State Secretary:

His Majesty's Government informed the German Government in a note dated Aug. 28, 1939, of their readiness to offer their mediation toward direct negotiations between Germany and Poland over the problems in dispute. In so doing they made it abundantly clear that they, too, were aware of the urgent need for progress in view of the continuous incidents and the general European tension.

In a reply dated Aug. 29 the German Government, in spite of being skeptical as to the desire of the Polish Government to come to an understanding, declared themselves ready to receive a personage appointed by the Polish Government up to the evening of Aug. 30 with the proviso that the latter be in fact empowered not only to discuss but to conduct and conclude negotiations.

Instead of a statement regarding arrival of an authorized Polish personage, the first answer the Government of the Reich received to their readiness for an understanding was news of the Polish mobilization, and, only toward 12 o'clock on the night of Aug. 30, 1939, did they receive a somewhat general assurance of the British readiness to help toward a commencement of negotiations. . . .

The Reich Government cannot be expected for their part continually not only to emphasize their willingness to start negotiations but actually be ready to do so while being, from the Polish side, merely put off with empty subterfuges.

It has once more been made clear, as a result of the démarche which has meanwhile been made by the Polish Ambassador, that the latter himself has no plenary powers to enter into any negotiations.

In these circumstances the German Government regard their proposals as having this time, too, been to all intents and purposes rejected, although they considered that these proposals, in the form in which they were made known to the British Government, also were more than loyal, fair and practicable.

The Reich Government consider it timely to inform the public of the basis for negotiation which were communicated to the British Ambassador by the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Herr von Ribbentrop. . . .

1. Danzig shall return to the German Reich in view of its purely German character as well as of the unanimous will of its population.

2. Territory of the so-called Corridor shall itself decide whether it shall belong to Germany or Poland.

3. For this purpose a plebiscite shall take place in this territory.

4. The Polish port of Gdynia shall be excluded from the above territory.

his troops an order to attack. Never was aggression more evident or more unjust. Never was such a work of falsehood and cynicism invented to justify aggression.

Thus war was launched at a moment when great forces had been set in motion for peace and when the most respected authorities of the entire world were exerting their influence on the two parties to induce them to open negotiations for a direct settlement of the conflict which was confronting them.

All that we did before the outbreak of hostilities we are still ready to do. If a move for conciliation is renewed we still are ready to join in it. If the fighting should cease and if the aggressors should return within their borders, and if free negotiation could then begin, you may believe me, gentlemen, that the French Government would spare no effort to attain success, even now, in the interests of world peace.

Is this the simple question of the German-Polish conflict? No, gentlemen, it is a new phase in the march of the Hitler dictatorship toward its goal-domination of Europe and of the world. How, indeed, can it be forgotten that German claims to Polish territory have long been written on the map of Greater Germany and were only camouflaged for a few years in order more easily to accomplish other conquests!

We are told today that once the German claims on Poland have been satisfied Germany will bind herself to everlasting peace with the world. You may recognize these words!

On May 25, 1935, Hitler agreed not to intervene in the internal affairs of Austria and not to add Austria to the Reich. And on the eleventh of May, 1938, the army entered Vienna, and Dr. Schuschnigg, for having dared to defend the independence of his country, was thrown into prison.

On Sept. 12, 1938, Hitler said that the Sudeten problem was an internal question which concerned only the German minority in Bohemia and the Czecho-Slovak Government. A few days later he unmasked his ambitions, pretending they had been legitimatized by violence of Czech persecutions.

On Sept. 26, 1938, Hitler declared that the Sudeten territories represented the last territorial claims he had to make in Europe. On March 14, 1939, President Hacha was called to Berlin and ordered in the harshest terms to accept an ultimatum. A few hours later Prague was occupied without regard for the given signatures.

Finally, on Jan. 30, 1939, Hitler lauded the pact of nonaggression which he signed five years previously with Poland. He hailed this accord as a contribution to freedom and solemnly proclaimed his intention to respect its clauses.

But it is Hitler's acts which count and not his words.

Moreover, gentlemen, it is not alone a question of our country's honor. It also concerns the protection of her vital interests. For a France which has failed to keep its signature would soon become a France despised and isolated, without allies and would soon be subjected to a dreadful onslaught.

Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain

National Addresses: England

From Prime Minister Chamberlain's statement of September 2 to the House of Commons:

Now that all the relevant documents are being made public we shall stand at the bar of history knowing that the responsibility for this terrible catastrophe lies on the shoulders of one man. The German Chancellor has not hesitated to plunge the world into misery in order to serve his own senseless ambitions.

There is just one passage from a recent communication of ours, dated August 30, which I should like to quote, for it shows how easily the final clash might have been avoided if there had been the least desire on the part of the German government to arrive at a peaceful settlement.

In this document we state this:

"This government fully recognizes the need for speed in the initiation of discussions. They share the apprehensions of the Chancellor arising from the proximity of two mobilized armies standing face to face. They accordingly most strongly urge that both governments should undertake that during the negotiations no aggressive military movement will take place. His Majesty's government feels confident that they can obtain such an undertaking from the Polish government if the German government would give similar assurances."

We never had any reply from the government to that suggestion. It was one which, if it had been followed, must have saved the catastrophe which took place this morning. In the German broadcast last night which recited the 16 points of the proposals which they had put forward, there occurred this sentence: "In these circumstances, the Reich Government considered its proposals rejected."

To begin with, let me say that these proposals have never been communicated by Germany to Poland at all. . . .

It is plain, therefore, that Germany claims that Poland was in the wrong because she had not on Wednesday entered into negotiations with Germany on proposals of which she had never heard. Now, what of ourselves. On that Wednesday night, at the interview to which I have just referred, Herr von Ribbentrop produced a lengthy document which he read aloud in German at a rapid speed. Naturally, on this meeting, our Ambassador asked him for a copy of the document.

He replied that it was now too late as the Polish representative had not arrived in Berlin at midnight and so we never got a copy of those proposals. The first time we heard them was on the broadcast last night. These were the circumstances in which the German government said they considered their proposals were rejected. It is now clear that their conception of negotiation was that on an almost instantaneous demand the Polish plenipotentiary should go to Berlin, where others have been before him, and should then be confronted with a statement of the demands to be accepted in their entirety or refused.

I am not pronouncing an opinion on the terms themselves for I do not feel called upon to do so. The proper course in my view was that these proposals should have been put before the Poles who should have been given time to consider them and to say whether in their opinion they did or did not infringe those vital interests of Poland which Germany had assured us on a previous occasion she intended to respect.

The thoughts of many of us must inevitably at this moment be turning back to 1914.

In comparison with our position then how do we stand at this time?

The answer is that all three services are ready and that the situation in all directions is far more favorable and reassuring than in 1914. It only remains to set our teeth and enter upon this struggle, which we so earnestly endeavored to avoid, with a determination to see it through to the end.

We have no quarrel with the German people except that they allowed themselves to be governed by a Nazi government. As long as that government pursues the method which it has so persistently followed during the last two years there will be no peace in Europe.

We should merely pass from one crisis to another and see one country attacked by another by methods which have now become familiar to us with their sickening technique. We are resolved that these methods must come to an end.

From Prime Minister Chamberlain's statement of September 3 to the House of Commons:

We were in consultation all day yesterday with the French government and we felt that the intensified action which the Germans were taking against Poland allowed of no delay in making our position clear.

Accordingly we decided to send to our ambassador in Berlin instructions which

he was to hand at 9 o'clock this morning to the German foreign secretary which read as follows:

"Sir, in a communication which I had the honor to make to you on Sept. 1, I informed you on the instructions of his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs that unless the German government were prepared to give satisfactory assurances that the German government would suspend all aggressive action against Poland and were prepared promptly to withdraw their forces from Polish territory, his majesty's government in the United Kingdom would without hesitation fulfil their obligations to Poland."

"Although this communication was made more than twenty-four hours ago no reply has been received. German attacks on Poland have been continued and intensified.

"I have accordingly to inform you that unless, no later than 11 a. m. British summer time today, Sept 3, satisfactory assurances to the above effect have been given by German government and have reached his majesty's government in London, a state of war will exist between the two countries as from that hour."

No such undertaking was received by the time stipulated and consequently this country is now at war with Germany.

It is a sad day for all of us, but for none is it sadder than for me. Everything I had worked for, hoped for, and believed in during my public life has crashed into ruins.

There is only one thing left for me and that is to devote what strength and power I have to forwarding victory of the cause for which we have to sacrifice ourselves. I cannot tell what part I may be allowed to play, but I trust I may live to see the day when Hitlerism has been destroyed and a restored and liberated Europe has been reestablished.

From Prime Minister Chamberlain's following proclamation of September to Parliament and, by radio, to the world:

You can imagine what a bitter blow it is to me that all my long struggle to win peace has failed.

Yet I cannot believe that there is anything more or anything different that I could have done that would have been more successful.

Up to the very last it would have been possible to arrange a peaceful and honorable settlement between Germany and Poland; Hitler would not have it.

He had evidently made up his mind to attack Poland whatever happened, and although he now says that he put forward reasonable proposals which were rejected by the Poles, that is not a true statement.

The proposals were never shown to the Poles nor to us, and although they were announced in the German broadcast on Thursday night, Hitler did not wait to hear comment on them but ordered his troops to cross the Polish frontier the next morning.

His action shows convincingly that there is no chance of expecting that this man ever will give up his intention of using force to gain his will.

And he can only be stopped by force.

We have done all that any country could do to establish peace But a situation in which no word given by Germany's ruler could be trusted and no people or country could feel itself safe has become intolerable

Now may God bless you all and may he defend the right. For it is evil things that we shall be fighting against brute force, bad faith, injustice, oppression, and persecution. And against them I am certain that right will prevail.

National Addresses: Germany

From Chancellor Hitler's internationally broadcast message to the German Reichstag on September 1:

My love of peace and my endless patience should not be mistaken for weakness. I therefore, told the British government last night that I considered the suggestion I had made for a peaceful settlement of the Polish question as a failure, but that I saw no possibility now of carrying on serious negotiations with Poland. That country's mobilization was the answer to my proposal, and last night again no less than 14 border incidents have occurred which are Poland's responsibility.

I am now determined to talk the same language to Poland that Poland has been talking to us. I have given in to the Western powers for quite some time, and particularly I have offered to England that we come to terms on the basis of a general settlement affecting our relations, but it must be mutual; it must come from both sides

I also want to thank Italy at this time that she has consistently backed us up. Of course, I do not want to appeal to others for help. We shall help ourselves.

I have no intention of fighting women or children. I have, therefore, given strict orders to the German air force that only military fortifications and points of military importance should be attacked.

From now on we will talk the same language. There will be bombs against bombs, and if our opponents should find that they can not restrain themselves and use poison gas against us, it will be poison gas against them at the same time from us. We shall fight until our rights are granted. We have spent some 90,000,000,000 marks for our national defense. Our army and navy today are more powerful than they ever were, and we shall not back down.

If I now call upon the German people to make sacrifices I have a right to do so. I am ready to make every personal sacrifice on my own part. I expect nothing from any German but what I also would do myself and would always be prepared to do. My life belongs to my people. I shall march as the first German soldier of the people.

I have put on my old soldier's coat, and I will not take it off until we achieve victory.

If anything happens to me, then there shall come Marshal Goering. And if to Marshal Goering, then shall come Herr Hess. You shall be duty bound to them as you have been to me.

In case something happens to take away Herr Hess, the choice shall be by the German people.

From Chancellor Hitler's proclamation of September 1 to the German Army:

The Polish nation refused my efforts for a peaceful regulation of neighborly relations; instead it has appealed to weapons.

Germans in Poland are persecuted with a bloody terror and are driven from their homes. The series of border violations, which are unbearable to a great power, prove that the Poles no longer are willing to respect the German frontier. In order to put an end to this frantic activity no other means is left to me now than to meet force with force.

German defense forces will carry on the battle for the honor of the living rights of the reawakened German people with firm determination.

I expect every German soldier, in view of the great tradition of eternal German soldiery, to do his duty until the end.

From Chancellor Hitler's appeal to the German people on September 3:

For centuries England has pursued her aim to make European peoples defenseless in the face of the British policy of world conquest by proclaiming a balance of powers according to which England claimed the right to attack and destroy, on threadbare pretext, the European states which from time to time appeared most dangerous.

Just as the German Reich under National Socialist leadership began to recover from the terrible effects of the Versailles dictate and threatened to overcome the crisis, British encirclement immediately set in again.

Innumerable times I have offered England and the English people agreement and the friendship of the German people.

I was constantly repulsed by hypocritical declarations. Always new pretexts were sought to cramp the German space of living [lebensraum] and there were attempts, although we never threatened British interests, to make our life difficult and even throttle it.

England induced Poland to that attitude, which made peaceful understanding impossible. Through its guarantee declaration it gave the Polish government the prospect of provoking Germany without any danger—more, to allow it to attack.

Polish resistance will be broken by our soldiers. Let England understand that today 90 million human beings are united in the German Reich. They are determined not to let themselves be choked off by England.

Germany will never again capitulate! Life under a second and even worse dictate of Versailles has no sense. We have never been a slave people, and never want to be in the future.

If our people in such a manner fulfills its highest duty, then the Lord God, who always has given His grace to him who was determined to help himself, will also stand by us.

A Month of War

Six experts review the background and early stages of the war from separate vantage points

I. POLITICAL

Europe Completes a Cycle

LUDWIG LORE

Authority on European affairs

TRACING the war to its diplomatic origins is not an easy task. It is, however, an important one because it helps us to determine, at least approximately, who was responsible for the outburst.

Where to begin? How far back to go? The bitterness between Germany and Poland which culminated in the present war is not of recent date. It has been there ever since the Germans took a large part of Poland after the Napoleonic wars and made common cause with the Czarist Russia to keep their Polish subjects in subjection.

At the outbreak of the World War the German Imperial Government promised the Poles to restore their ancient kingdom—and made Poland the no-man's land of the war in the East. Then the Versailles Treaty created a new Polish State, but, in the process, hacked Germany in two, creating a situation that precluded a lasting German-Polish peace.

Thus, when Hitler came to power, he inherited a situation already tense with antagonism, largely, to be sure, of his own making. Hitler's accession threw the Poles into a panic, and they were profoundly relieved when, instead of invading their country, Hitler and the Polish ambassador made the astounding announcement that their two countries had come to an understanding, when in January 1934, Germany and Poland signed a ten year non-aggression pact.

Poland's desertion of her old ally, France, which had nursed her through the difficult years of her early statehood, had a pronounced effect on European diplomatic relationships. For France, fearing an undue strengthening of Germany's power, turned to the Soviet Union, concluded her famous non-aggression pact with Moscow, and helped Litvinoff perfect a chain of peace treaties with the small countries along Russia's western frontier —a move which in turn made Poland press even more frantically into Hitler's embrace.

After the death of Marshal Pilsudski, Polish dictator, who had been dominated completely by his pro-German Foreign Minister Col. Beck, his successor General Smigly-Rydz made new overtures to England and France, without, however, breaking off relations with Germany. It was his idea that Poland could best safeguard her own and European peace by observing strict neutrality between the contending forces. Nor did he overlook the fact that France and England were in a position to give financial aid which Poland badly needed.

So Poland balanced precariously until Germany's Anschluss with Austria wakened all her old fears anew. Thereupon she held several discussions with Moscow and Rumania, which ended in a Polish-Rumanian Treaty, the terms of which were never clearly defined. Whether or not Rumania forgot her resentment over Moscow's refusal to give up Bessarabia, and agreed to let Russia march troops through her territory in case of war, has never been established. In the present war Rumania, so far, has observed painstaking neutrality.

That was how matters stood when Germany marched into Czechoslovakia last year and set the stage for the worst of Poland's many diplomatic blunders. Poland's relations with Czechoslovakia had always suffered from the fact that the post-war peace treaties left unsolved frontier problems. In a peace treaty she signed with Czechoslovakia in the early 20's Poland had promised to drop her claim on portions of Slovakia, while Czechoslovakia had agreed to do likewise in regard to parts of Eastern Galicia. In 1934 there had been a new and serious flare-up of hostilities, as a direct result of Poland's pact with Berlin. Most of the controversy centered around the district of Teschen in the south-east corner of Silesia, and feeling was still tense in the fall of 1938 when the Czechoslovakian crisis forced by Hitler shook Europe to its foundation. Poland at once announced herself in on any division of Czechoslovakia. Hungary presented similar claims and Czechoslovakia, crushed by the Munich tragedy, yielded to both.

Poland and Russia

To understand Poland's strange foreign policy, one must appreciate how powerfully it was influenced at all times by her fear of her Russian neighbor, which was every bit as great as her dread of German invasion. That this fear was well grounded is all too grimly evidenced in the thoroughness with which an opportunistic Russia invaded her country a few weeks ago and snuffed out whatever remaining chances she may have had against Germany.

The bad blood engendered by the Soviet-Polish war in 1921, when the Red Army almost smashed the young Polish Republic after Marshal Pilsudski's invasion of the Ukraine, left an indelible stain on Russo-Polish relations. Poland professed to live, and probably did live, in constant apprehension, though nothing was further from Moscow's thoughts in the early years of the Soviet Revolution than a war of territorial acquisition. In fact, the Soviets themselves lived in constant fear of invasion by the western

powers. Unfortunately these two fears, instead of neutralizing each other, intensified distrust and hysteria.

As the years passed Poland lost some of her terror of Russian invasion, but her resentment at Communist propaganda grew in the same measures. Worst of all, however, was her knowledge that, in any war between Russia and capitalist Europe, Poland would inevitably become the battleground. It was this that made the life of the Polish Foreign Minister an endless endeavor to play Moscow against Berlin and Berlin against Moscow, to keep either from becoming too powerful for safety.

In 1932, Poland engineered a non-aggression pact with Russia. This was before the coming of Hitler, and the agreement was received by the German press with little, if any, disapproval. In September 1933 the news that Moscow had sent a personal gift to Marshal Pilsudski, together with an invitation to come to Moscow to participate in a Red Army's celebration, gave rise to the report that the two countries had concluded a military alliance, though Moscow vigorously denied it.

One can imagine Moscow's feelings in January, 1934, when it learned of the Polish-German 10-year pact. Colonel Beck hastened to the Russian capital with reassurances and a few weeks later two Soviet-Polish protocols were added to Europe's diplomatic documents. But feeling between Moscow and Poland remained tense. When Poland learned that France had proposed a military loan to Moscow in connection with the Franco-Russian Treaty, she demanded that France should permit none of the loan to be used by Russia to build roads and bridges to the Polish borders. Thereafter Warsaw carefully abjured anything but the most formal relations with her Soviet neighbor, in an effort to avoid giving Germany the slightest reason for complaint.

Last year, a new rift threatened Polish-Soviet relations when the Poles entered the Czech situation with their demand for a portion of Ruthenia. Russia stormed and Poland replied by massing most of her army on the Ukrainian border, but her heart was not in it. President Moscicki and Colonel Beck were in favor of facing matters out on the side of the victorious Hitler, but Marshal Smigly-Rydz counselled against it.

Anti-Hitler Front

While all this was going on, there was a new development on the continent—a growing determination by England and France to create an aggressive front against further Nazi expansion. In Warsaw, too, there the conviction was growing that what happened in Europe would eventually depend on England and France. Wherefore Colonel Beck betook himself to France late last December to talk matters over.

Germany's backing of a Ukrainian nationalist movement was causing Warsaw anxiety. The Nazi Government was pursuing a broad scheme for a Greater Ukraine which would include parts of Poland, Rumania and Russia, along with a section of Czechoslovakia (Ruthenia). The situation seemed to call for a united defense by Russia, Rumania and Poland, with France as the arbiter of such an agreement.

While Poland's old pact with France had never been denounced, it had become almost meaningless. There was a reasonable doubt whether France would feel called upon to defend the Poles against German assault. However, the outcome of Colonel Beck's visit to Paris was more favorable than he could have hoped. Late in February Warsaw announced that he would also visit London shortly. On March 21st a British delegation arrived in Warsaw to see Colonel Beck on "matters of general concern"; on March 22nd London reported that Poland had requested a Polish-British military alliance as the price for her signature to a stop-Hitler declaration. It was intimated also that Poland had approached Moscow for a guarantee of help, but that the Soviets had refused to commit themselves without the certain knowledge that Britain and France would combat an active German thrust. Not long afterward Warsaw reported that the road had been paved for closer Polish-Britain trade relations to stimulate Poland's new industrialization plan, and a few weeks later, on March 30th, Prime Minister Chamberlain pledged French and British military assistance to Poland in case of attack by Germany, leaving it to Poland to decide whether or not such aid should be sent. It was London's first official departure from Munich . . .

Munich and After

In the future history of Europe, the word "Munich" will be synonymous with a foreign policy that seeks to appease an aggressor nation in the hope of getting some small concession in return. On September 30, 1938, the Munich Conference between Chamberlain and Daladier on one side and Mussolini and Hitler on the other ended its negotiations with the following pledge:

"We, the German Fuehrer and Chancellor and the British Prime Minister, have had a further meeting today and are agreed in recognizing that the question of Anglo-German relations is of first importance for the two countries and for Europe.

"We regard the agreement signed last night and the Anglo-German naval agreement as symbolic of the desires of our two peoples never to go to war with one another again.

"We are resolved that the method of consultation shall be the method adopted to deal with any other questions that may concern our two countries, and we are determined to continue our efforts to remove possible sources of difference and thus to contribute to assure the peace of Europe."

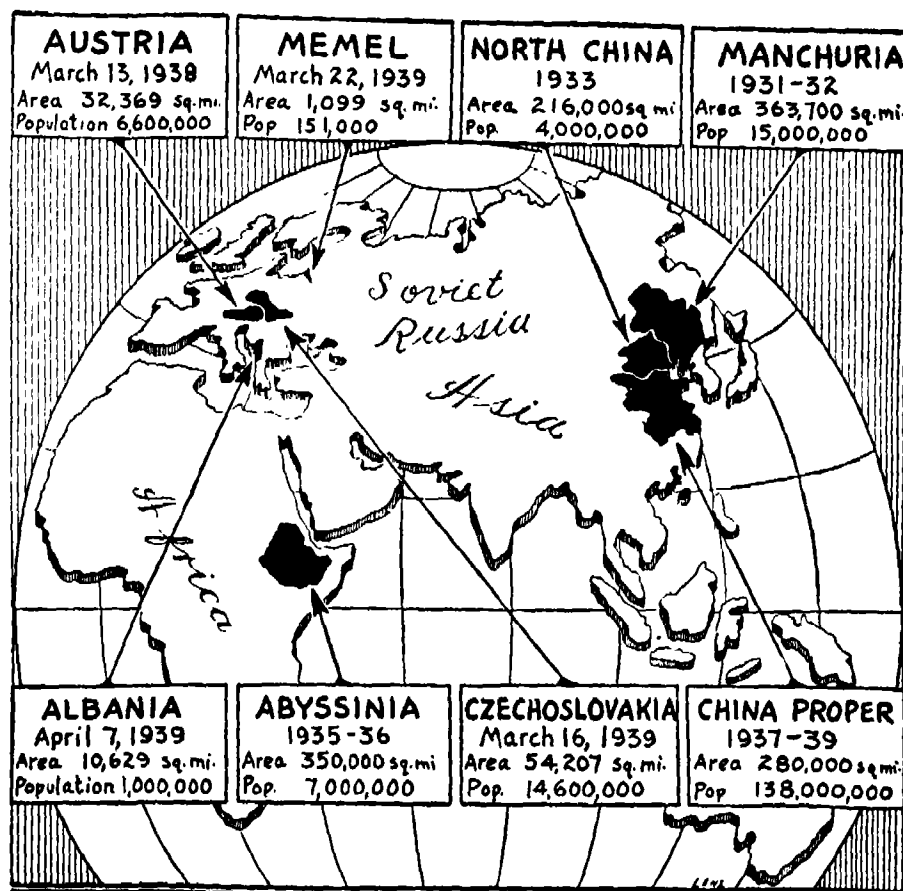
To recall the details of the Czechoslovakian deal is surely superfluous. How the Czechs were betrayed into admitting the Germans behind their defenses, how Hitler forced them to accept Reich domination—all this is fresh in our minds. There was a storm of indignation in London. When Hitler took Czechoslovakia into his Empire seven months later the Prime Minister explained, ruefully, that this was something no one could have foreseen. Hitler was not stopped. Paris and London were content to register paper protests and the British Prime Minister delivered himself of a petulant speech. But Czechia remained a German satrapy.

There was no excuse for what happened in Munich and after. Hitler's

record was there for everyone to read. On December 1, 1935, he had joined Prague in a treaty which pledged both parties to submit all differences to a permanent arbitration commission. Yet when President Benes of Czechoslovakia demanded to be heard before the commission in September 1938, he was informed that it had been abandoned. Furthermore, Hitler had promised Austria, not once, but many times, to respect her sovereignty and independence. He had repudiated his naval agreement with Britain just three months before. Surely there was no valid reason to believe that he would keep his word now.

Chamberlain has been violently attacked for having acted in bad faith. The fact that Hitler's treachery to Czechoslovakia wrought so deep a change in this austere man proves that these charges were groundless. March 1939 was the turning point in Mr. Chamberlain's life, aye, and a turning point in British history. England began to arm in earnest. She almost doubled her air fleet in a few short months. New departments were added to her Defense Ministries. There was an upheaval and a wholesale casting off of old ways and methods.

Hand in hand with this internal readjustment there has been a reorientation of British relations with France. On February 6, 1939, Mr. Chamberlain in the House of Commons pledged to France "the immediate co-operation of this country in case of any attack to the vital interests of France, from whatever quarter it might come", heading off various rumors that London planned to leave the French to see it through alone. Italy's demand for Tunis found England so positively on the side of the French that Rome dropped the whole business. France, for her part, was a great deal more positive on the question of German colonies than she had ever been before.

The first opportunity to test the strength of the new Franco-British alliance came when France asked England to break with her age-old tradition of no conscription in peace time. England rose to the test and military conscription was adopted with amazingly little protest—a fine testimonial to the British workers' sense of social and international solidarity. Another test came when Paris asked London to propose an arms alliance to the Soviet Union as the only chance of preventing another war. England complied, though the thought of approaching Moscow must have been gall and wormwood.

Record of aggression up to the outbreak of war.

When London sent her first invitation to Moscow last March, the Foreign Commissar responded with gratifying willingness. There had been rumors of negotiations between Moscow and Berlin for a trade agreement as early as last November but the Russians gave no sign of having weakened in their determination to fight Fascism to the last round.

It soon became clear, however, that Moscow had not the slightest intention of entering into an agreement with Britain on London's terms. She made demand after demand, offered objection after objection. Just what transpired during these discussions was never officially reported. It was said that she wanted protection against a possible German invasion of the Baltic Republics, and nobody will deny that this demand was justified. Others reported that she wanted the right of protective intervention in these states should they be directly or indirectly menaced by the Reich. Against such an agreement, which would have permitted the Red Army to march into the Baltic area whenever Moscow chose to believe Baltic security threatened, the countries in question raised a loud protest.

At the time it appeared that the real point at issue was mutual distrust between the British and Russian statesmen. There were rumors that London was negotiating an underhand settlement with Hitler, and their persistence seemed to justify apprehension, particularly since Chamberlain stubbornly refused to take either Anthony Eden or Winston Churchill, conservative opponents of appeasement, into his Cabinet.

Later there were reports that Moscow was holding up the agreement with two conditions: 1) that no party to the pact should be allowed to conclude a separate peace without the permission of all the others; 2) that Russia must move into military action simultaneously with Britain in the event of hostilities. In other words, the impression was that Moscow wanted to protect herself against another surprise à la Munich, in which she might be left holding the bag. Chamberlain, on his side, undoubtedly had more than an intimation of the game that Hitler and Stalin were preparing behind the scenes.

Be that as it may. The facts are that Mr. Strang, a prominent member of the British Foreign Office, was

sent to Moscow, only to be recalled after many weeks of fruitless dickering; that Moscow finally demanded an Anglo-French military commission to discuss technical military questions with a like Russian commission; that this commission was sent to the Russian capital and was still on the spot when the bomb finally burst.

On August 20th Moscow and Berlin announced the completion of a Russo-German trade pact under which the Soviet Union would take German goods to the amount of 200,000,000 marks and sell to Germany 180,000,000 marks' worth of manganese, oil, wood, ores and other war supplies. The pact was signed at once. Four days later von Ribbentrop arrived in Moscow and concluded a Russo-German non-aggression pact in less than three hours of negotiations with Foreign Commissar Molotoff. Ten days later it was ratified by the Supreme Soviet and by the German Reichstag. It has been argued and it is undoubtedly true, that a non-aggression pact need not necessarily have a political significance. Unfortunately the speeches and declarations that accompanied its adoption justified no such conclusion. Moreover the pact in itself is virtually a military alliance, since in it Russia undertakes to supply Germany with raw materials she needs for her army and her war industries. The military nature of the alliance was thrown into bold relief when, on September 17th, Soviet Russia marched into the Polish Ukraine, thus directly helping Germany to score the knock-out blow on Poland and enabling the Reich to transfer troops to the West.

What makes the Russo-German agreements so suspicious is the secrecy with which they were engineered. Soviet defenders insist that Moscow in self-defense was driven to act as she did by Chamberlain's obstinate refusal to come to terms. Yet there is every indication that the Russo-German treaty was already under discussion when Paris and London began their Moscow talks. It was certainly far advanced when Russia asked London to send a military mission. Moscow has found it difficult to explain this double dealing.

But by their fruits ye shall know them, and the fruits of the Russo-German agreement were not long in ripening. On the day of its ratification, Hitler marched his army into Poland, giving the lie to the official Communist Party version that the U.S.S.R. had made this last supreme sacrifice to preserve world peace.

In the light of what has happened since—the sending of a commission of high military officials to Berlin disguised as embassy attachés, and especially the Russian invasion of Poland on the East—one is forced to conclude that Stalin, faced with a choice between greater power for Russia and a possible war on the side of democracies, too weak to take a positive stand, fearing, perhaps, another Munich appeasement, chose the former, letting the international labor movement and the world revolution take care of themselves as best they can.

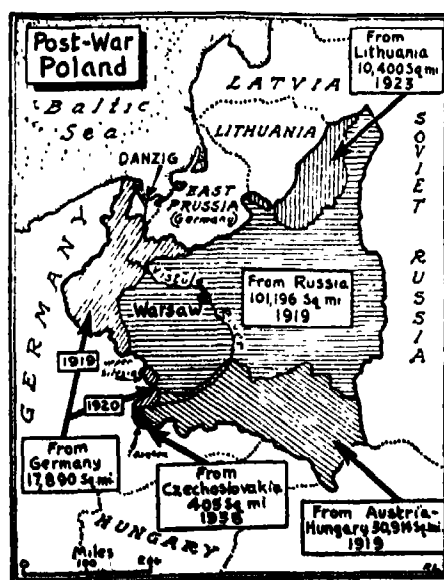
When the Russo-German treaty was first announced some observers predicted the collapse of the anti-Comintern Axis, involving Germany, Italy, Japan and minor powers, as one item on the credit side of Moscow's ledger. Immediate events gave some weight to this assumption. Mussolini did not plunge into war when Germany did. In Spain, Franco likewise issued a neutrality declaration, declaring openly that his anti-Communist convictions made it impossible for him to come to terms with Russia. Japan's sharp disapproval of the Russo-German treaty was to be expected in view of her undeclared war with Russia in Outer Mongolia and China and at various other points along the east-Siberian frontier. However, Germany has succeeded in persuading Tokio to settle her quarrel with Moscow. With the aid of Germany and Russia, Japan is now free to pursue her undeclared war in China with much greater chance of success. It is an open secret that the guerrilla wars with which Chiang Kai-shek has been harrying Nippon's armies were largely financed and equipped by the Soviet Union.

It is possible that Stalin intends to turn his back on Europe altogether, with the idea of making rich Siberia the center of gravity of Russia's economy. That would leave Germany a free hand to pursue her expansionist aims in eastern Europe, strengthened by the assurance that Russia no longer would offer resistance at the other end of the line.

Meanwhile, Moscow's defection from England and France and her military action against Poland add tremendously to their burden. The war on the western front may go on for months, perhaps years, without decisive advantages for either side.

However, it is possible, indeed it is more than likely, that a number of the small neutral states will be drawn into the vortex before the war is over. That the German army will have to violate one or more neutral states if the war lasts much longer may be taken for granted. The Oslo states—Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg—have concluded a mutual assistance pact and are expected to denounce all trade relations with the German aggressor if the sovereignty of any of them is violated. That in itself would be an enormous contribution to the allied cause since Russia has no appreciable surplus with which she could feed a blockaded Germany for any length of time.

Berlin still hopes to persuade the Balkan states to come to her assistance, particularly Bulgaria, whose king, a German by descent, has shown sympathy for the Axis Powers. Italy and Germany had been mending their fences in the Danubian and Balkan areas for years, while Britain and France until recently pursued an incredibly short-sighted policy. Their repeated refusals to give financial aid to these financially weak states might easily have driven them all into the Axis. What kept them out was the fear of becoming German vassals. An effective counter-balance to the Axis Powers in southeastern Europe has been the Turkish Republic, which has taken an unqualified stand with the Allied Powers, even to offering to close the Dardanelles to German shipping.

To what extent the United States will come to the aid of the Allied Powers remains to be seen. On the

side of Germany, Italy also is an unknown factor, though this writer has never believed and still does not believe in Rome's continued neutrality. Mussolini unquestionably is keeping out of the fight for the time being in an understanding with Hitler, for strategic and other reasons. Exhausted as they are, after the African and Spanish campaigns, his troops would not weigh heavily in the balance. As a neutral, on the other hand, he can keep the Allies from moving in on Germany from the south-east and make it almost impossible for Rumania and Yugoslavia to break their neutrality in favor of Poland and her associates.

Out of this welter of cross purposes and seeming confusion there is emerging a clear division between two world ideologies, two schools of political thought. This is no longer a war between nations. When Chamberlain and Eden declared that there could be no peace with Hitler they lifted the conflict to a new plane. Today the peoples of Europe are in a war of democracy against fascism as well as intolerable social and political suppression.

From the diplomatic maze out of which this conflict grew there is arising with startling clearness the fact that, for the first time in modern civilization, governments were forced by public opinion to take up arms against an aggressor nation. The price will be incalculable and the masses of all nations will pay it in blood and terrible suffering. Will it be worth it? That is for the peoples in the democratic countries to determine.

II. ECONOMIC

The War Behind the War

DR. RICHARD T. ELY

Economist, President, Institute for Economic Research

GERMANY is fighting two battles: a war against England and France; and a struggle against her own economy and resources. The experiences of my fellow economists in making predictions during the past warn me to be cautious. However, I believe that Germany, *alone*, cannot successfully wage a long war. Time is on the side of the allied nations. Prolonged conflict, I believe, will place upon the German economy a strain it cannot stand, and the prophecy of economists that the Germany economy will collapse may soon be fulfilled.

Impasse of Germany's Economy

German national economy must be examined on two fronts: her internal economy and her foreign trade. When Hitler came to power a large sector of the German economic machine was idle. By credit expansion and public spending he took up this slack with the production of a huge military machine. And by 1938 Germany was working at full capacity. Not only was there a shortage of labor, but overtime was required. Even women and children were pressed into service.

In an economy geared on a peace basis, the normal end of all investments is to produce capital goods which are then used to produce consumer's goods. Or to put it in everyday language, we invest in factories, railways, theaters, which in turn furnish us with automobiles, clothing, transportation and entertainment. However, since 1933, the organization of the German economy has been quite different—it has been geared to a military economy. In essence, the Nazi program has consisted in using Germ[illegible] whom she may [illegible]stem in the and upon whom she can call in extraordinary times. France is in a comparable position, although she is self-sufficient to a higher degree within her own national limits.

It is also of extreme importance that both these nations have enormous funds which can be converted into war chests. In December of 1938, according to the Federal Reserve Board, Britain had $3,449,000,000, France $2,766,000,000 and Germany about $29,000,000 worth of gold. And equally powerful in its command of raw materials and foodstuffs is the large supply of both these nations of foreign securities which pension funds. There has been violent increases in the note circulation of the Reichbank and successive new public loans. The last of these, in spite of party pressure and exhortations to patriotism, took five weeks to subscribe, which is an indication of how the capital market is now stripped. The portfolio of every bank, insurance company and public undertaking is now loaded with the Reich's I.O.U.'s. Taxes and various forms of expropriation have gone to the point where the income of the government is now over 50% of the total national income. By March of this year the situation had become so desperate that the New Financial Plan was instituted for issuing tax anticipation certificates. In other words, Germany has so depleted her capital resources that half a year ago she started using the taxes which she hopes to collect in the future. By 1938 the Reich had reached the point where it was exploiting its domestic resources to the fullest. To go any further was "not only senseless" to quote Germany's own Dr. Schacht, "but injurious because the newly created money cannot induce new production of goods but only competition for existing labor and raw materials." In short, further extension of credit will result in either one of two things: further curtailment of consumer's goods or inflation.

Impasse of Germany's Foreign Trade

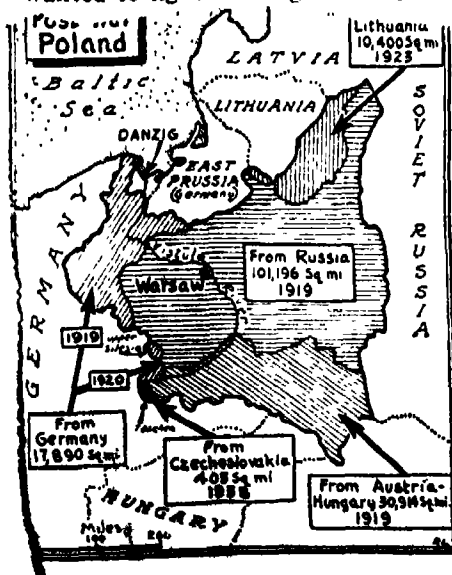
Nazi Germany has also fared badly in planning her foreign trade. However diabolically clever her financial manipulations may be, and however strong her armor plate, the continued motion of the war machine is dependent upon raw materials. To carry out her armament program she needs materials which are not available within her own national limits. Even the most autarchic National Socialist economists agree that Germany must attain an export quota of at least 20% of her total industrial production in order to get the raw materials she does not have. In conducting a war, iron, coal, oil, copper, lead, cotton, rubber, nickel, tin, nitrates, sulphurs, mica, chromite, aluminum, zinc, wool, manganese, phosphates, potash, mercury, tungsten, and antimony are vital necessities. Of these, Germany produces in sufficient quantities only four, potash, nitrates, coal and zinc. From the point of view of foodstuffs she is in similar need. She imports

almost 400 million dollars worth annually.

One of the primary needs of Germany is oil. Her army transportation system is based on roads, and her need is intensified by the fact that she has neglected her railways which are now short of locomotives and cars. Germany's peace time consumption of oil amounts to 6,627 thousand tons, but in war time, it is estimated that the needed amount would vary from 12 to 20 million tons. Germany is producing, synthetically, only 30% of the oil she consumes. The iron situation is perhaps even more serious. The iron mines which supplied her during the last war lie today behind the Maginot Line in France. Germany's domination of the conquered Polish mines, if she holds on and works them, will be offset should she lose her mines in the Saar, which seem to be among the objectives of France's offensive. By strenuous and costly development of her low grade ores Germany manages to supply about 1/5 of her needs. Her armament industry has been based on the iron resources of Swedish Lapland. However, she will be able to command these supplies only if she pays for them in gold or foreign exchange. Promises will not suffice.

Because of these needs and because she has neither gold nor foreign exchange Germany entered foreign markets on barter arrangements. The Reich needed raw materials and foodstuffs and foreign countries needed her finished goods. Four years of hard bargains convinced many of the smaller nations that German barter arrangements were not for their welfare. Germany's situation became so desperate that in exchange for commodities she began to send carloads of harmonicas and almost any other commodities she felt like dumping. **The pressure on her internal economy was beginning to tell. Too much was going into home production to leave enough to barter with. And on top of all this, the absorption of Austria and Czechoslovakia, both predominantly importing nations, exaggerated the difficulties. The import and export figures for 1937 and 1938 tell the story in brief. Whereas in 1937 the Reich had an export surplus of just over Rm 400 million, in 1938 the balance turned to an import surplus of well over Rm 400 million, a turnover of nearly Rm 850 millions in one year.**

Men and machines have worked at war tempo for over six years with no rest for men, no replacement for machines. And the long strain is now beginning to tell. The need for replacement of the vast war machinery is being felt and it has been estimated that a full year's output of German machine industry would be needed to carry out the necessary replacement of her industrial plant. Also as a result of strain, man-hour-production has fallen off. In the Ruhr coal industry, for example, the decline has amounted to 12% between February 1936 and April 1938. The supply of labor is also a pressing problem and all groups have been forced into service. That the very last reserves have been called upon is shown by the statement that the employment record of 21,840,000 has been reached by recruiting persons heretofore independent and pensioned, and women previously never employed. Labor is being conscripted from private and public enterprises and any laborer may be forced to give up his job to work for the State. An acute problem has also been presented by the shortage of scientists and engineers. This is due to the emigration of the middle-aged and because the young prefer army or party careers. A sharp drop in the registration of universities and engineering colleges indicates that this shortage of trained labor will not be easy to repair. There are other obvious signs of the weakness of the German economy. One of the most apparent is the rigid rationing of foodstuffs and the gradual but steady narrowing down of the choice of foods available, and the deterioration of their quality.

When I visited Germany in 1913 I found the country in splendid condition from the economic point of view. Germany was united and the people wanted to fight. Her agriculture and manufactures were in a flourishing condition. But today, under Hitler, Germany has lost morale. She is not a united Country. Many, in my judgment, have been misled by the apparent unanimity with which Hitler has been supported. He has been ruthless in suppressing the slightest criticism. Knowing the German people as I do, I feel sure that they must deeply resent the Hitler regime for destroying their trade unions and housing cooperatives; for preying on their established religions, and for destroying the freedom and learning in their universities.

Now, after six years of intensive preparation, the German economy designed primarily for war, *is at war* with France and England, whose economies are designed primarily for peace. Given the task she has set for herself, Germany is a poor nation. Her bluster and aggression have created the impression of an engine surging forward with such momentum that it has the power to mow down anything standing in its way. But an engine without fuel or water may stop or explode before it reaches its destination. The Nazis have found no devices to get more out of the German economy than German resources allow. The war time labor problem is set by the necessity to do more work with fewer men. Germany was suffering from a scarcity of labor before war started. Production for export must be increased for foreign exchange, and Germany has already suffered a reverse in her foreign trade balance. Financially and economically the Germans have paid the price of a war strain long before the war broke out. They started this war with completely inadequate supplies and financial resources. However, the democracies have been given ample opportunity to learn about German methods and they have awakened to the painful necessity of meeting Germany with her own weapons. Today Great Britain and France are far better prepared for war than they were in 1914. In the last war there were only five weeks between the warning of Sarajevo and the start of the conflict. This time four years have elapsed since the crisis in Ethiopia, and there have been ten months of hectic preparation since Munich. **Today Great Britain and France are well prepared and their people are united in the purpose of halting the spreading of the Nazi light.**

British and French Economic Mobilization

The principal difference in the positions of the opposing nations in this war is that while Germany has been using her resources to the fullest, Britain and France, now well prepared, are in a position not only to sustain but to expand their military economies.

Along with the rest of the world, Britain and France did not go through the post-war and depression years unscathed. As a matter of fact their economies have been severely strained. Both are highly taxed and both have been beset by serious financial difficulties. It is not necessary, however, to recount their recent financial history. It is only necessary to remember that the accounting system of the British and French is quite different from that of the Germans. If Germany were to adhere to the systems of bookkeeping followed by Britain and France, the ledger sheets would show a state of bankruptcy. In this connection it is interesting to note that while Britain's expenditures for non-productive purposes amount to 10 per cent of the national income, the Reich's amount to 25 per cent.

The central theme of the Nazi regime has been that all minds and hands must work toward one end and that this is possible only under the direction of a unified leadership. This, as we now well know, has been accomplished only by the forfeit of prized individual rights. Britain and France have now adopted, *as a military expedient*, some of the methods Germany has employed.

Sir John Simon in making public the British budget for 1939-1940 announced that "the whole of our contemporary public finance is governed and conditioned by our defense expenditures." The expenditure for public defense has increased five-fold during the last five years. The current budget carries the largest appropriation and the largest deficit in British history. However, new floatations are still well under the high levels of 1929 and 1930 and a wide margin remains before the combined private and public borrowing will exhaust the supply of the British capital market.

The crux of the ability to finance a war is the amount of materials a nation needs and the ability to get from other countries those materials which she does not have within her own national boundaries. A primary factor is the degree of self-sufficiency of a country and the necessary supply of credit or gold to purchase its deficiencies.

HOW THE GREAT POWERS RANK IN TERMS OF MINERAL WEALTH

Foreign Policy Association

England might have been ill-equipped to wage war, but through circumstances and ingenuity she has overcome her geographical limitations. While from two-thirds to three-quarters of her food supply is normally imported, and while she is even more deficient in raw materials within her national boundary than Germany, she has knit together an empire of 600 million people scattered over the four corners of the earth from whom she may draw sustenance and upon whom she can call in extraordinary times. France is in a comparable position, although she is self-sufficient to a higher degree within her own national limits.

It is also of extreme importance that both these nations have enormous funds which can be converted into war chests. In December of 1938, according to the Federal Reserve Board, Britain had $3,449,000,000, France $2,766,000,000 and Germany about $29,000,000 worth of gold. And equally powerful in its command of raw materials and foodstuffs is the large supply of both these nations of foreign securities which may be converted into purchasing power to supply war needs. In the United States alone Great Britain has an investment of $2,300,000,000 and France $500,000,000. It has been estimated that scattered over the world Britain has investments amounting to $18,000,000,000. On the other hand, as we have pointed out above, Germany has already converted her foreign investments for all they would bring.

However, if the war should extend to a long and drawn out struggle the usual symptoms of economic decay will appear in France and England too. Credit and currency inflation, the flight of money into securities and property values will occur. And at the end of the war Europe's economy will be comparable to that of the continent after the Napoleonic wars.

How Long Will the War Last?

Economists during the past twenty years have made a great many predictions and at a later date had good reason to blush. Yet one question in all our minds is how long will war last, and so I attempt an answer—however, any forecast is premature until we know whether Russia, having aided Germany by attacking Poland on the East, will jump with both feet into the conflict.

The question of what Italy will do is, of course, of considerable militr.ry importance for both sides, but economically it is of minor significance. The importance of what happens in the Danubian and the Balkan countries, too, is much overrated, economically speaking. The situation here too is primarily military. We have heard a great deal about Rumanian oil. But even if Germany were to get all Rumania produces it would still be only about a third of her wartime needs. Other things the Reich looks to this region for are iron ore, copper, lead, antimony; meats, corn, and dairy products. The total output of these products in Southeastern Europe,

however, could not meet Germany's peace time needs, much less her war time needs. Moreover, the Balkans know what is in store for them if they capitulate to the Nazi machine. *It has been made very obvious that* Germany will be satisfied with nothing less than complete economic conquest of the region. They have been forced into hard bargains. The Reich has forced them to take in payment for their raw materials and foodstuffs almost anything she chose to send them. And in the near future it is likely they will be given nothing in return for their goods. The seriousness of the situation is that Germany has a virtual monopoly over this foreign trade. The English and French, however, have already begun purchases with gold.

Although Germany has made numerous trade agreements with her *non-belligerent neighbors, and in this* way secured at least a certain degree of independence, in the long run absolutely everything depends upon what Russia intends to do. If I judge the Soviet-German pact correctly, while the treaty may mean very little because of the Reich's inability to supply her share of the trade exchange, Russia may be willing to subsidize Germany's battle so that the contestants may all wear themselves out and leave Russia as the dominantly strong power in the eastern hemisphere.

As I said at the outset of this article, *Germany fighting alone* cannot hold out long. It has been our primary purpose to discuss the economic ability of Germany, France and England to conduct war. But more important than economic, though to a large degree dependent upon it, is the morale of the people. It is the morale which will sustain the war. When the German morale fails the German program will collapse, and I believe this collapse will come sooner than it did in the World War.

III. PERSONALITIES

The High Command

L. C. GRAY
Magazine Feature Writer

"GENERALS who start a war never finish it," says a military epigram. The World War tells the story. In the West, as the Germans swept through Belgium into Northern France, the chief commanders were: *Count Helmuth von Moltke*, German Chief of Staff; *General Joseph Jasques Joffre*, French Commander in Chief; *General John French*, Commander of the British Expeditionary Force. Moltke's command did not survive the disaster of the Marne; before the war had ended he was dead. French was summoned home when the costly Allied offensive of 1915 ended in the disastrous Battle of Loos. Joffre, popular though he was, was practically retired after the near-German victory at Verdun.

As the second European war gets under way there are, once again, three principal opposing commanders: *Colonel General Walther von Brauchitsch*, Commander in Chief of the German Army; *General Marie Gustave Gamelin*, chief of the French National Defense Staff; and *Viscount Gort*, Commander in Chief of the British field forces. All would be toppled should their armies meet with severe setbacks, but for the moment they are the generals. What manner of men are they?

General Von Brauchitsch

When Colonel General Walther von Brauchitsch was made Commander in Chief of the German Army in 1938, an American military expert remarked that a "military mediocrity" had been selected for the post. Outwardly it did appear that the new commander had little to recommend him except long and faithful army service and a readiness, though he is not a Nazi himself, to accept Nazi ideas and policies.

He was 56 at the time of his elevation, a handsome, rugged German of the officer class. Prussian-trained, he had been with the army since 1900, and had worked slowly upward through the grades until on the eve of the World War he held a captain's commission. The end of the war found him a major. Though the German Army almost disappeared after Versailles, von Brauchitsch remained in the service, spending much of his time with the War Ministry, where gradually he became recognized as *an expert on the strategical problems* of Eastern and Southeastern Europe.

It seems possible that this knowledge explains in part why in 1938 the Nazi high command should have chosen von Brauchitsch—he was then leading the First Army Corps—for Commander in Chief. Such knowledge came in handy when the time came to tackle Czecho-Slovakia. It was even more valuable when the hour struck for the invasion of Poland. And there was another asset on the von Brauchitsch ledger. In the First Army Corps, where mechanization began, he had learned all about this new type of *fighting* and, as the war with Poland quickly proved, mechanized fighting was a highly important phase of German military strategy.

So successful did the Polish campaign seem to Germans at the end of its first ten days that von Brauchitsch

was hailed as one of the nation's great military figures, a man fit to sit with such immortals as the elder Moltke—of Franco-Prussian War fame—and von Hindenburg. The Commander in Chief, however, is not

Walther von Brauchitsch, got his job partly because he was an expert on Eastern Europe.

the sort of man to bask in the sun of praise. Always self-effacing, an officer to whom publicity has never been pleasant, he has not allowed himself to be too much in the public gaze and has always kept his personal life a private matter. In Berlin observers suspected that even should he become a national hero he would strive to remain a military man and nothing more.

General Gamelin

Like all the present war's chief commanders, General Gamelin knows at first hand what war is like. Twenty-five years ago he was a major and on the staff of General Joffre. He had just turned forty then, but his ability, activity and efficiency had made him one of the most promising of the younger French officers. He was at the Marne, actively so, and, according to some sources, was the first officer to detect the weakness of the German position, weakness which led to the victory that Gamelin himself persuaded Joffre to call officially "the victory of the Marne."

He is a little man, this French general. Some look at him and recall Napoleon, who was also small in stature. His moustache is close cropped. His sandy hair is brushed back from a forehead beneath which peer wide-set eyes. A genial sort of person in his leisure hours, with none of the hard-boiled manner associated with military figures, he can discuss with callers anything from military strategy to Bergson's philosophy.

Gamelin, born of a family with long military traditions, went to St. Cyr, the French West Point, where he was graduated at the head of his class in 1893. More or less routine service followed until the World War gave him real military experience and, through Joffre, knowledge that in modern warfare even the historic Napoleonic strategy—divide the enemy and defeat the divisions before reunion is possible—does not always succeed.

After the war Gamelin—he had become a general in 1917—saw little fighting, except in Syria, where he was sent to quell a revolt of the Druses. But he had not been forgotten. In 1931 he was appointed Chief of the General Staff. Four years later he had become Commander in Chief of the French Army. Though General Gamelin is 67, and therefore past the ordinary retirement age, he has seemed too valuable to lose. Last Spring he was made commander of all French forces—on land, air and sea. In the present war he has been cast for the role of Marshal Foch—generalissimo of the French and British forces.

Viscount Gort

Viscount Gort is one of the "Old Contemptibles," one of the first 100,-000 British soldiers rushed to France in 1914 to stem the German swing through Belgium. He was a captain then, and had been with the famous Grenadier Guards. Now as he returns to France to command the second British Expeditionary Force that has crossed the Channel in twenty-five years, he is at the crest of his career.

The youngest of the principal war commanders—he is 53—he belongs to the old British aristocracy that the last war undermined and to the old aristocratic army that conscription in the present war is overwhelming. Americans would call him "typically English." Shy, a bit given to self-depreciation, red-faced in the best British officer tradition, he is nevertheless easy-going and without "side." Taller than Gamelin, he is still only about medium height. His hair is almost gone.

On occasions when decorations are in order, the Viscount can wear many won in the last war. The Victoria Cross—he was the only peer to win it—and the Distinguished Service Order are among them. They are part payment for the wounds he received when he last fought in France.

Like von Brauchitsch and Gamelin, Gort is a professional soldier into whom have been ground the traditions of the officer. A product of Harrow and Sandhurst—the latter, like the French St. Cyr, corresponds to West Point—the future general began his career as a second lieutenant. That was in 1905. Twenty-one years later he was a colonel, destined for service at imperial outposts in China and India, destined to become in 1937 the youngest Chief of the Imperial General Staff, after being promoted over the heads of 32 generals. Although his advancement caused some resentment among his professional contemporaries, veterans approved heartily. Old Sir Ian Hamilton said: "Thank God we are now under a proper soldier and shall not be shot sitting."

In the months before the present war broke out, he and Gamelin and their aides were frequently in consultation over the Anglo-French cooperation that war would demand.

Viscount Gort, of Great Britain, is youngest of the principal war commanders.

The results of those consultations are being put to the test. On the outcome will depend the military, perhaps the historic reputations not only of Viscount Gort and General Gamelin, but also of Walther von Brauchitsch.

IV. MILITARY

As the War Begins

THOMAS M. JOHNSON
Military Expert, Author, Lecturer

IN assessing the military strength and fighting effectiveness of the belligerents now warring in Europe, we confine ourselves to the participants involved as the war entered the third week of September. That would mean Great Britain, France, and Poland on one side and Germany on the other. It does not take Italy and Russia into account, even though Russia on September 17th marched into the Polish Ukraine, thus facilitating Germany's lightning war against Poland. The Soviet—despite this military action—announced its neutrality in the larger European war and must technically be regarded in this light unless and until she is actually drawn into the conflict.

The future, immediate and ultimate, seems so full of riddles that in our appraisal of the belligerents we must start with factors that are reasonably certain: weapons and fighting forces they are known to possess. Then we can better judge how these weapons may be used, and with what result.

Germany

The German army holds the center of the stage and, strategically, the center of Europe. Probably three million German combat troops are under arms, plus 250,000 problematical Slovaks. Shortly available will be a million more Germans, less well prepared, though Nazi regimentation will help. German equipment, augmented by seizures in Czecho-Slovakia, is more modern than that of any other European army. It will be sustained by German and Czech industry, the latter manned by forced Czech labor. And nine million more Germans are available for the army.

Though rather hastily thrown together, the German army is well led, save for lower officers, and the men are well cared for. Training has been practical and warlike. The German likes being a soldier, and he is a first-class one. Informed opinion holds that the German army, despite some improvisations, is second to none in Europe.

The German navy, however, is not second as in 1914, but sixth. Though efficient and devoted, its crews dare not risk a stand-up fight against the British and French above water. There are 77 German submarines—two-thirds of 500 tons or less—but only a few high-sea boats among them. Perhaps twenty are building. The German blockade thus far has not been of the ruthless type that brought us into the World War, despite the evidently isolated *Athenia* sinking.

Unless the British, as they claim, have injured one German battleship by bombing, today there are seven. Two are modern, heavy ships, three fast "pocket battleships." Their tonnage is 108,000, while 150,000 tons more—four ships—are building. So are two aircraft carriers, Germany's first ones, and eight cruisers, an equal number being now afloat—which is nowhere near enough. Forty-four destroyers, ten building, complete the German naval picture. In comparison with the naval picture presented by Britain, it is a miniature.

Great Britain

On the sea Britain is stronger than she was in the World War and building rapidly to become stronger still. She should be able, even without the valuable help of France, to keep German submarines literally "down" by tracking them with listening devices and dropping depth bombs, and by convoying her ships. For this work

she has about 200 destroyers of 233,000 tons, not to mention 71 of 121,000 tons in the French navy. Seventy more are building. Add to these myriad light submarine-chasing craft, trawlers and mine-sweepers from Britain and her Dominions. In 1918 Britain even used submarines against submarines and today she and France combined have twice as many undersea boats as Germany, of greater tonnage and longer radius.

Superiority is more marked in cruisers. Britain has fifteen heavy and twenty-five light, plus twenty-three over age but ready. To their 446,000 tons add France's 154,000—a crushing contrast with Germany's cruiser strength.

Even more crushing is Allied superiority in battleships, which hitherto have been the backbone of naval strength. The British have fifteen, the French seven, contrasting with the Germans' three. Though Germany is building four modern battleships, the British and French are building thirteen. And although the Germans are building two airplane carriers, Britain and France are building nine to add to the eight already popping planes into the air over the North and Mediterranean Seas. Poland's navy of 14,000 tons is now lost and can be omitted from this deadly parallel:

Ship Tonnage

	Built	Building
Britain and France	2,050,000	980,000
Germany	219,000	282,000

Stepping ashore, however, we find Germany's chances better. Relatively, her army is almost as much stronger than Britain's as Britain's navy is stronger than hers. War has caught the British army amid reorganization. But not again, as in 1914, will Britain throw most of her best-trained troops and officers into battle—and lose them. She will spread them out, as we would, for our system is similar.

Britain has a small professional regular army of perhaps 250,000, backed by an equal number of partly trained Territorials like our National Guard. Adopting conscription but lately, she has not had time to instruct the first 250,000 conscripts. Although some of her troops are already in France, no large British force at the front is likely for some months. Probably British leadership will be better than twenty-five years ago, for ultra-conservative officers have been partly shelved for younger

men. In general, Britain's officers are good troop-leaders but indifferent tacticians.

Some of her best shock-troops of 1918 came from the Dominions. Of the Empire's 5,000,000 troops 1,000,000 came from Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Today they start with 50,000, 77,000 and 15,000 respectively, but although their recruiting is brisk probably their forces will appear less promptly in Europe, if only because all three may have to watch Japan's now changing policy. All three, however, have munitions programs under way to aid Britain, and Canada again will specialize in airplanes and pilots, which are excellent.

Already India has sent 70,000 troops to protect the Suez Canal and other outposts, and Egypt has mobilized 25,000. India has 55,000 regulars and 161,000 native troops; she sent 800,000 combatants and 400,000 laborers to the World War. The Jews in Palestine are recruiting for Britain; the Arabs thus far are friendly. The Smuts government in South Africa might use its 15,000 men against Italy in Ethiopia, if necessary, and in any case assures a British naval base for the Cape. Eire exercises its constitutional right to remain neutral, but "against Germany." Even the Fiji Islands promise support. Again the Empire's 30,000,000 manpower is responding.

To place this manpower in the field, even to equip it, is a colossal task with which, however, Britain is farther ahead than she was in 1914. She got really started after Munich. She is now producing the excellent Bren machine gun, a new 22 pound field gun and new armored vehicles which are needed, for, though Britain is a great believer in mechanization, some of her material is outdated. Again the might of Britain will be slow to rise and France, mainly, will hold the line.

New York World-Telegram

Bomb targets. Flying times based on full load of 175 m.p.h.

France

The French Army is widely considered the finest army in Europe. Its conscription and training have not been interrupted, like Germany's, by the fifteen years between Versailles and Hitler. France has the finest officers' corps and staff and probably the best artillery in the world, although some think the famous seventy-five is dated. Her weakness is that too much of her equipment is World War, not, like Germany's, 1939. Two-thirds of her thirty-five hundred tanks make World War five miles instead of 1939 fifty miles an hour, and to Americans the Lebel rifle is a flintlock. Supplying deficiencies will take time, for the recent nationalization of French munitions factories delayed things.

But France is mobilizing two million trained reserves to reinforce the 2,500,000 under arms when war started, giving her more and better trained men than Germany. Also France has 200,000 men now ready in her Empire, which in the World War supplied 500,000, including the excellent Moroccans. The Empire has 65,000,000 inhabitants, of whom 41,000,000 are in Africa. Total, France and Empire, 107,000,000. Potential military manpower, 8,000,000 -- plus Czech, Polish, perhaps Spanish Loyalist and Italian volunteers. France's greatest strength is the intelligence and courage of the individual French soldier.

Poland

This State of 35,000,000, thanks to a high birthrate and twenty-one years' conscription, had three million soldiers, trained for a rather old-style defensive war but inadequately equipped to withstand German "lightning-war." The Poles had only 1500 airplanes, few anti-tank guns, and Germany's attack without warning found Polish mobilization incomplete. And when the Poles fell back to their Eastern positions, they were routed by Russian troops which in a surprise move, began their invasion of the Ukraine.

Such are the forces—on sea and land. By sea, we have surveyed their probable use. But by land—where will they be used, and how?

This is 1914 reversed. Germany began this war by fighting on two fronts, east and west. Instead of striking first in the west against France, she struck first in the east to crush Poland, planning then to shift and crush France. Thus far, what has happened?

The Poles planned to relinquish the western third of their flat country, difficult to defend, then to counter-attack from behind the Vistula River line at the end of about a month. But German seizure of Slovakia and forcing of Carpathian passes immediately turned the southern flank of this line. Then German mechanized columns, converging from north and south and aided by bombing airplanes, caught the Vistula line in a vise. A dry summer had left roads hard for German tanks and armored cars, which in a fortnight made the quickest advance in military history. Only late September rains and general mud could stop it short of utter disaster for the gallant but outclassed Poles whose main army, though not crushed in the first fortnight, appeared to have but one line of resistance left, the Bug River, and that only if the rains came at once. And even this one glim-

Europe's Alliances

Though largely divided by these alliances into two camps, Europe during the first two weeks of war found the official belligerents limited to Great Britain, France and Poland against Germany. Russia did not invade Poland till Sept. 17, at which time Italy was still neutral. Army figures include reserve strength.

German-Italian Alliance
The Anglo-French Front
WEDEN
ESTONIA
LATVIA
LITHUANIA
Baltic Sea
DANZIG
EAST PRUSSIA
"CORRIDOR"
Kaunas
POPULATION: 2,500,000
ARMY: 312,000
AIR FORCE: ?
SOVIET RUSSIA
POPULATION: 175,000,000
ARMY: 12,300,000
NAVY: 290,589 TONS
AIR FORCE: 5,000—8,500
Warsaw
POLAND
POPULATION: 35,000,000
ARMY: 1,750,000
AIR FORCE: 900
SLOVAKIA
HUNGARY
POPULATION: 9,500,000
ARMY: 700,000
AIR FORCE: 150
RUMANIA
POPULATION: 19,000,000
ARMY: 1,780,000
AIR FORCE: 250
Belgrade
Bucharest
YUGOSLAVIA
POPULATION: 15,600,000
ARMY: 1,690,000
AIR FORCE: 700
Black Sea
Adriatic Sea
BULGARIA
Sofia
POPULATION: 6,000,000
ARMY: 700,000
AIR FORCE: 100
ALBANIA (ITAL)
Angora
Dardanelles
Aegean Sea
GREECE
TURKEY
POPULATION: 16,000,000
ARMY: 960,000
AIR FORCE: ?
POPULATION: 6,000,000
ARMY: 578,000
AIR FORCE: ?
DODECANESE (ITAL.)
CYPRUS (BR.)
MALTA (BR.)

mer of hope was smothered when Russia attacked from the East, catching the stunned Poles in a nutcracker.

Poland's industrial areas will increase German coal and iron production by perhaps twenty per cent; oil by forty per cent.

ALL but the oil may be canceled however, by capture or dominance by French and British troops of the German Saar valley coal and iron basin between the Moselle and the Rhine regions. This area they attacked at the outbreak of war, not only for that reason, but because it is the only attackable point on Germany's western borders. North of it, Luxemburg and Belgium thus far are not, as in 1914, invaded by Germany. Southward is that formidable moat, the Rhine. So this 125 mile stretch is the entrance to South Germany naturally and artificially, for here the famous German Westwall is supposed to be incomplete and most vulnerable to assault from the French Maginot Line.

These two "lines" are really fortified zones many miles thick, following the contours of the land along either side of the border. The Maginot Line is unique in military engineering. It has outworks of trenches, barbed wire, concrete machine-gun pillboxes and tank-traps of steel rails sunk in concrete. But its main reliance is subterranean galleries several levels deep, air-conditioned, capable of sheltering a special army of 100,-000, which would fight either from casemates topped by steel and concrete forts but sunk deep into earth, with elevators, or by emerging from prepared passageways, to counter-attack the attacker.

The German Westwall is thicker—at points, thirty miles—and more like the Hindenburg Line the Allies finally broke in 1918. It has fewer subterranean fortifications, depending more upon counter-attack from positions especially prepared. Its anti-tank traps are of concrete. Built more hurriedly than the Maginot, the Westwall is believed to have weak spots.

To find these weak spots, the French and British are mopping up the lightly-held outpost zone of the Westwall. The end of the first fortnight found them approaching the main positions which generally are behind the Saar River. Evidently the Germans intend giving up the Saar Basin and Saarbruecken for the time, at least. The Allied advance has been slow unavoidably, for the country is difficult—hilly and wooded—but has permitted strong German reinforcements to reach the Westwall before a major attack can be made upon it. Such an attack, if the Lorraine autumn rains did not halt it, might bring on the bloodiest pitched battle in world history.

Though gas has not yet been used, almost certainly it will be, especially if reports are true of the Germans having a new gas. In any case, fire-power today is greater than ever before. Through improvements in ordnance and ammunition, artillery, machine guns and rifles now range one-third to one-half again as far as in 1918; there are heavy machine guns and anti-tank guns. Tanks make ten times World War speeds.

The rapidity with which German mechanized columns of tanks and armored cars, supported by infantry in trucks, have swarmed over Poland is from the military viewpoint the most interesting development of the first fortnight. To be sure, in Poland everything helped these armored, fire-spitting vehicles traveling fifty miles an hour to act like cavalry on wheels, dashing in, out and around the slower Polish infantry and horsed cavalry, whose communications were being cut and rear areas demoralized by incessant bombing. If the Lightning War is much less likely to work against the well-equipped French and British on the rougher Western Front, nevertheless it has left thunderstruck those who believe that, despite early successes in Poland or anywhere else, Germany must eventually succumb to the British-French blockade.

For the Lightning War has not only given Germany Poland's resources; it has put her in position to establish a direct connection with the resources of Russia and Rumania and the remainder of the Balkans. Germany can get from Russia and the Balkans supplies enough to fight a long war. The known military factors are these:

The Red army has mobilized three to four million men, almost half of which were used in the Polish offensive, pretty well equipped, with many motor vehicles and five thousand planes. This force, backed by a regimented people of 170,000,000 can probably dominate German or Allied action in the Balkans. Rumania has 1,500,000 troops mobilized but worse organized and equipped than were Poland's 3,000,000. Yugoslavia's 1,000,000 are better fighters, better organized but ill-equipped. Bulgaria has 300,000 fighting men; Greece, 700,000. Turkey's excellent army is 1,200,000.

The Italian army has two million men with over a million trained reserves; the only war-experienced major army in Europe, and much of it good. In Italy's African Empire are over 100,000 native troops. But that Empire sprawls, inviting Allied attack—one reason why Italy thus far has stayed neutral and kept with her the Balkans. Another reason is that Italy wants Germany's Balkan trade. But the most powerful reason is that Italy's own peninsula is "a neck stuck out," inviting decapitation by land invasion of her northern industrial region by France, bombing of Rome, and strangulation by blockade . . . especially if Turkey's and Greece's membership in the "peace front" became a war membership, as it might if Italy encroached in the Balkans further than Albania.

The Balkans may now see a race between a German army, with or without Italian support, and a British and French expeditionary force with Greco-Turkish support, coming eastward through the Mediterranean to Salonica and Istanbul, and northward toward Rumania, Poland and Germany. Mussolini's fast navy could hinder that, but with difficulty stop it. Perhaps Il Duce will now decide he can best help Italy and Hitler too by remaining neutral and keeping the Balkans likewise, to join him in supplying Hitler with the materials Germany needs to fight the British blockade. And for this purpose also Germany has an ominous weapon—the German Air Force.

JUST now the finest in the world, the German air force has 4,000 first-line planes and 10,000 all told, replaceable at the rate of 1,000 a month. In Poland it has worked marvelously; against Britain's and France's combined and growing strength of 6,500 planes and good anti-aircraft defenses, it could not work such marvels, but could do much. If it has not yet bombed London or Paris that is perhaps because of fears of American indignation, perhaps because, since those cities are well-protected, it is seeking a better target.

That target would be, especially,

British but also French ports and shipping—even warships—in harbor or at sea. To bomb them effectively may not be difficult, to judge from Spanish War experience. Air blockade versus sea blockade—and which would be more effective? And which would be starved out—Germany or Britain?

Not inconceivably, Britain—unless she could get planes—which after all are the best weapons against planes —in the United States. So it is no joke to say that the fate of the British Empire, perhaps of democracy in much of the world, may be settled not on Eastern front or Western, but in Washington, D. C.

V. RADIO

Covering the Crisis

H. V. KALTENBORN

Radio News Analyst and Commentator

For its present war coverage, American radio has had what might be termed two "previews"—the Austrian Anschluss of March 1938 and the Czech Crisis of last September. Both events keyed network operations to a high degree of technical efficiency, and showed the broadcasters what type of program they could expect from abroad during crises. The present war, however, differs from these "previews." For one thing, the Austrian Anschluss lasted only ten days, the Czech Crisis three weeks, and in neither did the censor have much chance to do his deadly work.

The present war may continue for one, two, three years. What can be done during a three-week crisis cannot be continued for months. Neither listeners nor broadcasters could stand the strain. Obviously, the broadcasters have now had to settle down to a basis of operations that will meet the test of a long-drawn-out conflict.

With a large part of the world already at war, radio has assumed a position of importance unparalled in the history of the world. In 1914, radio was a feeble spark, a mystery confined to a few amateurs and wireless operators. Today in 1939, it is a force for good or evil, for hate or good-will such as our world has never before seen.

Already in Europe, they are calling radio the war's "Third Front." (According to General Goering, the military front and the economic front are the other two.) One has only to sit for a few moments in the soundproof room which the Columbia Broadcasting System maintains as a

tivity to see how true this is. Here come short-wave programs from every government station in Europe -each bearing its own version of the truth. "Such and such a Polish city has fallen!" says the German announcer from Berlin. He announces it not only in German, but in English, French, Polish, Russian, Spanish, even African, for the benefit of all possible nationalities listening in. At the same time, the Polish Embassy in London denies that the city has been taken—indeed, the Embassy quotes a short-wave broadcast from that city as saying that the Poles have held the Germans in the suburbs six miles outside.

What has really happened? Who can tell? And whom can one believe amid the half-truths, assertions and denials that echo back and forth on the wave-lengths like the thousand tongues in the Tower of Babel?

America is three thousand miles away. Yet America wants the truth. American radio is democratic, competitive, privately owned, and no restraining hand of outside censorship has yet clamped down on its opportunity to bring us whatever truth is available. If we continue to believe that the truth can make us free, American radio can be the

greatest force in the world for understanding — and eventually — for peace.

Now that the war is well under way, Columbia, like the other networks, refrains from interrupting scheduled programs with news bulletins unless these are of outstanding importance. It also schedules its foreign broadcasts and the news analyses by Elmer Davis and myself at regular periods. Paul W. White, Director of Special Events for C.B.S., describes Columbia's policy as follows:

"The European War is a news story, of vital interest to the American people. It is our job to help our listeners follow its progress and to get full information on what is happening." Concerning possible censorship of radio correspondents abroad, he says: "No American newspaper withdraws its men from the field because there is foreign censorship. Why should radio?"

Of course, radio has to be particularly careful about the way it presents emotion-stirring news. The human voice is more potent than cold print. Few people are more conscious than broadcasters of the extent to which radio can sway public opinion at a time of stress. Most broadcasters try hard to be sane, balanced, accurate and informing. Every effort is made to check news for accuracy. The eager attempt to secure a beat has been supplanted by the more conservative determination to avoid mistakes.

Eighteen years ago, when I broadcast my first talk over an old Westinghouse station in Newark, radio's "coverage" of the news was non-existent. Today, the news department of a radio station is a vast machine, an organization of reporters, editors, writers, engineers and translators whose work takes place in cities all over the globe, and is focused into the New York headquarters. It is this highly organized machine which is dealing with the present war.

Headquarters for the C.B.S. organization are in New York City, on the seventeenth floor of their Madison Avenue Building. Here in a handsome block of glass-enclosed offices is a staff of some forty people, working under the direction of Paul W. White. News is pouring into these offices from many sources. In one room, press tickers are grinding out yards and yards of news, night and day. In

In response to a request by the editors of CURRENT HISTORY *for a statement concerning the policy of the National Broadcasting Company, A. A. Schechter, Director of News and Special Events, submitted the following:*

The National Broadcasting Company reported the war of nerves leading up to the European war with the realization that no one man—no groups of men, for that matter—could cover and make a pattern of the swift-moving events that started off the War of 1939.

Knowing fully well the responsibility that rests with radio, the NBC news policy called for this war coverage—as well as the crisis coverage of the past—to deal strictly with facts. Unbiased, unvarnished, responsible facts. Facts shorn of personal feelings, personal thoughts and personal opinions. Above all, in all news reports, observations and commentaries, Order Number 1 was, "No gazing into a crystal ball."

It was our feeling that Hitler may not have known what he intended to do up until the very moment he sent his troops into Poland. For that reason, it was decided to stay away from opinion and from tea leaves.

It is for that reason that NBC's own staff men in Europe headed by Fred Bate in London, Paul Archinard in Paris and Max Jordan in Central Europe, manned the microphones and arranged neutral, unbiased, and as far as possible, uncensored broadcasts from the scene. Because the great American press associations serve newspapers of all shades of political opinion and thought, they must necessarily be truthful and objective in their news coverage. And that is the reason that American correspondents were invited by NBC to give its listeners the on-the-spot broadcasts from Rome, Berlin, London, Warsaw, Paris, Budapest, Danzig and other points.

The National Broadcasting Company is mindful and appreciative of the cooperation of the Associated Press, United Press and International News Service. Reports by American newsmen working for American services.

It is that spirit of cooperation between NBC and the press that best serves the public. When press communications were delayed by lack of facilities, it was our privilege to stand aside and let newsmen carry their news over our microphones in order that their readers as well as our listeners might be served.

is sitting around the wall listening to short-wave programs picked up from the government stations in Europe. They jot down all they hear, although little of what they hear is used.

Strange and dramatic stories are coming through—the sinking of ships, the bombing of cities, the killing of women and children. Atrocity stories often appear. Some may be truth, others lies. That is the business of a group of men in still another office, who study each news item as it comes through and check it for accuracy. When there are gaps or questions, Paul White reaches for his telephone, and calls up one of his key men in Europe or Washington, or discusses the report with one of his news analysts. Maps, reference books, military experts are constantly consulted.

Columbia has key men in every important capital of Europe—watching the moves, waiting for a chance to go on the air with the story for America. In London, Edward R. Murrow, Columbia's European Director, always well-groomed and at ease no matter what the hour, sits in his office just across the way from the British Broadcasting House, telephoning London diplomats or European capitals, reading newspapers, sometimes reaching for his gas-mask, ready to pop into the cellar as the lights go out and the air siren hoots.

In Paris is young Thomas B. Grandin, drawn from the scholastic research ranks only a year ago—and now, with Eric Severeid, an experienced American newsman, Columbia's voice from France.

In Berlin, William L. Shirer, who worked for many years as a newspaperman in Germany, Austria and Central Europe, is on the alert, buttonholing attachés, talking to troops about to leave for the front, seeking always to reach the front himself. In Warsaw, Rome, Budapest are other men, ready to go on the air when the headlines turn in their direction.

Night after night, Europe's major cities have come close to American living-rooms, when, with the speed of light, radio has leaped the Atlantic and picked up the voices of these men. Often I have had the privilege of being a party to "four-way conversations" with Paris, London, Washington and New York participating by way of question and answer. With earphones attached to my head, I have sat in the New York studios, giving Europe its cue. "Hello, Murrow. Kaltenborn calling Edward Murrow in London . . ." And Murrow's voice has sounded in my ears. I have heard him talk to Grandin in Paris, from there a question goes to Washington, and the answer may come from New York. All the world can hear us talk. Yet the technical miracle which accomplished all this is so complicated that few people could understand it even if they tried. I haven't even tried.

Every kind of engineering device has been created by radio to make its news-machine more efficient. On Paul White's desk in New York is a small box, equipped with a single button. This button is connected with the various regional chains into which the Columbia network is divided. When a news bulletin of great importance comes through, he has only to press this button, and instantly every part of the network is coordinated to hear the bulletin. At a second's notice, regular programs are switched out, and the only voice coming over 117 stations throughout the country is the announcer's from New York.

Paul White's desk boasts also a special telephone switchboard which, when he picks up his telephone, connects him instantly with every department head at C.B.S. whose duties are associated with the production of a news broadcast. Thus at any moment of the day a dozen executives can confer together. The walls of his office are made of plate glass—as are the walls of the news-room and the adjoining news studio, the famous Studio Nine—so that he is visible at all times and can see his orders carried out by his staff.

Studio Nine was built this year by C.B.S. especially for news broadcasting, and completed just a few weeks before the war began. It takes the place of the makeshift Studio Nine from which I broadcast the Czecho-Slovak Crisis last year. That studio was little more than an office, converted to studio use by the hanging of a large drape at one end. It contained three desks, news-tickers,

microphones and portable equipment. The present Studio Nine is a vast improvement. It is entirely glass-enclosed, sound-proof, with a large control booth. Last year, considerable time was wasted when a news bulletin came in during air-time by having to open and shut the door of the studio to get it through. Now Studio Nine boasts a slot in one wall, through which bulletins can be shoved by the news staff and picked up instantly by the announcer inside.

What is the position of the so-called news analyst at a time like this? Many people, hearing that war was declared, felt that radio stations would shut down on news analysis and confine themselves to news bulletins and on-the-spot stories. Some stations have, but C.B.S. has shown how important it feels the news analyst to be by retaining not merely one, but two home-office men to study and interpret the news—Mr. Elmer Davis and myself. I certainly had no desire to repeat my Czech Crisis marathon for the duration of a war and consider myself most fortunate in Columbia's choice of the able colleague who shares my burden.

The radio news analyst, as I see it, has two jobs. His first is to give background information on news bulletins as they occur. His second is to co-ordinate events into some kind of pattern so that listeners get a better idea of what is going on. He is a map-maker, an encyclopedist, a fact-elucidator and an anti-propagandist. His job is not to edit, but to write footnotes to history in the making.

Millions of Americans today are frankly bewildered by events in Europe. They read the papers, and they listen to the radio news bulletins. But most of them feel that these are not enough. They want someone in whose fairness and intelligence they have confidence, with whom they can talk things over. They want certain things explained. Every morning, my mail brings innumerable letters and every day I receive telegrams from people who beg me to give them more information on why a certain thing has or has not occurred. Here, for instance, is a typical letter from a show-me American:

"Will you tell me what all this means? What kind of a war is this? You told us England and France declared war on Germany to help Poland.

"So British bombing planes drop

On the radio front—H. V. Kaltenborn at the mike. During a crisis he eats little, loses weight. sleeps on a studio couch, broadcasts extemporaneously with a few notes to guide him.

some reading matter over Germany saying no one is mad at the German people. Polish planes bomb a couple of German ships, some one sank a passenger boat, and while all this is going on, no one is helping Poland. While on the Western Front, the Germans are saying, 'Don't shoot me, and I won't shoot you.' I don't know what the French are saying. But Poland is still getting shoved around, and no one helping her, but everyone declaring war to help her. It looks to me like everyone wants to hold Poland's coat.

"I am told by everyone I talk to about it that it's a new kind of war. It's sure got me beat. I'll hold out a little longer on the radio to hear you, but it don't dope out."

On a single day during the first week of the war I received telegrams from listeners telling me the exact location of the *Bremen*, pointing out how England could send troops to Poland, offering a new high-power explosive and conveying information about a Nazi spy ring. It is not always easy to distinguish between cranks and wise men in such a mass of volunteered information.

By explaining a news bulletin, I do not mean a personal or a political explanation. The news analyst should not take sides, no matter what his personal or political views may be. His job is to present all sides. Why is Hitler behaving the way he does? The analyst must give, not a Nazi or an anti-Nazi explanation, but a common sense one, based on fact, reading, personal observation of Hitler himself and interviews with his aides. I have always found it of enormous value to have personal contact with such men as Hilter, Chamberlain, Mussolini and Daladier. It explains much that they say and do.

After some differences in proper methods of war reporting the three major networks agreed on a joint declaration of policy. This was published the second week in September, after network executives had conferred with Lawrence J. Fly, the new Chairman of the Federal Communications Division. He approved the declaration, and this approval, together with the decision to avoid "horror, suspense and undue excitement," is expected to quiet fears that radio might stir dangerous emotions. Wartime censorship had already been suggested.

My own definition of the functions of an American news analyst in this article was written before the networks made theirs. The editors of CURRENT HISTORY will bear out my statement that I recalled this article to include the agreed network limitations on news analysts. I mention this because I will get lots of letters from Kaltenborn-haters, rejoicing that at last my "pontifical banalities" are ruled out. Here is the way the networks agreed to phrase their restrictions:

> **"News analysts are at all times to be confined strictly to explaining and evaluating such fact, rumor, propaganda and so on as**

are available. No news analyst or news broadcaster of any kind is to be allowed to express personal editorial judgment or to select or omit news with the purpose of creating any given effect, and no news analyst or other news broadcaster is to be allowed to say anything in an effort to influence action or opinion of others one way or the other.

"Nothing in this is intended to forbid any news broadcaster from attempting to evaluate the news as it develops, providing he substantiates his evaluation with facts and attendant circumstances. His basis for evaluation should, of course, be impersonal, sincere and honest."

TODAY, my one dominant purpose is to keep America out of this war. That is why I am doing my best to be neutral. There are many different nationalities in America listening to me—Germans, Polish, English, French—each with a blood-strain that runs warm at the thought of the fatherland. To take sides would stir up conflict and hatred among our own people, and this would make it more difficult to preserve peace. The hardest task in dealing with war news is to keep emotions under control. Every radio news analyst who has made a reputation has personal opinions, personal feelings, and personal prejudices. But he does not need to flaunt them in the ears of his listeners.

When an inflammatory event occurs, such as the sinking of the *Athenia*, it is my duty to deal with it not as an atrocity but as one aspect of the use of the submarine in naval warfare. Too many wars have been set off by sensational incidents which, years later, proved to have a somewhat different character than we first supposed. The *Lusitania*, after all, did carry munitions. And I don't mean to imply for a moment that this is true of the *Athenia*.

It is not an easy job to be a news analyst in time of war. Every word must be weighed. Even the tone of one's voice must be watched. Microphone manner is just as important as microphone matter. Recently I received a letter from a woman criticizing my "Oxford accent."

"Your sentiments may be pro-British," she wrote, "but please keep your voice neutral." A mere change of voice color can express doubt, suspicion, anger, sarcasm or ridicule. I am constantly accused of being pro-German, pro-Japanese, pro-Communist or pro-Roosevelt. So long as I get an equal number of letters telling me that I am anti-German or anti-Roosevelt, I feel reasonably certain that I am holding to my purpose with some success. The one thing that would be fatal is a flat dullness that leaves all listeners indifferent.

The flood of fan-mail—in a crisis the letters and telegrams come by thousands; the Czech Crisis brought fifty thousand—deepens my sense of responsibility to the American public. For it means that hair-trigger emotions, acute undercurrent hatreds are prevalent—hatreds that, given a chance, might spread like wildfire into catastrophe. Far from turning me against my chosen task, this mail, applauding or condemning, confirms my conviction that the job of a news analyst is both responsible and important, that my task is to calm emotions, not to incite them, that I must endeavor to convert unreasoning hatred to sanity and peace.

My work on the air is a full-time job. At present I appear three times a week for fifteen-minute periods on a commercial program, and at least twice a week on sustaining programs. Yet these broadcast appearances are only one part of my work. Every so often I write a book and almost every year I spend several months traveling abroad. I deliver an average of two hundred platform lectures from October to May in every part of the United States and Canada.

Each day I go through several newspapers and magazines, study the press tickers, and read whatever new books on foreign affairs have come to my desk. I receive scores of domestic and foreign weekly and monthly magazines, of such varying types as *The Japanese American* and *The Soviet World Today*. These I study carefully for background material.

Bulletins issued by such organizations as the Foreign Policy Association, Far Eastern Survey, and the Carnegie Endowment for Peace—such excellent news letters as are issued regularly by Kiplinger in Washington and in London by Commander Stephen King-Hall—are fertile sources of information. Then there are my personal friends and correspondents—at home and abroad, some of them newspapermen and junior diplomats, some just plain folk—who write to me regularly and give me the story behind the headlines.

This summer I spent three weeks in Europe, on a flying trip, doing twenty-seven broadcasts, but spending most of my time interviewing key men on the political situation. In both England and France I talked with leading members of the Cabinet and exchanged news and views with the American Ambassadors. I also had revealing talks with such men as Ernst Hanfstaengel, my Harvard classmate, now a fugitive from Hitler's staff. In Paris I interviewed Paul Reynaud, Minister of Finance, and came to agree that he is perhaps the strongest personality in France's War Cabinet. I had only a brief stay in Berlin but at least caught some of the atmosphere of the German capital the week before war began. I saw the war preparations in England and on the Continent, even in Chartres, France, where they have loosened every pane of the precious stained glass in the great cathedral, ready to remove it in case of bombardment. And I had gone there in the hope of escaping for a day from the shadow of impending war.

Three weeks may not seem like much of a visit. But an experienced reporter can see a great deal in three weeks, if his way is paved by radio representatives, American diplomats, and newspaper colleagues. Although war had not yet been declared when I flew from Southampton for New York, I knew it was on its way. Tension was everywhere. In England they were trying on gas-masks. In Berlin the Germans were laughing and saying, "Heil, Moscow." They were sure they could conquer Poland without unleashing a world war. Everywhere except in Berlin the verdict was the same—war by September 6. They missed out only on the date.

MANY people have asked me how I manage to read a bulletin at a glance and explain it without a pause. This is merely a matter of training and background. When a crisis occurs, I am only pouring out in a steady stream what it has taken me years to store up.

I have always spoken extemporaneously even from my earliest days before the microphone. I go into the studio with only a few jotted notes. During the present war, as during last year's Czech crisis, I often dispense even with these and talk with only the news bulletins before me, as a focus.

The strain of any crisis or war upon the radio news staff is naturally

great. Last year during the Czech Crisis many of us felt we would crack under the strain of broadcasting at all hours of the day and night for three unrelenting breathless weeks. Sleep proved the greatest problem. Eating is relatively unimportant. We all eat too much anyhow and a crisis is a fine opportunity to lose weight.

At Columbia we now have cots in the studio for use in emergencies. Cat-naps, I find, are quite as useful as long sleeps. For relaxation, I go now and then to the Harvard Club and have a good sweat, a swim and a massage. The endless exhilaration of excitement and suspense carried me through the Czech crisis in fine shape, and at the end of the three weeks I felt no ill effects at all. But I did have to catch up on sleep.

This is my third war. The first I spent as an American volunteer and war correspondent forty years ago. During the second I was war editor of *The Brooklyn Eagle*. Since then I have followed the trail of bloody revolution in Germany, Italy, Russia, China and Spain.

I get no joy out of war. I would rather discuss a firemen's ball than spend one word combating the propaganda of the "Third Front." But while the war goes on, radio has its duty. *It must give the news fully*, fairly, freely, not only to North America but to its large short-wave audiences in South America and Europe. It must tell the story behind the battle-fronts. While knowledge makes for peace, and the truth can keep men free, I hope to remain at my post.

VI. WASHINGTON

America and Neutrality

RAYMOND CLAPPER

Washington Correspondent

In the opening phase of the European war, we in America are trying to ride two horses. Only by the utmost intelligence, discrimination, restraint and skill can this country manage to keep hitched to both of these temperamentally opposed policies. Even then we may need luck to save us from a spill.

We are wishing for and are trying to bring about the defeat of Germany. At the same time we are trying to stay out of the war. Inaccurately, for lack of a better phrase, we label our course as one of neutrality. Actually we are trying to pursue a dual course, trying to occupy two positions simultaneously. This gives us, as a people in this crisis, something akin to a split personality.

It is not as if we had two great contending divisions in this country, each adopting one of the foregoing positions, one group trying to keep us out of war and the other group trying to get us in. The same people, the same groups, the same Administration, have adopted both positions. The Administration hopes for the victory of Great Britain and France and for months has sought repeal of the arms embargo to assist in bringing that victory about. At the same time it is trying to keep us out of war. Every poll of public opinion shows large majorities in favor of keeping out of war and at the same time favoring defeat of Germany. Even those who oppose the Administration in the matter of repealing the arms embargo do so not to assist Germany but because they believe it will better insure our keeping out of war. They are no more in favor of a German victory than is Mr. Roosevelt or Secretary Hull. The only area of difference concerns how much material aid we can safely give, or whether any aid at all can be offered without incurring the risk of war.

This is not neutrality, except in the most restricted, legal sense, that governs our attitude toward the European war but an inner balance of contradictory desires, poised delicately upon twin emotions. Therein lies the point of danger, the danger that the balance between these two emotions shall be upset, especially the danger that our desire to see Germany defeated may eventually overcome our desire to stay out of war. That happened in 1917. It is against this danger that those who oppose repealing the arms embargo are in reality standing. They have no confidence that those "methods short of war," which Mr. Roosevelt in his message to Congress last January favored, will not lead us step by step into war.

At least for the time being, we stay out. In his broadcast a few hours after Great Britain and France declared war, Mr. Roosevelt fixed the war guilt by referring pointedly to the invasion of Poland by Germany. He said our neutrality need not extend to being impartial in thought. He pledged himself to do everything possible to keep war from our shores. We stay out in fact if not in spirit.

The first concern of this government since the war began, and indeed months before, has been to take those protective measures which would cushion us against the backwash, economic, political and military, of the war. For months preparations have been going forward to protect the country against the economic shock, which, when the 1914 European war began, was so severe that the stock exchange was forced to close. Arrangements to cushion our markets, and to take drastic action if necessary, had been made chiefly by the Treasury Department, the Federal Reserve Board and the Securities and Exchange Commission. Among these agencies are powers to control short selling, to change margin requirements, to punish manipulators operating in wash sales, pools, corners, untrue information and the like.

There was great anxiety over the bond market, since the heavy holdings by banks of government bonds meant that a violent break would have serious internal consequences. But because of the confidence inspired by these careful advance preparations, and for other reasons, the markets did not break as had been expected but turned sharply upward. Even the sag in the bond market was not sufficient to cause any serious disturbance. So far as securities are concerned, the outbreak of war has been weathered easily.

Commodity prices are left more to their own devices and only limited powers exist to deal with them. But the only problem thus far created has been that of unwarranted increases in the prices of some items. On the whole, the rise in commodity prices, especially on food and fibre, has been a welcome relief to the Administra-

tion, since it brings prices up from drastic lows which deprived the farmer of a fair return. For that reason the Administration is slow to move against rising commodity prices and is allowing the war boom to have its head, always, of course, with the proviso that at any time conditions might have to be dealt with, should they get out of hand.

Measures to deal with the political backwash of the war, chiefly espionage and propaganda, are largely in the hands of the Department of Justice, which has been working quietly for some time. One of Mr. Roosevelt's first acts, after declaring a state of "limited emergency," was to add 150 agents to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. State and local peace officers have been asked to cooperate by turning over to federal authorities reports which come to them concerning espionage, sabotage and activities of aliens inimical to our form of government. Radio broadcasters have voluntarily cooperated with the government by adopting rules which will cause all propaganda to be plainly labelled. They are attempting to restrict highly emotional and inflammatory material going out over the air. The Administration's purpose is to maintain free discussion among our own people without censorship of any kind but at the same time to protect the public against foreign propaganda intended to interfere with our own formation of public opinion.

Military measures have proceeded rapidly. A naval patrol on the surface and in the air has been thrown out several hundred miles from shore to keep watch for belligerent craft and report back to shore. The Coast Guard has been ordered to guard against belligerent violation of our coastal waters. Naval construction has been speeded up. Some 40 destroyers are being recommissioned from the laid-up war-time fleet. Additional troops and planes have been sent to Panama, and the Canal Zone has been placed under military rule, with military inspection of all craft passing through the locks. President Roosevelt has ordered additional army and navy recruiting, although keeping both branches well under their authorized peace strength. Those measures, all taken within a few days of the outbreak of war, will of course be followed by others intended to place our defense forces in the strongest possible peace-time condition. The speed and nature of such additional activity will depend upon the course of events in Europe and the extent to which they impinge upon the interest of the United States.

In marked contrast with the previous European war, the start of this one has found this government alert to the importance of keeping Americans out of the zone of danger, believing that loss of life is more likely to embroil us than loss of property. Almost instantly after war began, this government shut down upon travel to Europe by Americans. Passport regulations were tightened so that only those presenting convincing evidence of necessity to the State Department are now permitted to sail for the war zone. Remember that the *Lusitania* when sunk in 1915, nearly a year after the outbreak of the World War, carried a heavy list of American passengers, many of whom were travelling to Europe as curious sightseers without urgent business.

In this respect, the United States is far better protected against inflammatory incidents arising out of loss of American lives than was the case twenty-five years ago, thanks to certain safeguards in the neutrality act which forbid Americans to travel on belligerent vessels except as the government shall permit. The act also restricts American shipping, forbidding carrying of war supplies to belligerents and the arming of American merchantmen. All American ships have been ordered to display their American identity in huge letters on both sides, with large American flags on the sides and decks, and to sail at night with full lights. Mr. Roosevelt has been urging Congress to safeguard American shipping further by giving him the power to forbid American ships and citizens from entering war zones. There is little disposition in Congress against restricting the travel of American citizens and shipping in the danger zones; the chief controversy arises over the amount of discretionary power to be given to the President.

Even the anti-New Deal New York Sun *supported Neutrality revision.*

Neither is there much argument over the desirability of continuing "cash and carry" protection now provided in the neutrality act for noncontraband goods. This rule, which requires belligerents to purchase their supplies for cash, to take over full title and risk and to carry the goods away in their own bottoms, also is designed to keep American shipping out of the line of fire. There is little concern over the consequent loss of traffic to American ships, since, with belligerent shipping withdrawn, American bottoms will be in demand to take over cargo between neutral ports.

Controversy narrows down chiefly to the question of selling arms, ammunition and implements of war to belligerents. No one advocates an embargo on other supplies—wheat, cotton, oil, copper, and such goods which are as essential to a nation at war as munitions. These goods, in fact, bulk far larger in quantity, in value and in urgency of need to Great Britain and France than do arms and ammunition, which are embargoed. The Administration sees no difference in reality between munitions and other necessary supplies and is asking that the neutrality act be modified to place them all in the same cash and carry category.

It is very frank in saying that the arms embargo plays into the hands of the aggressor forces and works directly against the "peace-loving nations." That is, it plays into the hands of Germany and against Britain and France, since those two nations could come and get American arms, whereas Germany, not in control of the seas, could not. Secretary Hull argues that the embargo therefore offsets the naval superiority of Britain and France and that it is unneutral thus to prevent them from taking advantage of their position.

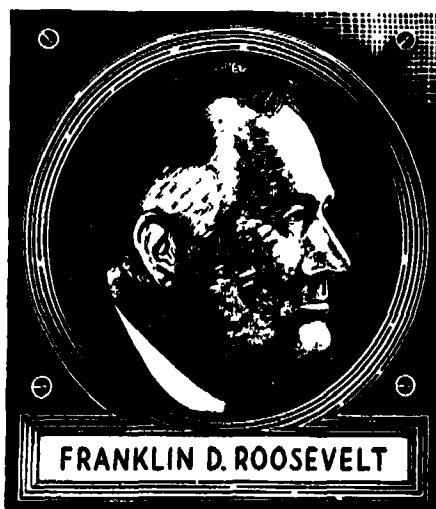
The opposition argues that it is unneutral to change the rules during the course of a war so as to affect

the relative resources of the two sides; that, however unfortunate it may be, it would be unneutral now to strike a blow at Germany by releasing arms to her enemies in the midst of hostilities.

As a matter of fact, the question of neutrality has no real place in the argument on either side. Those in opposition to the Administration are equally anxious to see Germany defeated but their desire is overcome by the fear that somehow such repeal of the arms embargo would tend to involve us in the war. That it would incense Germany is very likely. There might be reprisals which would inflame this country and shortly lead us, as the submarine warfare did in 1917, into going to war. That is the fear of men like Senator Borah who oppose the President.

We are as a nation undoubtedly suffering from a psychosis, a fear that we shall be trapped into war in spite of ourselves. We do not trust ourselves. That perhaps is the natural result of our previous experience, which has left us in the years since 1918 with a feeling that we were betrayed by our own emotions into entering a war which we should not have entered.

The Nye committee, investigating the steps by which we entered the previous war, has made us conscious of the slow, almost imperceptible drift into war which sent us in a few months after we had reelected Woodrow Wilson on the slogan "He kept us out of war." Within a few days after the World War began in 1914, Secretary of State Bryan notified J. P. Morgan and Co. that, "in the judgment of this government, loans by American bankers to any foreign nation which is at war are inconsistent with the true spirit of neutrality." But two months later this position was modified and short term banking credits began to be extended to allied governments by American bankers. From then on the financial involvement increased to finance heavy purchases of supplies in the United States by the British and French. Along with it went the series of submarine sinkings, costing American lives and arousing American opinion which shortly came, with as much unanimity as now, to wish for German defeat.

For more than two years this process continued, despite the strong desire of a considerable portion of the country that we keep out of war. But increasingly voices urging our participation became stronger. As this emotional wave rolled up, the economic pull also increased until, on March 5, 1917, a month before we declared war, Walter Hines Page, American Ambassador to Great Britain, was writing to the State Department saying that economic conditions made it imperative that we enter the war.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Parts of this note are worth quoting:

"The financial inquiries made here reveal an international condition most alarming to the American financial and industrial outlook. England is obliged to finance her allies as well as to meet her own war expenses. She has as yet been able to do these tasks out of her own resources. But she cannot continue her present large purchases in the United States without shipments of gold to pay for them and she cannot maintain large shipments of gold for two reasons: first, both England and France must retain most of the gold they have to keep their paper currency at par; and second, the submarine has made the shipping of gold too hazardous even if they had it to ship. The almost immediate danger therefore is that Franco-American and Anglo-American exchange will be so distributed that orders by all the Allied Governments will be reduced to the lowest minimum and there will be almost a panic in the United States. . . .

"If we should go to war with Germany the greatest help we could give the Allies would be such a credit [to finance purchases by France and England.] . . . All the money would be kept in our own country, trade would be continued and enlarged until the war ends, and after the war Europe would continue to buy food and would buy from us also an enormous supply of things to re-equip her peace industries. We should thus reap the profit of an uninterrupted, perhaps an enlarging trade over a number of years and we should hold their securities in payment. . . .

"Perhaps our going to war is the only way in which our present preeminent trade position can be maintained and a panic averted."

That kind of creeping involvement is what the country fears now. Most of the senators who participated in the Nye munitions investigation are opposed to repeal of the embargo because they fear it as one of those steps which will pull us further toward war. Their fears are felt more vaguely by many citizens less familiar with the detailed history of 1914-17. That history is responsible for the insistence in the neutrality act upon barring loans to belligerents.

That we slid into the last war without many citizens realizing what was taking place is certain. But then we were more innocent. We have the lesson of that history before us now in great detail. We did not know then how futile the war to make the world safe for democracy would be. We are thoroughly disillusioned now. We didn't know then so much about propaganda and were vastly unconscious of its influence. Now we are alert and insulated against it. We are infinitely wiser in the ways of Europe now, we know more about the cost of war, we have seen this war coming for a long time and we have steeled ourselves against its reaching out to clutch us into its vortex.

Thus, in these respects, we are much better safeguarded against our own naive emotions than we realize. This time we are mentally prepared against going to war.

If in the course of events, we should change our minds, I think it will be by exactly that process—by changing our minds. We shall be more calculating. As a people we are quite conscious of the fact that for us it will be a more comfortable world to live in if the British Empire survives than if it is replaced in world power by Germany. We are not much concerned about fighting a war to save democracy. We could only be induced to action by the realization that our national interests required the defeat of Germany, and that this was so urgent that it was worth going to war. We are a long way from rec-

ognizing any such urgency. We recognize that a German defeat would be better for us, but we do not see that it would be worth the price of a war. This country will not be convinced otherwise very easily. As did the Chamberlain government, we shall exhaust every other possibility first. There is no one so cautious as a sucker once disillusioned.

Politically also we have a situation much more likely to restrain us from going in, and one quite in contrast with that of the Wilson period. Wilson's most active opposition amounted almost to a "War Party." He was ridiculed for note-writing. "Deeds, not words," was the goading cry against him. His critics taunted him with his "too proud to fight" phrase. In spite of the fact that the 1916 election probably turned on the slogan that "he kept us out of war," the most vocal elements in the country, most of the press, most of the aggressive political leaders such as Theodore Roosevelt, were pushing Wilson to be more belligerent. His delay in declaring war was denounced as shameful and cowardly. Even in the pulpits, the eagle screamed. Although we have learned since that Wilson all the while was moving toward war, he seemed to be shunning it and public impatience hounded him ceaselessly.

It is conceivable that in time we might be lashed into this public frenzy again, provoked by German tactics, but it is less likely because the pattern already fixed in the public mind is quite different from that of Wilson's time. Critics of President Roosevelt are not goading him to be more belligerent. In the contrary they have accused him to trying to take the country down the road to war. Because he has not concealed his partiality for the British and French, because he has sought to give them all possible material to aid, his political opponents and some not opposed to him politically—have cried out in alarm that he will get us into war. The episode of the secret French airplane orders, the pressure some months ago to repeal the arms embargo, the attacks on dictators from numerous high administration spokesmen have caused real or feigned alarm among his political opponents and they are playing upon this suspicion in their opposition.

The tendency of the opposition to take this turn follows somewhat from their long attack upon Mr. Roosevelt

(Continued on page 63)

What's YOUR Opinion?

Conducted by

GEORGE V. DENNY, JR.

Moderator, America's Town Meeting of the Air

The Question This Month:

Can and Should America Stay Out of War?

THE day war was declared in Europe, this department selected this topic as the one foremost in the mind of every American citizen. We immediately sent letters to governors and other outstanding statesmen, to ministers, educators and authors in all parts of the country, inviting them to express their views on this subject. The replies have been exceedingly interesting and valuable, particularly at this time when public opinion is being formed on this tremendously important question.

The responses varied widely. Many of those who replied feel that we must not get into war unless our shores are actively invaded, many others that it is practically inevitable that we shall sooner or later be drawn in and we might as well prepare ourselves for our inevitable participation. They are well reasoned replies and give every thoughtful and patriotic American cause to consider them.

This symposium was not intended to be a debate on the question of the repeal or modification of our Neutrality Act or the arms embargo. The subject is treated from the point of view of the larger question: Is it to our best interests as citizens of this country, the last remaining stronghold of democracy, to participate in another European conflict in which the European democracies are lined up against the most formidable European dictatorships in a titanic struggle for supremacy? We do not attempt to answer this question conclusively one way or another, but we believe that a careful consideration of the following statements will help any American citizen to a more enlightened opinion on this subject. What's YOUR Opinion?

IT is Mr. Denny's aim to assemble in this department each month a cross-section of opinion on controversial questions by outstanding authorities, as well as a special section of opinion by readers of CURRENT HISTORY.

We ask our readers to send in their opinions now on this month's question, "Can and Should America Stay Out of War?" Letters should not exceed three hundred words and should be mailed before Oct. 12. They should be addressed to:

Mr. George V. Denny, Jr.
CURRENT HISTORY
420 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

From the west came prompt and positive replies. One of the first was from

Burton K. Wheeler

United States Senator from Montana

"Twenty-two years ago we entered upon a 'holy' war to save democracy the exterminating of Kaiserism. In the space that followed, the European democracy sacrificed democratic principles to national self-interest and thereafter showed no real capacity to solve European problems.

"Again Europe is involved in attempting to settle its old score in its own inevitable way, and again they plead that we save democracy, this time by crushing Hitlerism, which is only the Kaiser spirit grown into gargantuan form out of the desolation and hatreds of the last war. To enter into the present struggle is to demonstrate our own lack of capacity for self-government. It can be done only by ignoring the plainest lessons of our experience.

"The last peace, the war debts, the Japanese episode, the fate of Czecho-Slovakia and the Russian-German agreement all demonstrate that no ideal is sacred to any European nation other than the one of narrow national interests. Our democratic ideals are welcomed only when they cause us to sacrifice men and materials to serve those national interests.

We could accomplish no more towards establishing or saving democratic institutions than we did in the last war. We shudder at the 'blood purge' in Russia and Germany, and yet those who would involve us in these European wars would purge each generation of our youth on the altar of European stupidity and our own jingoistic spirit. Our democracy cannot long survive such excesses, which strike at the root of our institutions."

From the Pacific coast comes the voice of

Charles H. Sprague

Governor of Oregon

"I think the United States should stay out of European war, and that it can stay out unless its leadership sets the people aflame for participation. There is no question as to our material loss if we do enter; and as to our moral duty I feel that this country can not undertake to be the moral umpire of the universe. The war is one of power politics with Germany the prime offender because it is governed by a ruthless, power-hungry coterie. History shows, however, that rule of this type carries the germs of its own destruction. Eventually moral balance will be restored even in Germany—perhaps faster if not imposed from overseas."

From the South comes this advice from

Clyde R. Hoey

Governor of North Carolina

"I think the United States can and should stay out of this war. The whole nation should think in terms of peace. This does not mean that we should condone the unprovoked and unjustified war of aggression being conducted by Hitler, but we cannot act as policeman for the world and arrest all the bullies who disturb world peace. We should immediately repeal our present neutrality laws so we will not be giving aid and assistance to Germany by denying supplies to France and Great Britain."

From the midwest comes word from

Harlan J. Bushfield

Governor of South Dakota

"The people of the middle west do not want war and, above all, they do not want to become involved in any European conflict. We are far enough removed from either seaboard so that our people are not swayed by fears of invasion nor lulled into fancied security by reason of our location, and we do not subscribe to the preachment that 'our frontier is in France.'

"Whether in South Dakota or in New York, we are all citizens by birth or choice of the United States of America. What is good for one section of our far-flung country is good for every part of it. What works ill upon one part is detrimental to all.

"With a fervency that will brook no denial, our people want peace. We do not want armed conflict forced upon us by those seeking a personal profit, nor by emotionalists whose patriotism is taken from dictionaries, nor by political leaders whose thirst for power or whose unsensible alliances have placed us in a position from which we cannot retreat. . . .

"Every European country with the exception of little Finland has broken its word to us and people of the middle west have not forgotten those broken promises, those wasted lives that accompanied the World War."

From the midwest also comes the reply of

M. Clifford Townsend

Governor of Indiana

"I believe that the United States both can and should stay out of the European war, not only because I do not wish our men to be killed on foreign battlefields, but also because our help will be needed to restore the world to sanity after the conflict.

"If we remain neutral, a war-weary Europe will undoubtedly look to us for guidance in leading the way back to a public welfare economy. In this way we can make a contribution to the world of greater eternal value than by becoming a destructive force."

From the southwest a word of warning comes from

John E. Miles

Governor of New Mexico

"America can and should stay out of war in Europe. Today when there is so much war in actuality and war in the air and on the printed page, the United States must think and act as a neutral nation so that some morning we will not awake to find ourselves once more drawn into a European conflict. The United States has still not recovered from the last

Views of Frank Kingdon

Eminent clergyman, president of The University of Newark

Whether the United States *can* stay out of war depends on

I. The fortunes of the conflicting nations, and our responses to them;

II. How far these fortunes affect our vital interests:
   (a) emotionally,
   (b) economically,
   (c) politically,
   (d) socially;

III. Whether individual acts of combatants arouse warlike angers in us;

IV. The duration of the war, which, if long continued, may draw us inevitably into its vortex;

V. Our ability to discriminate clearly amid the welter of propaganda.

The United States *should* stay out because

I. The values of civilization should be kept alive in one island of sanity in a world of war;

II. We have the opportunity to develop a society of free men that can serve as a pattern for warring states when they rebuild their lives after the war;

III. If we keep ourselves free from the hates and passions of war we can be influential in the formation of a just peace and so prevent another Versailles;

IV. Our own best interests demand that we avoid becoming inextricably involved in the coils of the present kind of power politics that dominates Europe; although we should be willing to participate in an effective international system of accepted law, justice and arbitration.

V. Probably the best gift we can give a world killing off its youth is a living generation of young Americans devoted to the principles of freedom.

The issues involved, however, are of such deep social origin and have such profound implications that we can not even now be indifferent, and every day will make it harder to be detached.

Views of James Truslow Adams

Leading historian

In answering this question briefly we must consider the time and other factors. For the present I would say, yes. I am utterly opposed to Hitlerism and all it means. My sympathies are with the democracies, though I am neither Francophile nor Anglo-maniac, but I was at the Peace Conference 1918-19. There was much I thought bad in the peace then and still do. Much of this was not America's fault. I think both British and French policies have been bad since. Hitlerism is abominable but it is due in no small measure to Franco-British policy. Hitlerism is so bad that I might be willing to go to war later to stamp it out. It is eating like a cancer into all I feel makes life worthwhile, but if it can be stamped out in Europe let Europe do it. If Europe, which is largely responsible for it, *cannot* do it, we may have to go in. I would rather go in than see the Hitler system extend indefinitely, and do not believe in shirking responsibilities, personal or international, but I also believe in placing responsibility where it belongs, and I do not believe in our going in yet.

war in Europe, economically, physically, spiritually. We are still paying the debt. And while we may feel that we owe a debt to principles involved in the present conflict, we owe a greater debt to our own people. The welfare of our people, their happiness and physical well being must be our paramount consideration."

From the East, finally, come these observations by

Raymond E. Baldwin

Governor of Connecticut

"It is not the place of the Governor of a State to make pronouncements on foreign policy. The foreign affairs of our country have been delegated by the States to our Federal Government. As a citizen, however, and as the father of three growing boys, it is my most heartfelt prayer that we, the United States, will not be drawn into the European conflict. Whatever our sympathies, we all, I think, should keep that thought always in mind.

"America *need not* be drawn into the struggle. The quarrel now raging 'over there' is not of our making. We *should* stay out of it, and we *can* stay out of it --unless some ghastly mistake is made. Our task—the first duty of every loyal and patriotic American citizen today—is to *guard against any such mistake.* Let us place the responsibility squarely where it belongs—upon the shoulders of our elected representatives in Congress. Only Congress may declare war. We face today a supreme test of our system of representative self-government. Congress and the American people should have all the facts and then calmly decide."

From his summer home in Boothbay Harbor, Maine, a reply is sent by America's best known living clergyman, a man who has taken the positive pacifist pledge.

Reverend Harry Emerson Fosdick

Minister of Riverside Church of New York

"The United States has no business to get into this war. Our last attempt to save democracy by joining a European war turned out to be an utter futility. If we repeat that performance we shall be fools indeed. Our greatest contribution to the world's peace, liberty and democracy depends, I am convinced, upon our staying out of war, associating ourselves with kindred-minded neutral nations, centering our attention on the nature of the next peace, and preparing ourselves to throw into the scale on the side of a just settlement of world problems the weight of a strong democratic nation unimpaired by war."

But things are not quite so clear to the author of The Story of Philosophy

Will Durant

Outstanding lecturer, writer and world traveler

"The question which you ask is both difficult and delicate. Our country is torn between the apparently contrary desires to help England and France to overthrow in Germany, a government that has been guilty of incredible brutality to its helpless minorities, and the desire to maintain for America a neutrality that will offer democracy some isle of survival in a world condemned to dictatorship by the necessities of war. My own feelings are mingled to the point of culpable confusion. I think that Hitler has a good case for demanding the return of territory detached from Germany and Austria at the Treaty of Versailles; and I regret that England failed to advise Poland to accept as a basis for discussion the sixteen points so briefly submitted to England and Poland by Germany on the eve of the war. But there is no question that the increasing success of Germany would lower the prestige of democracy, liberalism, and racial tolerance all over the world, and make in general for a reaction toward Oriental despotism as the disgraceful denouement of modern government.

"Consequently I would recommend, tentatively and diffidently, a dangerous middle course. I believe that the neutrality act should be revised to permit the sale of munitions and other supplies to such countries as can come and get them and pay for them. It would be absurd of us, I think, to let England and France go down for lack of the material resources which our soil and technology and unused manpower are so ready to provide. At the same time, I agree with the President—perhaps more thoroughly than he would desire —that we should not take any military part in the present war. I hope that without our entrance into the conflict the Allies will be able to make a reasonable peace. What my feelings will be some months hence I cannot guarantee. Meanwhile I think the cue for all of us is to read the censored news with a critical eye, and to guard ourselves against emotional reactions that may lead us to precipitate measures. In short, I cannot add one word to the excellent message which the President addressed to the nation on September 2."

And here is an admonishment from the celebrated sage of Baltimore

Henry L. Mencken

Author, editor and publisher

"The present Administration has given so many evidences of its partiality in the present war that its pretension to neutrality becomes ridiculous. That neutrality, in fact, is no more real than Woodrow Wilson's. If the war ends quickly and in an easy Allied victory we may perhaps keep out, but if it goes on to a

long hard struggle we'll undoubtedly be taken in. In either case we appear to be doomed to pay a large part of the cost."

A third author, also a former editor, likewise fears that eventually we may be drawn in. He is

Max Lerner

Former editor of The Nation, *and Professor at Williams*

"There is no doubt in my mind that America must stay out of the war as long as it is humanly possible to do so. Whether we can do so entirely depends upon two things: The course the war takes in Europe and the realism of our neutrality legislation and the action of our Administration. If the war proves a stalemate, no matter for how long, we can stay out; if the Western allies seem to have the upper hand we can also stay out; but as soon as Germany gains a really decisive ascendency in the war, it will become impossible for us to stay out any longer. As for the second factor, we shall be able to stay out more easily if Congress adopts neutrality legislation which lifts the arms embargo and thereby enables us to sell on a cash and carry plan. If Congress fails to do this it will simply mean that the Western allies will be put at an enormous disadvantage in obtaining munitions and war supplies. And if that happens the time will come fairly quickly when they will need our actual military aid."

The same far from sanguine note is sounded by an observer who, like his father, William Allen White, is an authority on the middle west.

William L. White

of Emporia, Kansas, journalist

"I am no authority on the metaphysical point as to whether or not we should stay out of the war. However, I don't think we will. It is my job to be in pretty close touch with public sentiment, and in the past 30 days I have seen it do a complete backward flip on the subject of neutrality. If England and France really intend to put on a serious war, and this does not turn out to be another sell-out with Poland presently dismembered as was Czecho-Slovakia—only done in full dress uniform instead of hastily in shirt-sleeves, with bands playing and a few guns rattling along the Siegfried line—if, as I say, they really intend to go on with it after Germany has mopped up Poland and fight for a genuine showdown, I think America will unquestionably get in, if they have to have us.

"For better or for worse, public sentiment in this country won't sit by and see our late allies whipped by Hitler. This is what the average man is now saying. If we are needed we

will get in, and in that event it will be up to the State Department to conjure up the necessary insults to our national honor.

"This is not the language of diplomacy, but it is what the average man is saying."

Another contributor likewise points out what might happen to us if England and France were defeated.

Charles C. Bachelder

Lecturer, world traveler, former commercial attache for the United States in several foreign countries

"The United States should stay out of the war in Europe. It is not at present directly concerned with the problems which caused it. But if Russia and Italy should furnish enough aid to Germany to make it probable that England and France would be defeated, self-interest would make it necessary for the United States to intervene to prevent Germany from imposing such terms on the vanquished as would be a menace to the security of the United States. A victorious Germany would undoubtedly deprive France and England of their colonies and dominate all Europe except Russia. The United States needs these European and colonial markets, from which Germany would exclude it. American financial and commercial interests in the British Empire are so great that they must be protected from ruin.

"My observations this summer have convinced me that Germany is determined to control the immense natural resources of South America. Many Germans are settled there. German propaganda and commercial penetration are having much more effect all over Latin-America than is generally realized. German commercial ascendency would soon mean disguised sovereignty. This would inevitably lead to war with the United States. The Monroe Doctrine is still necessarily the basis of American foreign policy.

"So if the war should go against England, the United States must help to block Hitler and come to the assistance of France and England, rather than wait to fight him alone, when he has been immensely strengthened by his conquests. We can do this now by selling France and England munitions and supplies on a 'cash and carry' basis."

Says the celebrated sharpshooter of English propaganda in this country.

Quincy Howe

Author of England Expects Every American to Do His Duty

"1. The United States can stay out of war in Europe if the people of the country and their government devote themselves to raising the

Views of Robert Isham Randolph

Outstanding engineer, of Illinois

The United States can stay out of war in Europe if the American people are willing to let the issue of totalitarianism versus democracy be decided on *that* battlefield for the rest of the world. If democracy is vanquished *there* we must be resigned to its ultimate surrender *here*.

The question whether the United States *should* stay out of war in Europe will be resolved when we are required to decide whether we shall bow the head and bend the knee to tyranny or stand up and fight for freedom.

American standard of living by developing our continental resources and the resources of the Western Hemisphere.

"2. The United States should stay out of war in Europe unless its people and government believe that they can use this war as the occasion to become the greatest imperial power on earth and solve by the expansion of trade and investments those economic and social problems which have caused the New Deal to bog down.

"In respect to point number one I can see no disposition on the part of the government and little disposition on the part of the people to develop our continental resources. On the contrary, the government and the people are more and more inclined to assume that the United States has a moral duty as well as a material interest to take part in the redivision of world power that is now being accomplished by force of arms. The only choice before us now is whether moral or material considerations determine our policy: whether we try to rescue the empires of others or whether we try to create an empire of our own."

And for quite different reasons the same conclusion is held by

Dorothy Detzer

National Executive Secretary for the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

"We in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom believe that the United States can and should stay out of war in Europe. During the twenty years since there has been a League of Nations, there has been no earnest attempt on the part of European nations to take those steps which alone would bring peace on that Continent. Instead, 7000 miles of new tariff barriers, new currencies, new armies, have added to the general chaos. Our own sympathy for the agony of the peoples in Europe cannot be exaggerated. It is almost beyond endurance to think of what innocent men, women and children are going through because of the stupidity of their statesmen. But we cannot see that we can help it by extending the area of conflict and adding to the agony of the world.

"We believe that the greatest help the United States could give now is to try to stop this war. We should like to see our country initiate a conference of neutrals as suggested by Jane Addams in 1915, to sit permanently and offer terms of mediation to both sides until a solution could be found.

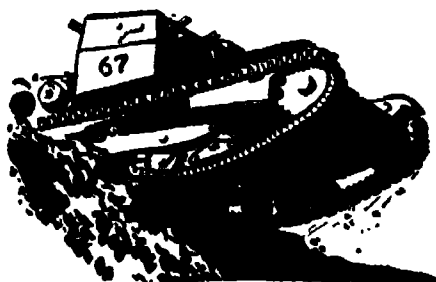
"While doing that, we should also like to see us not only keep the present Neutrality Act, so that mandatory embargoes on arms, ammunitions, implements of war and loans and credits can be applied to both sides, but also strengthen the Act by putting secondary war materials on 'cash and carry,' and limiting them to a peace-time quota.

"It is our conviction that it is grossly immoral for citizens of this country to make blood money out of the agony of warring nations. If secondary war materials are restricted to the nation's peace-time trade, there would be a minimum of economic dislocation, particularly if the United States gained the trade of South America which Germany and other European nations are bound to lose at this time. Some industries perhaps would be badly affected and these could be subsidized by the United States government to the extent of their losses on a peace-time basis. Certainly this would be far less expensive than going into war. Next, we should like to see the [Ludlow] War Referendum put through the Congress at once, so that the people who have to do the dying and the paying, may have the right to decide for themselves on this most terrible decision."

Says Chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor of the United States Senate, who is also a member of the Foreign Relations Committee of that body,

Elbert D. Thomas

United States Senator from Utah

"The United States remained neutral during the World War from August, 1914, to April, 1917. Throughout that period we stood upon our neutral rights and protested whenever an injustice to our neutrality was done by any belligerent.

The mistake we made was to assume that neutrality means impartiality. We did not base our position, as we might have done, upon the premise that neutrals have a right to remain at peace, or that by themselves going to war other nations should not and may not destroy the rights of neutrals.

"Instead we had an idea that we must be impartial in mind, in work, and in spirit. Thus we got out of the habit of speaking out against a wrongdoer. If we can get rid of the concept of supine impartiality and stand definitely upon our neutral rights, America can remain out of war just as long as it is America's wish and determination to do so."

Methods of maintaining our neutrality are the concern of

A. C. Schiffler

Member of Congress from the State of West Virginia

"The United States can and should stay out of war in Europe. Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark and other European countries did not engage in the last war. At the outset, they established strict neutrality and insisted that such neutrality be observed by their respective citizens. Such neutrality was predicated upon sound policies and rigidly enforced. If citizens of such country violated such neutrality, and loss of life or property occurred as the result of such violation, the respective government did not consider it a cause for war.

"The United States can follow a policy of like kind during the present conflict, by the establishment of fair and equitable rules for the conduct of its own citizens. Citizens disobeying such rules and, in consequence of such violation, suffering loss of life or property, have no cause for redress.

"The elimination of possible exorbitant profits is a primary problem for careful consideration. Prospective profits frequently prompt aggressive action. Travel upon high seas as a passenger in dangerous areas is another important element that needs restriction. The shipment of commodities of all kinds, including arms and munitions of war, can most easily involve the United States in conflict. Financial transactions between warring nations and a neutral country, or between the citizens or subjects of such nations, often create

a strong urge and incentive for war.

"By making the United States self-sufficient, and by prohibiting or regulating all hazardous transactions, we can contribute our greatest aid to continued peace. The safety of America in this direction depends upon the sanity and sense of our citizens and upon a rigid enforcement of sound rules and especially the exercise of calm reasoning.

A parallel to the years 1914-18 is drawn by another distinguished historian, author of America Goes to War.

Charles Callan Tansill

Professor of American History at Fordham University

"The outbreak of the present war in Europe presents a familiar political pattern to Americans who remember the eventful years from 1914 to 1917. Already many Americans are glibly prophesying that it will not be long before President Roosevelt will follow with eager feet the path so clearly blazed by a former Democratic President. Echoes of the presidential theme song of 1917 -"Let us make the world safe for Democracy" are making a new impact upon multitudes of American ears. The quick cadence of martial music can easily be caught by American feet that have grown weary of the more measured accents of the peace parade of the last two decades.

"To students of history it is apparent that war in Europe is an evil that has stalked that continent through a long succession of centuries. Age-old national hatreds, strengthened by a perverted nationalism of a most militant type, and confirmed by economic disparity that ranges nations into the uneasy categories of the 'haves' and the 'have nots,' make Europe an inevitable battlefield. War is a constant factor in the political equation of Europe, and the solution so hopefully proposed by President Wilson in 1918 has proved a tragic failure. There is no good reason to believe that President Roosevelt can supply the answer that has long evaded previous statesmen who possessed equal political foresight and far greater political realism. American intervention in a struggle whose outcome is a matter of serious doubt may well involve our nation in financial disaster and a social upheaval whose consequences can only dimly be foreseen.

THEY SAY

The World Press Looks at the War

Open Letter to Hitler

—An editorial which appeared in The Detroit News *just before German troops invaded Poland*

You, Herr Hitler, may not know it, but what you need is frank advice about America.

We feel qualified to give it. We are an independent newspaper of the populous American mid-west, where the trend of national opinion always can be first detected.

We feel called on to give this advice, because we think your understanding of America may influence decisions you are about to make.

The advice is this:

Don't count on America remaining neutral in a new European war. The chances are ten to one against it. Sooner or later—all but certainly—America will be in the war. It will be on the side of the so-called democracies. And, if America is in the war, Germany can not win it. That is absolutely certain.

Please do not misunderstand us. We are against war. We were against war with Germany. We were against American entry into the last World War. We believe in letting Europe go to the devil in its own way. We have opposed President Roosevelt's policy of helping the so-called democracies, diplomatically or economically. We are for air-tight embargo on trade with belligerents and have opposed President Roosevelt on that.

But please listen to this: We know we are right. We know there is no sane reason for sending American young men to be killed and maimed on European battlefields.

But, listen Herr Hitler, we also know the American people.

We know that when war starts and the bombs start raining on London and Paris, the American people will begin to get angry. They will hear a lot about the slaughter of little French and English babies. They will see pictures of these babies, torn limb from limb by bombs tossed from your airplanes. They will get angrier and angrier, until—just as in the last war—America will be in it, until the end.

It is because we hate war and will fight against war, until it becomes treasonable to do so, that we are telling you this, Herr Hitler: America, ten to one, will be in the war and Germany cannot win it.

Das Schwarze Korps, Berlin

The Fatal Courtship.

F. D. R. Gets the News

—Condensed from an Associated Press despatch

President Roosevelt, the Army and the Navy are being supplied with detailed information on the progress of the European conflict by a farflung official reporting system.

Reports from three-score military and naval attachés on duty in warring or key neutral countries reach the War and Navy Departments quickly by cable and radio and in greater detail via diplomatic mail pouches.

From a military intelligence officer Col. John Magruder, the President receives a daily summary. This supplements State Department and press reports and his own telephone contacts with American envoys abroad.

On a big map of Poland in the President's office, Col. Magruder has pictured by means of colored pins and ribbons the progress of the German campaign.

Of the Army's thirty-three military attachés in foreign posts, eleven are in belligerent countries and seven are in capitals of bordering nations.

The Navy's official intelligence system is as far reaching. Both are far better prepared than at the outbreak of the World War to advise on strategy and to forward technical reports invaluable to the Army and Navy commands.

Maj. William H. Colbern is in much the hottest spot of any of the American observers abroad because of the speedy German advance to Warsaw.

A forty-four-year-old Missourian, Maj. Colbern was a student in the Polish cavalry school in 1932-'33.

With the Germans are two assistant attachés, Maj. Percy G. Black and Maj. Arthur W. Vanaman. To take the post of chief military attaché and attaché for air, Col. Bernard A. Peyton sailed from New York two days before the war started. At Berlin, likewise, are Comdr. Albert E. Schrader and five assistant naval observers.

In Paris the Army has Col. Horace H. Fuller and two assistants and in London Lieut. Col. Bradford G. Chynoweth and three assistants, while the Navy has six observers in Paris and five in London.

Col. Sherman Miles, soon to be a brigadier general, sailed on Aug. 30 to take charge of the London staff.

The Army likewise has one or more observers in Italy, Russia, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Belgium, Rumania and Turkey.

When war is in progress the attachés may get to the front, but only under supervision.

Received in Washington, their dispatches are studied by officials of the Army's "G-2" or military intelligence section, or by the Navy's intelligence office.

Both information centers are staffed by veterans. Col. E. R. Warner McCabe, G-2 chief, twice was attaché in Rome. Lieut. Col Truman Smith, an assistant, recently returned from Berlin.

Rear Admiral Walter S. Anderson recently took charge of the naval intelligence office.

Britain's Future Population

Condensed from The Broadsheet

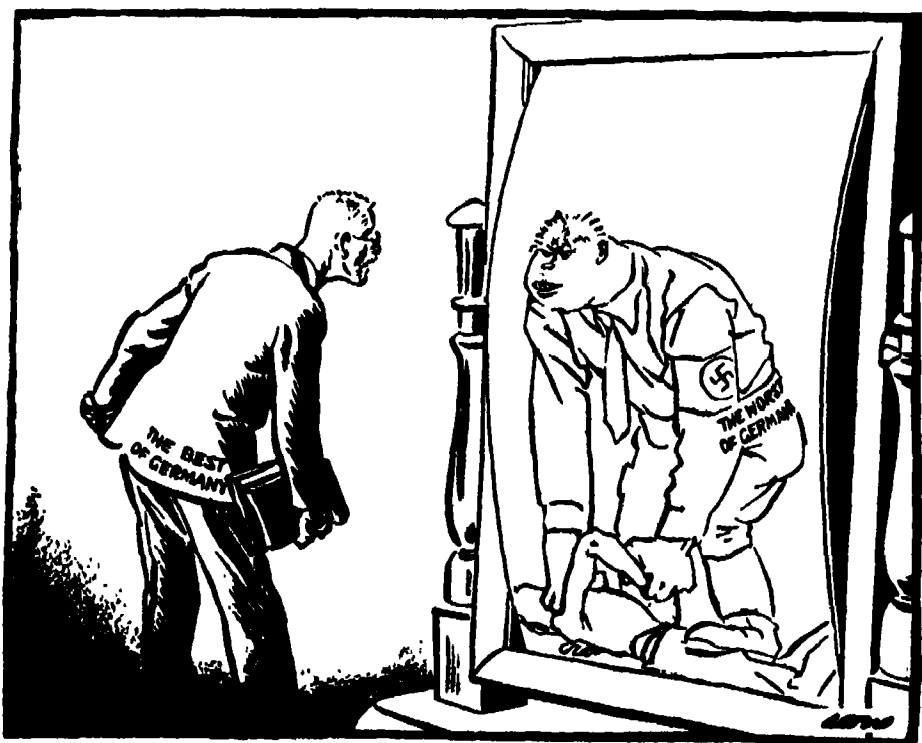
In the near future a serious drop in the population of England is imminent, and the average age of the community is increasing.

The British birth-rate has been falling since 1875, when it was 35 per thousand; in 1937 it was 14.9. But, owing to the improvement in the death-rate, which was 22.8 per thousand in 1875 and only 12.4 in 1937, the population has continued to increase. The average expectation of life is now twenty years more than it was two generations ago; but when this expectation of life can no longer be increased, the death-rate will grow rapidly, since there will then be a larger number of persons reaching their end. In 1914 there were about a million persons over seventy in Great Britain; there are now two million of whom 1,200,000 are women—and in 1956 there will be 3½ million.

The results of this shifting of the average age of the population will be very curious. Children, who formed about one-quarter of the population in 1931, will only form one sixth of it in 1961. This will have a marked effect on the cost and administration of education. In the five years after 1933 the numbers of elementary school-children fell by some 700,000; by 1948 the fall will have reached a million. Already public schools are feeling the effects of the drop; Harrow has closed a house, and a conference is being held to discuss the problem.

The effect of the increasing average age is already being reflected in a change in the habits of the community (although the continual improvement in health conditions is to a certain extent offsetting the prevailing tendency). The industries which cater for keeping people young are expanding rapidly. There are fewer babies and more pets; toy-shops become fewer, while the demand grows for soft foods, drugs, alcohol and the less agitating recreations such as literature, radio and music. Cruises are popular because they afford the easiest means of traveling, while bridge, bowls and golf all gain as the number of healthy, but older, people increases.

One of the reasons given for the fall in the population is the international situation. While this is not a true reason taken over a long period, it is quite correct that during the last twelve months many fewer children have been conceived by the upper and rich classes. The nurses at Queen Charlotte's Hospital, who do the rich outside maternity cases, have had practically no bookings since about March of this year. It will be noticed, too, that the announcements of births in *The Times* have shrunk very considerably.

While this is perhaps only a temporary phase, there is no doubt that the trend is already established; and

From A Cartoon History of Our Times, by David Low

"Himmel! Is that Me?"

that while there were two adults to every child in 1901, the proportion to-day is three to one and in 1965 will be five to one. The same phenomenon exists in most civilized countries, and in a very marked degree in the British Empire.

Apart from military power, there is no particular advantage in having a dense population, but the effect of having a majority of old people will be very great on the social and economic structure of the country. A smaller number of able-bodied persons will have to keep a larger number of retired and infirm persons. Perhaps one good result of this will be a more realistic attitude towards incurables and the hopelessly insane. At the moment an incurable idiot child costs the country some 32s. a week, without counting overhead costs; the weekly allowance for the child of an unemployed man is three shillings.

Il Travaso delle Idee, Rome

"Jeeves, aim the rifle, and when everything is ready inform me and I will come and pull the trigger."

Italian Viewpoints

—Condensed from an article by General Carlo Romano in the Gazzetta del Popolo, *Rome*

What makes the greatest impression in these war operations is the lack of efficacious resistance on the part of the Polish troops and the absence of the most elementary dispositions to retard the enemy's advance. We attribute this state of moral depression to the failure of the promised aid to arrive from the two guarantor states.

One reason is probably that the French war plan against the Axis contemplated as its initial operation an attack against Italy. That is to say, against an enemy which could appear easier to attack with preponderant forces and against which it was easier to deceive one's self with hopes of victory because of its geographic situation.

Premier Mussolini's declaration obliged the high French command to change its plans so as to make a frontal attack on a single enemy, Germany. Now, on land, Germany can only be attacked across the Westwall or by invading countries whose neutrality has been recently solemnly recognized by France and England.

—Condensed from an editorial by Virginio Gayda in Giornale d' Italia, *Rome*

Great Britain not only attempts to create Germany's moral and political isolation in Europe and the world but also to foment a rising of the German people against Hitler and National Socialism.

The illusion of such an attempt is obvious. London repeats the error of calculation she made against Italy during the Ethiopian adventure. Nazi Germany is united, disciplined and vibrant.

The Germany of the Third Reich is no longer that of 1914. For six years its economy has been equipped by every means in every field for autarchy. The results achieved are vast and prodigious but Germany is no longer isolated from the great raw material supply markets. Its accord with Russia associates it to the great productive possibility of its territory.

Russia Gives a Hint

—Condensed from an editorial in Pravda

Several days before Russian troops marched into the Ukraine, the government organ expressed its grievances against Poland as follows:

Poland is a multi-national state. The Poles constitute only about 60 per cent of the population of Poland, while the remaining 40 per cent is made up of national minorities, chiefly Ukrainians, Byelo (white) Russians and Jews. Suffice it to say that Poland is inhabited by no less than 8,000,000 Ukrainians and about 3,000,000 Byelo Russians. These two largest national minorities account for nearly 11,000,000 inhabitants.

To give a graphic idea of the specific gravity of the Ukrainian and Byelo Russian population of Poland we should point out that their total exceeds the populations of Finland, Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania taken together.

It would appear that the Polish ruling circles should have established normal relations with such important national minorities, secure them national rights, give them, if not political, at least administrative autonomy and national schools and cultural institutions.

For it is clear that without securing such and similar national rights for national minorities it is impossible to preserve a multi-national state and assure its inner unity and vital power.

The Polish ruling circles did everything possible to aggravate relations with the national minorities and bring them to a state of extreme tension.

Western Ukrainia and western Byelo Russia—regions in which the Ukrainians and Byelo Russians form a majority of the population- are subject to extremely rude and unscrupulous exploitation by Polish landlords. The Ukrainians and Byelo Russians have been subject to a regime of national oppression and deprivation of rights.

Rhode Island's Vanderbilt

In less than a year, the new governor has uprooted a century-old political system

THOMAS E. MURPHY

IN the past nine months Rhode Island has uprooted the political bad habits of a century, cast overboard a crew of public payroll parasites, adopted an effective civil service law and done away with the favoritism and petty corruption typical of so many state governments. It has cut the cost of supplies 25 per cent by honest purchasing. It has balanced its budget without crippling any service or cutting welfare appropriations. And for all this and more one man has been responsible—Governor William H. Vanderbilt.

Scion of one of America's wealthiest families, a gentleman-farmer still in his thirties, Vanderbilt gave up a life of comparative leisure for a career of hard work in the public service, and in the fall of 1938 was swept into office on the Republican ticket despite the mistrust of politicians in his own party and the power of the entrenched Democratic machine.

The head of that machine was Vanderbilt's opponent, Bob Quinn, the incumbent Governor, a rough-and-tumble fighter who was used to winning. Behind him, Quinn had the power of the federal relief roll, supplemented by a state payroll highly overstuffed by political hangers-on. His Democratic machine had its tentacles in the treasury of every town in the State. Each state employee had to kick back two per cent of his salary for the campaign chest; and each was ordered to take ten people to the polls on election day. But, dramatically, the voters rallied to Vanderbilt against Quinn. And now this young man with a world famous name, himself unknown a year ago, is winning national attention not as a Vanderbilt but as an aggressive champion of honest government, destined perhaps for still larger roles in Republican politics.

Bill Vanderbilt was in St. George's School, Newport, when on May 7, 1915, the headmaster broke the news

Governor William H. Vanderbilt

to him that his father, Alfred Gwynne Vanderbilt, had given up his seat in a lifeboat on the torpedoed *Lusitania* to a woman traveling third class, and had last been seen standing on deck, smoking a cigarette. Remembering that German submarine, Bill Vanderbilt wanted only one thing as soon as America declared war. He wanted to serve on a destroyer. The Navy wasn't taking youngsters under sixteen; but Admiral Sims intervened for him, and in a few days Bill became one of the youngest gobs in the Navy. On the destroyer *Evans* he had the satisfaction of seeing service in foreign waters.

Mustered out in 1919, he went to Princeton, but he stayed only long enough to find out that the campus quiet was not for him. "Too much Navy," is his brief explanation. He went to a private school near Phoenix, Ariz., where he could mix books with horseback riding and camping. Two years of this, then back East for the traditional Vanderbilt training. A year with Lee, Higginson & Co., as a runner and a student in its bond school. Then to the New York Central —the Vanderbilt system—as a "box car detective." In plain English, his job was to search freight yards for missing cars.

"It was a good way to learn a lot about a railroad," he says, "but I can still remember how cold it can be at six o'clock of a winter morning in the Syracuse yards."

Then he met the slim, blue-eyed Anne Colby. They married, and settled down at his boyhood home, the four hundred-acre Oakland Farm on the outskirts of Newport. Besides raising poultry there, young Vanderbilt put to practical use the things he had learned about transportation. He started his own bus line. His Short Line Bus Company now operates in five states, employs nearly three hundred people and covers more than four million miles a year.

OAKLAND FARM gradually became the social center for the entire neighborhood. Not for Society with the big "S" but for the community. At Easter time, the neighbors were invited to send their children over for egg-rolling. In the early summer, the neighbors were invited in to see the flower gardens. Little groups were invited to dinner—not Social Register folk, but just folks. And the Rhode Island folks began to know Vanderbilt not as one of the American aristocracy of wealth, but as one of themselves, whom they called Bill.

That was probably Anne Vanderbilt's doing. She likes people. At fifteen, she worked in a crippled children's ward in a West Orange, N. J., hospital. She read aloud to a class of children, and played games with them after school. She served in the West Orange community house for years. She didn't need such jobs; she just liked them.

Bill Vanderbilt was genuinely surprised when a group of neighbors called on him one night and told him they wanted him to run for the State Senate. They said they didn't know of anyone else they'd rather have to represent them. He was elected, and found he liked the work. He served six years, and was president pro-tem

during 1933 and 1934. And all the while he, a Republican, was a headache to the Republican regulars. He is remembered with a shudder even now by old-line leaders as the whippersnapper who used to announce regularly in party caucus, "I do not intend to be bound by action taken here." Also he is remembered as the author of that dreadful bill to cut state salaries ten per cent during the depression. And as the youngster who led the fight against the big fishing companies for pushing the little fishermen of Newport off all the best fishing grounds.

In 1936, convinced that things weren't right politically in Rhode Island and that somebody like himself might make them right, he announced himself a candidate for Governor. He nearly got the nomination, but the regulars who felt he wasn't "safe" blocked it at the last minute.

Vanderbilt went out and campaigned for his party's nominee like a good sport. But when a Democrat was elected, he spoke his piece. "We Republicans have got to keep up with the times," he said. "Ideas of government and its responsibility and scope have changed. We can't sell the public the idea that everything the Democrats have done is wrong, because it isn't true. And the only way we can win is to have a definite, constructive plan of our own. Let us go to the people next time with a program that is constructive and not merely against everything."

INCREASINGLY, each month after the 1936 campaign, Oakland Farm beame the gathering place for people. Not politicians, but men who stood for something in their own communities. Johnny Kelley, Chief of Police in Providence; Austin Levy, independent mill owner; Vincent Sorrentino, manufacturing jeweler; Alex Chmielewski, unselfish leader among the Polish people—men who had started from scratch and done something. Group meetings ranged from the Santa Maria Portuguese-American Society to the Daughters of the American Revolution. Vanderbilt didn't talk politics. He merely got acquainted, and gave the representative Rhode Islanders who gathered at his home an idea of how he felt about the problem of state government.

Thus he built up a tremendous personal following among independent, non-political groups. And when the nominating convention met in 1938, there was nothing to it. The party hacks had said Vanderbilt was too young, that he wasn't "regular," that the name of Vanderbilt was a political liability. But they had to give him the nomination, sullenly, because it was obvious he had the strength. The convention came in the wake of the September hurricane which wrecked the power lines, and the hall was without electricity. Vanderbilt sent up a generator from his farm. "It was all Vanderbilt," one young Republican remarked ruefully. "He even provided the lights."

Winning the nomination was only the first step. He still had Bob Quinn, Rhode Island's powerful Democratic boss, to beat. And he had only a lukewarm Republican organization with which to do it.

Of course, there were factors in Vanderbilt's favor the importance of which no one could accurately appraise. There was resentment at Quinn's dictatorial methods. There was public disgust with the patronage situation, and with the general effrontery of the Democratic machine.

But there was another factor, too, and her name was Anne. Anne had been spoonfed on politics. Her father, Everett Colby, distinguished attorney, had been, among other things, Bull Moose candidate for Governor of New Jersey. Her mother is one of the County Commissioners of Essex County, N. J. Pretty, vivacious, and with a zest for life, Anne Vanderbilt sat at her husband's side during campaign rallies. She would sing a snatch of grand opera at an Italian voters' meeting; she would dance a polka at the Polish-American Citizens' Home; and she delivered a stirring speech in French to Woonsocket's transplanted French-Canadians.

Mrs. William H. Vanderbilt

Not that she was stealing the show from Bill. He put on a robust campaign, speaking a dozen times a day from one end of the little State to the other. At seven o'clock of an autumn morning, in a cold, drizzling rain, you might have seen him standing on the tailboard of a vegetable truck, addressing the farmers in the Providence market. It wasn't in him to pour out campaign oratory, but the obvious sincerity of his belief that a misgoverned Rhode Island could yet be led back to administration efficiency impressed his hearers.

He dodged joint debate with Quinn with an honesty that the voters liked. "You're a better campaign speaker than I am," he said, "and I'd be at a disadvantage." He got angry just once. An opposition newspaper took a crack at Anne — said she was "stooping" to the common people just for political reasons.

Bill went on the air that night and the ether sparked with his wrath.

The first time he went to Anne's home, to meet her family, he said, he was led down to the corner to meet Patrolman O'Brien. Then they went around to see Mrs. O'Brien and the youngsters. On the way, they dropped in on Mr. Zweibel, the tailor. They all called her "Anne" . . . so did the taxi man and the drug store man.

"Anne has won the hearts and the respect of thousands of people in this State just as she did in her old home," he said, "and as she does wherever she goes."

Except for that outburst, his campaign was not spectacular. He simply followed the advice he had offered two years ago; he presented a definite constructive program: "The people of the State are entitled to the best workers in the State. They are entitled to frugal, honest, efficient and industrious government," he said. "I will give you a civil service law that will protect honest state employees and eliminate the chiselers. I will reorganize the government so your money won't be wasted." It was a weak campaign by old-line politician standards because there was no ballyhoo, no lavish campaign fund, no blasting of his opponent, no promises of pensions or subsidies for anyone. But when the returns came in, they

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To a Motorcycle Cop in State A

You say I've been driving dangerously. Well, brother, it's pretty hard not to do that on these narrow, curving roads of yours. It's a shame to have such highways in a rich state like this. Wouldn't be necessary, either, if your legislature would spend honestly on highways all the money it collects from motorists.

Do you know how much automotive tax money—money paid by motorists for highway purposes—was diverted to other causes last year right here in this state? Well, I'll tell you: $10,000,000. Altogether your politicians have diverted a hundred millions or so since 1925. Now if you folks had spent those sums on your roads, you wouldn't have to get after visitors quite so fast.

What's that? You're not interested. You'd better be! You're talking to one of your paymasters. Of course, I'm just an average motorist, one of over 25,000,000 in these United States, but all of us chip in for the salaries, equipment and administrative expenses of your department. Yes, sir, in 1938 we motorists paid nearly $23,500,000 for the patrolling of American highways. You are doing a fine job and we need more of you, but do not forget that if it weren't for us you wouldn't have a job or pay check. We're the best-hearted taxpayers in the world and the decentest lot of travelers. Give us better roads and we'll cause you less trouble and have fewer accidents.

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You can't see any harm in that? I'll tell you where the harm is, brother. Here I am—an average motorist—with a second-hand passenger car worth $212, and I'm taxed $38.50 a year on it—$10 for a license fee and $28.50 in other taxes, mostly on gasoline, tires, and parts. That's plenty for a man of my earning powers—$25 to $35 a week—to pay just for the right to use the roads. But of course I have to step up and pay all the other taxes right along with everyone else—real estate taxes on my home, social security tax reductions from my payroll, sales taxes, a poll tax, all the special taxes as on

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You can't see any harm in that? I'll tell you where the harm is, brother. Here I am—an average motorist—with a second-hand passenger car worth $212, and I'm taxed $38.50 a year on it—$10 for a license fee and $28.50 in other taxes, mostly on gasoline, tires, and parts. That's plenty for a man of my earning powers—$25 to $35 a week—to pay just for the right to use the roads. But of course I have to step up and pay all the other taxes right along with everyone else—real estate taxes on my home, social security tax reductions from my payroll, sales taxes, a poll tax, all the special taxes as on

Helping Rhode Island's new governor read his congratulatory letters and telegrams are Mrs. Vanderbilt and twin daughters Annie and Elsie. This is the first Vanderbilt family to enter politics.

showed that Bill Vanderbilt had carried thirty-six of the thirty-nine cities and towns in Rhode Island by overwhelming majorities.

ONCE in office, the new Governor's real troubles began. When Bill Vanderbilt took office in January of this year there wasn't enough money in the State Treasury even to pay for current expenses. The payroll of the State was studded with innumerable Bureau Chiefs, Advisors, and other part-time employees who received fat salaries and who did little for them. Expenditure for personnel was double the average for the United States. One of the first things Vanderbilt did was to separate from the payroll all part-time political hangers-on. Heads started to roll and in a few brief weeks the State's payroll was smaller by 10 per cent. Civil service bills and reorganization bills went through, though his own party leaders were quietly against civil service. The American Legion wanted a veterans' preference clause, but Bill Vanderbilt, Legionnaire, opposed veterans' preference. "The people are entitled to the most efficient workers they can hire." He started a press and radio campaign against recalcitrant members of his party. "These men were elected on a platform of civil service," he said. "Now they are going to renege. You, the voter, must remind them of their promise and let them know that it means political suicide to block it."

There was not a vote against the civil service bill when it came up in the Legislature. No man dared risk it.

A purchasing agent, drafted from the Governor's own bus company, instituted honest competitive bidding, and the way prices dropped was illuminating. Bar soap skidded from $3.40 to $1.92 a case; one kind of oil from 61 cents a gallon to 14. Other economies were effected and the budget for the forthcoming year is more than $1,000,000 below that of the preceding year. It is expected there will even be a cash surplus.

One of the Governor's moves most repugnant to the politicians was to attack dual office-holding. He will not appoint legislators to paying state jobs, and legislation becoming effective as a constitutional provision in 1943 will prevent it in the future. He said, "I think dual office-holding is wrong in principle, and I further believe that those who go to the Legislature only to get a job for themselves are the very people who should be driven from public life." To his reorganized state departments, he has appointed, in the main, business men who never held office before. He has reappointed an entire Democratic Board of Parole because he said it had done a good job. He reappointed the Democratic Commissioner of Education because he thought politics had no place in the educational system. When pressure became very strong to displace the Democratic Tax Commissioner and the Democratic Budget Director, Vanderbilt's response to his party leaders was, "All right, show me somebody whose training and experience are better."

VANDERBILT is no glad-hander. He is inclined to be quiet. He gets around, but his week-ends are sacred from interruption. In the summer, he spends them in a little pre-fabricated shack on the Sakonnet River with his wife, the twins, Anne and Elsie, aged eight, and Emily, his daughter by his first wife, now dead. On these parties, the Governor is Bill, the cook.

He likes to sail a boat, and he likes to ride horses. Best of all, he likes to drive a tractor. He dropped his campaign for the nomination last September to help clear up débris after the hurricane had wrecked Island Park, a nearby resort, driving his farm tractor himself in the gruesome search for the lost and the dead.

Vanderbilt has an inordinate capacity for sustained work. In the heat of the legislative session, he found time to go over every item in the state budget personally, and then to take on voluntarily the added burden of trying to settle a widespread trucking strike. Twenty-four-hour sessions followed one after the other, and one of them extended over twenty-nine continuous hours—but the strike was settled.

He writes his own speeches in his own way. He dislikes talking about what he is trying to do. "You sound like a Pollyanna when you start talking about 'making a contribution to good government,' " he snorts, "and besides the words have been used so many times by politicians that they have lost their meaning."

In short, he presents a picture of a sincere young man of simple tastes who is honestly imbued with an idea of contributing something to good government, but who would prefer to let his actions speak, rather than to reduce them to words.

He'd rather talk about Anne. After ten years of married life, he telephones her several times a day, and

(Continued on page 63)

Mr. Motorist Speaks Out

Heavily taxed, the average car owner objects to diversion of his good money for non-highway use

THOMAS P. HENRY
President, American Automobile Association

TAXES against motorists are high and going higher. Not only are the old, customary taxes costing more but new ones are being added, the most annoying of these being evidenced by the sudden eruption of toll gates on public highways. A smoldering quarrel has been under way for years on the way automotive tax money, now at an all-time peak of $1,500,000,000, should be spent. Diversion—the switching of such taxes to other than highway issues—is a fighting matter in many states and will soon be so in many more.

There are so many angles in this complex public problem that the case for justice to motordom is presented as a series of talks by a well-informed motorist to various acquaintances met en route. One of them might be you.

To a Motorcycle Cop in State A

You say I've been driving dangerously. Well, brother, it's pretty hard not to do that on these narrow, curving roads of yours. It's a shame to have such highways in a rich state like this. Wouldn't be necessary, either, if your legislature would spend honestly on highways all the money it collects from motorists.

Do you know how much automotive tax money—money paid by motorists for highway purposes—was diverted to other causes last year right here in this state? Well, I'll tell you: $10,000,000. Altogether your politicians have diverted a hundred millions or so since 1925. Now if you folks had spent those sums on your roads, you wouldn't have to get after us visitors quite so fast.

What's that? You're not interested? You'd better be! You're talking to one of your paymasters. Of course, I'm just an average motorist, one of over 25,000,000 in these United States, but all of us chip in for the salaries, equipment and administrative expenses of your department. Yes, sir, in 1938 we motorists paid nearly $23,500,000 for the patrolling of American highways. You are doing a fine job and we need more of you, but do not forget that if it weren't for us you wouldn't have a job or pay check. We're the best-hearted taxpayers in the world and the decentest lot of travelers. Give us better roads and we'll cause you less trouble and have fewer accidents.

I suppose legislators who vote to divert automotive tax money never reflect that they may be partly responsible for highway accidents. Yet their votes perpetuate conditions hazardous to every motorist. Public officials often salve their consciences by plastering the roadways with signs—"Danger—Narrow Bridge"; "Danger—Sharp Curves." My point is that if all automotive taxes were spent on highway improvements there wouldn't be as many narrow bridges, sharp curves— or automobile wrecks. New York, diverting $40,000,000 to $75,000,000 a year, is a gross offender on narrow bridges; yet there needn't be a single dangerously narrow bridge in the whole State if New York had observed the principle of road taxes for roads only.

All the great diverting States have their special highway hazards and inconveniences. Ohio, diverting

Automotive taxes climb steadily higher.

$12,000,000 for schools, is a maze of railway grade crossings. Florida lets its cattle and hogs roam the highways unmolested. Pennsylvania excels in narrow, curving main highways where traffic rolls slowly up and down hill, long files of cars being unable to pass a sluggish leader. And Texas of the wide open spaces, where snake-roads wind through the plains, has more than 200,000 miles of unsurfaced highways. Don't tell me there isn't need in highway work for every dollar these States divert!

To the W.P.A. Worker in State B

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You can't see any harm in that? I'll tell you where the harm is, brother. Here I am—an average motorist—with a second-hand passenger car worth $212, and I'm taxed $38.50 a year on it—$10 for a license fee and $28.50 in other taxes, mostly on gasoline, tires, and parts. That's plenty for a man of my earning powers—$25 to $35 a week—to pay just for the right to use the roads. But of course I have to step up and pay all the other taxes right along with everyone else—real estate taxes on my home, social security tax reductions from my payroll, sales taxes, a poll tax, all the special taxes as on

movie tickets, and all the hidden taxes of one kind or another. Those taxes are imposed to meet the regular expenses of government, including relief and education. Consequently we motorists, taxed a cool billion and a half a year for registrations, fuel, tires and parts, are rising in protest against spending automotive tax money on anything but highways and closely related activities such as proper administration and patrolling in the interest of safety and the efficient flow of traffic.

One more point before this line gets moving. Spending road money on unemployment relief doesn't make sense, because good roads create jobs. Sooner or later, about 80 per cent of highway construction costs are paid out in wages. There's the payroll for the engineering and building gangs, for the men who made the steel and cement that go into the highway, and for the factory workers who made the machines that are worn out in building the road. Then again, as soon as a new highway is built or an old one is improved, a good deal of construction starts along the route. Right now, see that fellow putting in a foundation for a roadside stand. New structures of all kinds appear —houses, gas stations, restaurants, hotels. I figure that within two years 100 per cent of the cost of a good road has been paid out to labor, and from then on it keeps generating jobs as long as it lasts.

Wouldn't it be better for you, and for every other man with a temporary government job, if all automotive tax money were spent on roads, and we went on improving old roads and building new ones on the basis of traffic surveys which would assure proper use of the road dollar to meet traffic needs? Then we would soon get rid of highway dangers, narrow roads, blind curves, railway grade crossings—and increase the safety of both motorists and pedestrians accordingly. Meantime, of course, these activities would be making jobs. Think it over.

To the Schoolteacher in State C

You regret that your state has quit taking automotive tax money for schools. That's understandable; you think your schools will be hurt by the change and that perhaps your pay will be cut. The way a person thinks is usually affected by the pocket-book nerve. But don't forget that we motorists also have pocket-book nerves.

As a practical matter, the schools do not draw enough money from automotive taxes to affect educational standards greatly. Their take from motorists all over the country is less than $38,000,000, or only 1.7 per cent in a total public school budget of $2,300,000,000. That is not enough either to save or to ruin the school system, but it is enough to set an undesirable precedent.

Free education at public expense is part of the American tradition. I said "at public expense," which means equitable contributions from all citizens with favoritism to none. It is short-sighted to make the schools more dependent upon one class of citizens than upon another. In fighting against the diversion of automotive taxes to education, we are not merely trying to save our tax moneys for good roads; we are also protecting the long future of the public school system from its misguided friends.

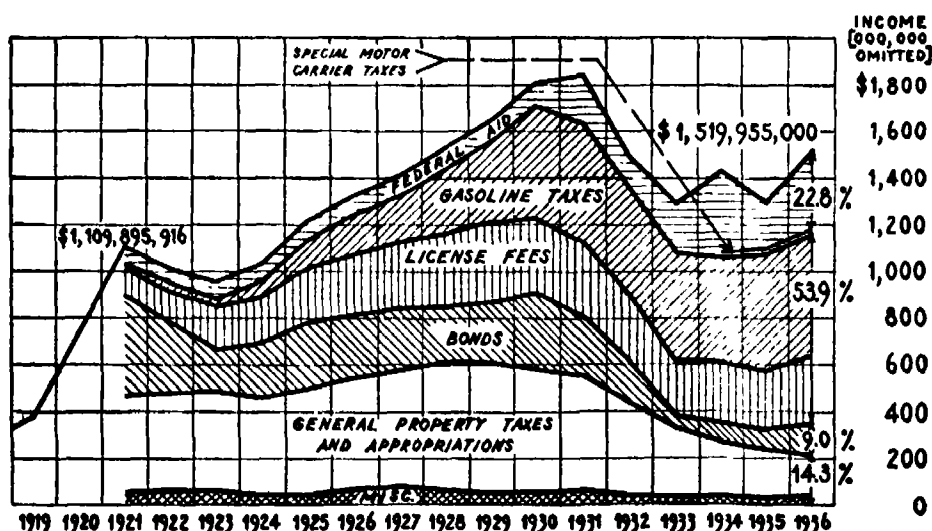
And here's another thought: In your own field you have seen how highway improvement has enabled rural education to advance through school centralization, until small villages now contain school buildings as large and handsome as those of the colleges of a generation ago. A striking parallel exists between the development of the public highway and the development of the public school. As old partners in social advance, neither should be penalized at the expense of the other. As citizens, we motorists are taxed for the support of the school system in the customary way; but we object to these special additional taxes on us as both unjust and unwise, harmful to highways now, harmful to schools later.

To the Hotel Keeper in State D

So business isn't up to the mark with you. Sorry, but I'm not surprised. Why should motorists come your way, when they can find better roads elsewhere? I should think the business men in this State would organize against diversion of automotive taxes, and see that everything the motorist pays goes into constructing, maintaining and servicing your highways.

Sure; that's being done in a good many wide-awake States. Seven States—Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, Minnesota, California, Michigan and New Hampshire—have prohibited diversion by constitutional amendment. Idaho, Iowa, Nevada, South Dakota and Wisconsin have taken the necessary legislative steps preliminary to similar action. Campaigns to rouse the public interest are under way in half a dozen others. Recent victories in California and Michigan are most significant, in California because that State was one of the heaviest diverters, in Michigan because it is the leader in automobile manufacturing.

Now, I'm just an average motorist, with a few hundred dollars in the bank and a thousand in life insurance and a net worth of around $4,000 to $5,000. I've never owned a brand-new car in my life and I never expect to; always buy my transportation second-hand in the form of a used car on a time-payment plan, and have quite a struggle paying off. And the variety of taxes I pay make that struggle all the harder and my prospects of ever buying a new car all the slimmer.

You're a property owner and you think your taxes are high. Well, my property taxes are just as high, and

Auto taxes contribute increasing proportion of highway income.

in addition I pay $38.50 a year on this car of mine, for license and registration fees, gas taxes and so on. That's close to 20 per cent of its value. Say that a car like this lasts four years; in that time it is taxed $150. Such a tax on real estate or any other form of property would be rated confiscatory. The owner of a building lot appraised at $1,000 would pay $200 a year; the owner of a house appraised at $4,000 would pay $800. Such real estate taxation would cause an uprising; home owners grumble at tax rates one-tenth as high as that borne by their property on wheels.

Everything in or about an automobile moving on a highway is taxed. Everything needed to operate this car is taxed except the air in the tires and the honk of the horn, and practically everyone who travels by automobile is taxed except hitch-hikers. From the day the car is assembled to the day it is junked, neither the vehicle—nor its users—can get out of the perfected automotive tax circle. Is it any wonder that I squirm under the load, particularly when I see my hard-earned taxes being used for purposes that do not benefit me, as a motorist, in the least?

My State isn't as rich or populous as yours, but it has better roads, less unemployment, more tourists. I'm on my way back there as fast as the law allows.

One of eight automobile tax dollars goes for non-highway purposes.

To the Politician in State E

Yes, sir, I'm glad to meet you. I dropped in to talk about roads—your roads and my roads. The country over, they're not as safe or as extensive as they would be if State legislatures had not unjustly diverted more than a billion dollars in automotive taxes in the past fourteen years. A billion dollars—if that huge sum had been expended intelligently on the highways think what it would mean to us motorists in safety, economy and pleasure!

One would think, from the way you spend our tax money on other things, that this country had all the good roads it needs. What are the facts?

There are three million miles in our rural road system. Only a fraction of that mileage calls for the expensive type of hard-surfaced road, but farm-to-market roads and secondary feeders for the main trunk system are far from adequate. Why, of the 450,000 miles of road in the state highway systems, only 60 per cent has a dustless surface.

Now, this only points to the condition of things as they are and does not take into consideration the new type of highway—freeways, parkways, express boulevards, adequate rights of way—so urgently necessary to relieve traffic congestion and to enhance safety.

In face of the conditions and the needs you will find that last year these huge States diverted these huge sums:

	Diverted	*Which might have been used to hard-surface this forgotten mileage of the state highway system*
New York ...	$44,860,000	1,342 miles
Pennsylvania .	13,940,000	834 miles
Ohio	12,266,000	95 miles
Illinois	9,472,000	519 miles
Texas	10,466,000	5,118 miles
Florida	9,344,000	4,657 miles

You see, we motoring taxpayers cannot even get the most important 15 per cent of our roads—those in the state road systems—fully improved before our tax money is diverted to other aims that produce more votes. Do you wonder that we are beginning to count noses, organize and hold you fellows to a strict accounting?

What's that? You say mileage isn't everything. You took the words right out of my mouth. Not only are we short on length of highways; we're equally short on breadth. Statistics on length are in all the handbooks, but on breadth we have to do some guessing. My guess is that, of all surfaced highways, more than half are too narrow for the traffic they are called upon to carry. Some need additional traffic lanes, while many should be widened several feet to render driving safe at the speeds normal to present car development. They may have been safe at thirty miles an hour but they're not safe at fifty.

In 1938, roughly a billion dollars of the billion and a half raised by automotive taxes was spent for highway purposes of all kinds. The largest item of expenditure, naturally, was approximately half a billion dollars for construction and maintenance, usually rated half and half. Thus, out of the billion of automotive tax money spent on the state highway systems, only $250,000,000 went for new construction. In the same year $158,000,000 was diverted to non-highway purposes. With reasonable allowance for overhead, it is reasonable to conclude that if automotive tax moneys were not diverted, new highway construction could be increased by 60 per cent the nation over, with pronounced benefit to highway safety, efficient transportation and the level of prosperity.

Many legislatures have fallen into the vicious habit of spending beyond income and then dipping into automotive taxes to make good on their commitments. Here is a sample of the cool and easy way in which these two evil practices are linked. Let me read you a clipping from *The New York Times* of August 24:

> TO PAY RELIEF DEFICIT
>
> *New Jersey to Divert Funds from Motor Fuel Taxes . . . .*
>
> **Trenton, N. J., Aug. 23.—Municipalities in New Jersey may expect to receive cash from the State in part payment of the remaining 1938 relief deficit within the next week, State Treasurer William H. Albright said here today. He said he intends to take**

$1,500,000 from the motor fuel tax revenues and turn it over to the State Financial Assistance Commission, which in turn will mail checks to municipalities to help them clear up outstanding bills for 1938 relief expenditures, which approximate $3,000,000.

Now, we motorists are willing to pay as motorists for everything we get as motorists, but we don't want to pay for the benefits recovered by other citizens in other capacities. So, Mr. Politician, unless you do us justice from now on, we're going to put it out of your power to take a penny out of automobile tax money and spend it outside of the circle of motorist benefits. What we want is an end to rising automotive taxes and the honest expenditure of present automotive taxes on improved highways. We understand this issue at last. Do you?

To the Tax-Conscious Business Man Anywhere

As a business man, you're more interested in taxes today than ever before. There are good reasons why you should be particularly interested in automotive taxes, as I think these facts and figures I'm about to recite will speedily make you see.

When automobiles were few, they were the possessions of the rich and consequently hated by the masses. Therefore they were highly taxed, not merely as personal property, but also as dangerous vehicles. The public roads, moreover, were subject to heavy damage because of tire suction on their soft surfaces. The system of high license fees then inaugurated to cover a few cars continues to apply in general to our present gigantic complement of thirty million automobiles in the hands of the masses. This license system raises the enormous revenue of $400,000,000 a year. That whopping sum represents one-eighth of the combined budgets of all the forty-eight states.

At the very outset of its tax-ridden life, the automobile is taxed as a new piece of wealth, a manufactured unit. This is done through a federal sales tax, officially known as a manufacturers' excise levy but actually a sales tax; no new car or part can pass into a customer's hands before it is paid. Initiated as a war measure in 1917, this tax has been levied ever since except for the three years 1929, 1930 and 1931—a neat example of the tendency of an emergency tax to become permanent after the emergency passes. As a business man, you probably know that tendency all too well. No one has given a convincing reason for federal taxing of the manufacture and sale of automobiles and parts and immunity for such kindred items as locomotives and tractors. All automobile manufacturers resent this discrimination; some of them even think the levy hurts sales. But it is a consistent revenue producer, bringing into the United States Treasury about $50,000,000 a year.

Increase in car registrations.

Now let's look at a third automotive tax. In 1919, after twenty years of hit-or-miss taxation, an organization of motorists in Oregon petitioned the State legislature to tax gasoline one cent a gallon and apply the proceeds to highway construction and maintenance. The legislature did so with the understanding that this tax was intended to be a charge based on measure of highway use; by paying it car owners would greatly increase the utility of their vehicles. Under this understanding, always implied and frequently expressed in solemn legal language, other states followed Oregon's lead.

Today there is no consistency in gasoline taxes. In 1925, 2 cents a gallon was the standard tax, with more than half the states using that rate; but in 1938 only Missouri and the District of Columbia were satisfied with 2 cents, although it should be stated that the over-all tax in Missouri reached high proportions because of the incidence of local taxes. From 1929 on, the most popular rate with the states has been 4 cents, while the weighted average for the nation is now 3.96 cents. In 1938 gasoline was taxed as follows:

Two cents a gallon—Missouri, District of Columbia.

Three cents a gallon—Californi Connecticut, Illinois, Iowa, Ka sas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Ne Jersey, North Dakota, Rho Island—ten States.

Four cents a gallon—Colorado, Del ware, Indiana, Maine, Marylan Minnesota, Nevada, New Ham shire, New York, Ohio, Oklahom Pennsylvania, South Dakot Texas, Utah, Vermont, Wisconsi Wyoming—eighteen States.

Five cents a gallon—Arizona, Idah Kentucky, Montana, Nebrask New Mexico, Oregon, Virgini Washington, West Virginia—te States.

Six cents a gallon—Alabama Georgia, Mississippi, North Caro lina, South Carolina—five States

Six and a half cents a gallon—Arkansas.

Seven cents a gallon—Florida, Loui siana, Tennessee.

Some states still permit cities and counties to tax gasoline. In Missouri these local levies may lift the tax 1½ cents, and in Alabama 6 cents. In certain Alabama cities the highest gasoline tax in the Union is reached at 12 cents; but for a whole State, Mississippi levies the highest tax—9 cents, 6 cents for the State, 3 for the counties. Since 1 cent has to be added for the federal tax, the standard motor fuel of the nation bears from 3 cents to 13 cents tax per gallon, and on that basis raises about $770,000,000 net for the states and $200,000,000 for the federal government each year, at the remarkably low expense of $4,000,000 to the states for collection and administration and a proportionately low sum to the federal government.

Not content with taxing automobiles at point of original sale, the federal government began in 1938 to tax gasoline a cent a gallon and to levy excise taxes on motor oil, tires, and parts. All federal taxes on cars, fuels and parts have averaged $300,000,000 a year for the past four years. So we have this tax burden on the owner-motorist, as of 1938:

State Taxes

Licenses, Registration, etc.	$405,246,000
State Gasoline Tax......	776,853,000
Personal Property (City, County, and tolls)	72,000,000
	$1,254,099,000

Federal Excise Taxes

Gasoline	$200,880,797
Lubricating Oil	15,857,576
Rubber Tires and Tubes.	26,771,719

Automobile Manufacture Sales	29,405,044
Truck Manufacture Sales	5,230,278
Parts and Accessories	7,067,611
	$285,213,025
Total	$1,539,312,025

Until automobile manufacture caught up with demand, until everyone who could afford to do so took to operating a car, automotive taxation, which trebled between 1924 and 1938, could be borne without too great restraint on trade and traffic. That cushion of demand has been deflated; automobile buying now depends less upon new buyers than upon the national income. From 2½ to 3 per cent of the national income is approximately what the industry must depend on for new car sales year in and year out. Within this limitation high automotive taxation becomes more menacing to the industry, particularly when the increased durability of cars permits potential customers to delay buying. Many studies indicate that car use is reduced by increases in the gasoline tax and car ownership retarded in the high-tax states; also that automobile buying is encouraged by highway improvements. There is no doubt that the tax burden is now as high as the traffic can bear economically and more than it should bear from the standpoint of equity.

Because of their size and influence on the national economy you as a business man and I as an employee must see to it that high taxation and diversion do not discourage the automobile manufacturing industry and the automobile transport business. In good years automotive factories employ twice as many persons as in bad times—517,000 in 1938 against 244,000 in 1932. It is estimated that in 1938 one-seventh of all the nation's workers for pay—more than 6,300,000 persons—were employed directly or indirectly in making, selling, driving or servicing motor cars, or in providing the materials and fuels needed for their manufacture and use. It is a staggering thought that the jobs of so many millions depend upon the buying habits of the average motorist.

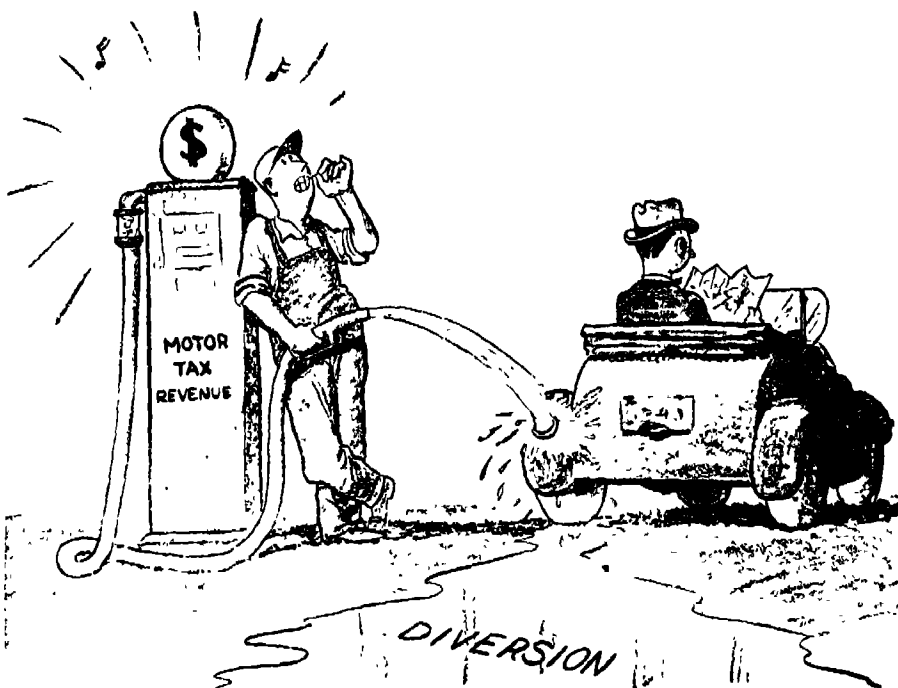
A typical passenger car owner like me, who shells out the greater part of the billion and a half dollars in automotive taxes, is often hard up. Frequently he leaves his car in the garage for months because of his inability to renew his license; as a result Southern states now renew licenses at cotton-marketing time and Northern states are changing from mid-winter to spring datings. But after he gets his $212 car licensed, he possesses transportation enough to last several years. Not all the transportation desired; he yearns steadfastly for a better car; but he can wait a year or two without acute distress before achieving his wish. This explains why every third year tends to be a "black" year in the automobile industry; also why too great a tax burden on the automobile is a drag on the national economy.

Yet at nearly every point in the automotive tax structure, the revenue hunters are ready to spring more tax-traps. Consider the taxes now being collected at toll gates to be found on many of our highways—most of them, it is true, ferries and bridges. The number of toll gates runs into the hundreds in authoritative tourist guides.

At the moment there is serious danger that the search for exploitation of the motorist may take the brand new turn of putting tolls on highways which were formerly free and paid for. Some time ago the State of Connecticut imposed a 10-cent toll on its new Merritt Parkway. The official reason given was that revenue was necessary for extension of the highway. Thereupon, New York's Westchester County countered with a 10-cent toll on its Hutchinson River Parkway. As there already was a 10-cent toll bridge on this popular route to New York City, motorists now pay 30 cents in tolls within thirty miles. Other tolls are threatened on other links in the route. With the World's Fair pulling tourists through that toll-ridden corner of the country, motorists from all parts of the nation are getting a close-up view of this situation.

Thus, motorists have another tax added to those already in existence. Thus the toll gates spread again over a land that forty years ago fought for their removal and more recently rejoiced in the victory of freedom of the roads.

That this is no isolated instance may be seen by glancing at the American Automobile Association's Directory of Bridges, Ferries and Steamship Lines, which locates more than two hundred toll bridges, average charge 50 cents each. Twenty-two toll roads are listed, average charge $1.50. But the list was compiled last winter and so does not contain the lush crop of tolls added during the summer of 1939.

The United States, the greatest of all free-trade areas, is being cut up by discriminatory taxes and state border controls, and even counties are now beginning to charge tolls on their highway facilities. Let this reactionary trend continue, Mr. Business Man, and it will bring stagnation to business and social life in this country.

Mr. Motorist doesn't get his money's worth.

Scrambled Eggs in California

Once defeated, a new, modified Ham and Eggs plan seeks victory at a special election next month

MAX KNEPPER

ON November 7 the Retirement Life Payments Acts, an amendment to the Constitution of California, will be put to a vote at a special election. If adopted, beginning on Thursday twelve weeks after enactment, every Californian who is fifty years of age, a citizen of the United States, one year a legal resident of California, without gainful employment, and not an employer of labor for profit will be eligible to receive $30 weekly for life, payable in special state warrants.

A similar plan, popularly known as Ham-and-Eggs or Thirty-every-Thursday was defeated in the general elections last November by more than 200,000 votes. The movement's organizers, however, have presented the electorate with a revamped scheme, having quickly obtained the necessary 213,000 legal signatures required to place the measure as an initiative amendment on the ballot. Not content to wait until the 1940 general elections, the leaders of Ham-and-Eggs presented Governor Olson last spring with petitions bearing signatures of more than a million legal voters demanding a special election.

Olson, elected in November 1938 by a margin of Ham-and-Egg votes, had no political choice but to grant the special election, which in May he agreed to do, refusing, however, to set the date until adjournment of the Legislature then in session. At the same time he did assure officials of the pension movement that "the date will be satisfactory to you." But late in June, when the Governor announced the special election for November 7, he incurred the anger of the pension planners, who had demanded that it be not later than this August. Olson further declared that he was granting the special election only because he believed that so great a number of people were entitled to have the issue settled at the earliest opportunity, and not because he believed in the feasibility of the scheme. The Ham-and-Eggers furiously repudiated him.

Roy G. Owens

In granting the special election at an estimated cost of $700,000, Olson brought down upon himself the wrath of conservatives in both major parties, who interpreted his opposition to the plan as evidence that his move was merely payment of a political debt at the taxpayers' expense. Immediately the Jeffersonian Democrats, a Rightwing Bourbon organization, commenced circulating petitions for Olson's recall in a campaign which has since languished.

SOME of Olson's political enemies also accuse him of calling the special election at the behest of the Democratic National Committee in order to eliminate "Ham-and-Eggs" from the political scene in 1940. It is said that Democratic leaders are not unmindful of what happened to Senator McAdoo. Though backed in 1938 by Roosevelt, he lost the Democratic nomination for the U. S. Senate to Sheridan Downey, ex-Epic, ex-Townsendite, and now ardent Ham-and-Egger. McAdoo, in his campaign, was so rash as to brand the Ham-and-Egg plan as fantastic and a menace to "real social security."

Were the current Thirty-every-Thursday plan to come up for vote in 1940, the presidential candidate desiring to carry California might have to endorse the measure, with unfortunate political reactions elsewhere. The issue would be far more embarrassing to Democrats than to the more economically orthodox Republicans, because in California, since Epic days of 1934, all shades of economic dissenters have found political refuge within the Bourbon party.

November's special election, which will decide the fate of the Thirty-every-Thursday plan, is a major headache to conservatives on whom rests the burden of raising funds to fight the measure. In last fall's campaign the State Chamber of Commerce took charge of the battle against Ham-and-Eggs, but this year the leadership has been delegated to the Junior Chamber of Commerce, a spokesman for the senior organization having expressed himself as disgusted with the prospect of trying to keep California rational. A citizens' committee, headed by the venerable U. S. Webb, recently retired Attorney-General of California, has been formed in San Francisco to direct and co-ordinate the efforts of opponents of the measure. Political alignments have been further complicated by the entrance of Los Angeles County's State Senator Robert W. Kenny into the fray as an opponent of the plan. Kenny was elected as a running mate of Olson, was the Administration floor leader in the state senate, and is now manager of leftwing Lieutenant-Governor Ellis E. Patterson's campaign for United States Senate. Patterson, who will oppose Hiram Johnson next year, is an ardent, vocal supporter of Ham-and-Eggs.

Although Ham-and-Eggs lost last fall by a quarter of a million votes, both its opponents and proponents agree that the special election will help the plan. As *The Los Angeles Times*, most powerful of the State's conservative newspapers, expressed it:

"The strategy of the plan's promoters is clear enough. They are relying on the notorious fact that special elections bring out a much smaller and far less representative vote than do general elections, particularly one so hard fought as that of last November."

Of grave concern to opponents of the measure is the formidable political organization controlled by the Retirement Life Payments Association, owner of the plan and conductor of the campaign. The organization has a central headquarters in Los Angeles and San Francisco, a local headquarters in every assembly district, a captain in each of the State's twelve thousand precincts, a worker in every city block or village neighborhood, a staff of excellent speakers, and a disciplined, enthusiastic following. All are volunteer workers, in itself a tremendous political asset, although executives, speakers, and specialized workers receive the equivalent of salaries in "expense" money.

The popularity of the movement among the lower income group can be measured by the impressive campaign fund contributed mostly by recipients of federal, state, and county relief and old-age assistance checks, owners of tax delinquent property, and a moderate number of small business people. Dues are a penny a day, payable monthly, and additional contributions are solicited for special funds—radio, newspaper, motion picture and miscellaneous. In a statement made by Willis Allen, campaign director, to Governor Olson this spring, the cost of maintaining the battle was set at $10,000 a week. Since then, the tempo of the campaign being greatly accelerated, both revenues and expenditures have increased.

Speakers for the plan are heard daily on a statewide radio network, while local stations in ten major cities broadcast transcriptions, recorded in the sound room at the Los Angeles headquarters. The Retirement Life Payments Association owns its own printing plant, publishes its official weekly organ, *National Ham-and-Eggs*, entered as second class matter with a claimed paid circulation of 100,000, publishes its own campaign literature, owns several sound trucks, and in general possesses the means and equipment for conducting a first-class, high-powered campaign.

Its streamlined organization perhaps best reflects the personality of the plan's chief author, Roy G. Owens. Mr. Owens bears the title of "economist-engineer," and as a student of Technocracy has greatly influenced his pension organization along these lines. Like all Technocrats, Owens has no faith in politicians or their works; hence the use of the initiative method to put over the plan, rather than an attempt to elect a favorable Legislature and Governor.

Owens, a former Indianian, was a one-time successful business man in Cleveland and Chicago. He attributes subsequent failure to "banker interference," a mishap which he says opened his eyes to need for social legislation. A believer in the positive mental attitude, Owens does not favor "negative" campaign methods, with the result that there is little personal attack on enemies of the plan. Possessing none of the "fuehrer" or showman qualities of such leaders of the masses as Huey Long, Upton Sinclair or Father Coughlin, the mild-mannered, soft-spoken Owens is unquestionably the "brains" of the movement and its dominating figure.

It was he who principally devised the Act, which bears considerable similarity to the plan outlined by Professor Irving Fisher of Yale in his book *Stamps Script*. Even the 2 per cent weekly redemption stamps suggested by Professor Fisher remains intact in the California Retirement Life Payments Act.

Owens declares that his plan will abolish poverty by emancipating credit now frozen in the banks. Owens cites it as a simple axiom that you cannot repay interest in dollars, because you cannot repay more of something than actually exists. To thaw credit, Owens says, the banks have to re-finance through creation of new loans, bearing interest of course, thereby merely aggravating the situation. If $1,000 represented all the money in the world, and A, the banker, loaned it to B, the borrower, at 6 per cent, B could not repay $1,006 without manufacturing $6, which the law forbids him to do. To remedy this economic impasse, Owens proposes to have the State of California issue warrants or "credit instruments" to the people without interest.

The Ham-and-Eggs plan, or the Retirement Life Payments Act as it is officially called, is a technical, complicated measure many times longer than the Constitution of the United States. It is a revolving credit scheme, being, as Owens says, "a combination of pensions and monetary reform." In order to safeguard the pension feature and to protect as far as possible the discounting of the warrants, the act revises the California tax structure, prohibits interference by the state courts or injunctions in the state courts, and creates a new office, that of State Retirement Life Payments Administrator.

It would be the administrator's duty to issue warrants known as California Tax Exempt Retirement Compensation Warrants which shall be non-interest bearing, self-liquidating, negotiable, transferable without endorsement, but not usable as collateral. The warrants, somewhat larger than dollar bills, will bear on the back fifty-two uniform spaces for the affixing of the 2 per cent redemption stamps sold for cash by the State. The warrants will be issued in denominations of $1, $5, and $10, and the revenue redemption stamps, always 2 per cent of the denomination of the warrants, will sell for 2, 10, and 20 cents. Each Thursday beginning one week after issuance, every warrant must be stamped to render it negotiable. The revenue redemption stamps are the key to the plan.

Besides creating the cash redemption fund, the weekly 2 per cent stamps compel circulation of the warrants, as holders will naturally seek

to dispose of them before Thursday on which they must be stamped. At the end of fifty-two weeks, and not later than fifty-six weeks after issuance, the warrants become redeemable, there being deposited against each dollar warrant the sum of $1.04 from the sale of fifty-two redemption stamps, the extra 4 cents being applied to administrative costs and to payment of interest on bonds or other purposes requiring legal tender.

The plan provides that immediately after enactment the State will establish local offices to receive applications for the pensions. Those eligible will be issued identification and pass books entitling them to draw $30 in warrants every Thursday from a branch of the state bank. It is estimated that at least 500,000 people will be eligible.

On the 500,000 basis, $15,000,000 in warrants will be issued every Thursday, the plan providing that the first payment will be made on Thursday of the twelfth week following adoption of the measure, which would be February 1, 1940. Fifty-two weeks later, warrants issued on February 1 will mature. To meet them, there would be in the redemption fund $15,600,000 accumulated from the sale of 2 per cent weekly redemption stamps, leaving a cash balance of $600,000. Warrants not completely stamped will not be redeemed.

As a matter of fact, there would be considerably more money in the redemption fund by the time the first issue matured, because stamp sales on warrants issued every Thursday in the meantime would likewise be accumulating. However, the sum of $100,000,000 which would actually have accumulated by the time the first issue matured is $75,000,000 more money than exists in the State of California, leaving none with which to purchase additional redemption stamps let alone anything else.

To hurdle this obstacle, the Act provides that the administrator shall turn over to the State Treasury all cash in the redemption fund above the amount needed to redeem outstanding warrants *as they mature* plus a 10 per cent reserve. The money turned over to the Treasury would be expended for all purposes requiring legal tender. This, say leaders of the plan, will keep sufficient cash in circulation.

Since after maturity of the first issue there would always be $15,000,000 in warrants going out and $15,000,000 from redemption stamps coming in, the administrator would have to keep on hand only $15,000,000 plus the 10 per cent reserve. Each issue is dated, and as each issue is redeemed the warrants will be cancelled and destroyed.

Even if the recipients are doubled or tripled or the amount of the warrants increased it will have no bearing on the revolving feature of the plan, because the weekly 2 per cent redemption tax will always maintain a 104 per cent annual redemption fund.

Opponents of the plan seldom resort to a serious discussion of defects, which is perhaps wise politically, as few voters understand credit, currency and banking. Because the Act compels the State of California and its political subdivisions to accept warrants for taxes, license fees, and all other levies at face value, public employes, teachers' organizations, and all others deriving a living from public funds fear the plan and are opposing it. The banks are actively fighting the measure, not only because they consider it an attack on sound money and credit, but because it establishes a state-owned bank empowered to enter all phases of the banking business. Generally speaking, all big business and financial institutions, large department stores, public employes, and holders of public paper are frightened of the measure, being skeptical of the value of the warrants and their effect on the credit of the State.

HOWEVER, the more serious critics who challenge the economic practicality of the plan attribute several defects to it:

First, they claim that merchants and manufacturers doing a large volume of business could accept only a limited number of the warrants unless they could dispose of them for wages, their greatest item of expense, and for renewal of their stock or raw materials. A number of labor unions have endorsed the plan, but none have so far ruled that their members should or could accept warrants for wages and salaries.

Second, Gresham's law, they say, would apply to Ham-and-Egg warrants. "Good" money would be driven out of circulation in the State, something which Owens admits would be the case, but thinks desirable. Opponents, however, declare that the withdrawal of cash from circulation would further depress trade, destroy confidence, and would be a far greater influence for destruction of business than would be the warrants as a stimulator of trade.

Third, the recipients of the warrants now receiving government aid would be deprived of their cash allowances, thus withdrawing from circulation a sizable amount of cash trade. The same applies to the army of public employes who would receive at least part of their salaries in warrants.

Fourth, merchants and manufacturers by and large would not accept the warrants. Much of California's industry is owned by out-of-state interests whose managements would refuse the warrants because of their obligations to owners, bondholders, stockholders, mortgagees, and to the federal government for taxes. The refusal of any considerable number of business houses to accept the warrants would quickly wreck confidence in them, cause them to be discounted, and finally render them as valueless as Confederate money.

Opponents cite the case of a similar plan in Portland, Oregon, in 1936, the only difference being that the unemployed instead of the aged received the warrants. The plan was discontinued in August of that year after a few weeks' trial, during which only $58,000 out of a contemplated $1,000,000 in warrants circulated. The warrants, clogged in merchants' tills, were at length redeemed by the city and county for 17 cents on the dollar.

The success of the plan lies entirely in the ability of the people to freely exchange the warrants. Owens concedes there is a possibility—but denies the probability—that merchants may refuse to accept the warrants. He bases his belief that they will accept them on the provision in the measure which imposes a 3 per cent gross income tax on all business over $3,000 done in cash, and exempts from the existing 3 per cent sales tax all business done in warrants, thus giving a 6 per cent preference to trade in script.

Critics answer that if a merchant for any reason cannot dispose of the warrants within three weeks, the 2 per cent weekly redemption stamps will cancel the 6 per cent advantage, while each successive week that he

(Continued on page 64)

The Peaceful Pacific

SYDNEY G. WALTON

I am persuaded that the greatest single contribution our two countries have been enabled to make to civilization and to the welfare of the peoples throughout the world is the example we have jointly set by our two nations. It is inherent because each nation is lacking in fear of the other that we have unfortified borders between us. It is because neither of us fears aggression on the part of the other that we have entered no race of armaments against each other.

SUCH WAS the toast of President Franklin D. Roosevelt to King George VI and Queen Elizabeth of England at the White House state dinner last June 9, during the epoch-making visit of Their Britannic Majesties to the United States.

It bears reading several times, because not until then does the force of the words chosen become apparent, revealing:

1. The strength of the ties of friendship.
2. The indictment of military ties as a link between nations.
3. The emphasis on cultural understanding as the greatest factor in friendly relations between peoples.

By implication the President drew a sharp contrast between the peaceful and friendly bonds linking the great democracies of the world and the military alliance forged by grim necessity that binds the totalitarians.

With his full meaning in mind, let us turn to a map of the Pacific for a curious but highly pertinent discovery.

Anchored at both ends by continents, with islands for its links, a geographical chain extends for over six thousand miles north and south across the Pacific. Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Samoa, Hawaii, and the United States—so runs the chain. Regarding California as the American mainland unit, white civilization throughout the chain has developed within a century and a half. And, right from the start, destiny seems to have been bent on epitomizing in this chain precisely what President Roosevelt wished to convey in his toast to the sovereigns of Britain.

Dutch and probably French and Spanish explorers discovered both Australia and New Zealand long before any Englishman happened that way. But, when colonies finally were established, they were English. And they have remained British throughout their growth from struggling settlements to their present status—the Commonwealth of Australia and the Dominion of New Zealand.

Fiji was discovered by Tasman of Holland but settled chiefly by British, about 1830. It took over thirty years of negotiations, including three offers to Britain and one to the United States, before the islands became a British colony.

Samoa was discovered by another Dutchman, Roggeveen; but first England, then the United States, and finally Germany established spheres of influence in this archipelago. Later Britain withdrew by agreement; America took Tutuila, on which Pago Pago is situated, and several adjacent islands; and Germany took western Samoa. After the World War the German sphere became a mandate of New Zealand.

Hawaii remained an independent kingdom for more than a century after her discovery by Captain Cook. Two or three times her course veered, now toward this, now toward that great power. But in 1898 she became a territory of the United States.

California was originally Spanish, then Mexican; was entered by Russia, and covetously eyed by France; but logically ended up as part of the United States.

Thus it has come about, without any international maneuvering or preconcerted strategy — in fact through pure historical coincidences —that every entity in this geographical chain, after a more or less devious course, has ended up either British or American in nationality.

A six-thousand-mile Anglo-Saxon "axis" from the North to the South Pacific! In its character and spirit, in the values for which it stands, it is the direct antithesis of that other axis which cuts through Europe. It perfectly epitomizes the ideology which can be read in and between the lines of the President's toast and looms as a barricade against any other ideology that might seek to force its way across the western seas.

The weight of its importance naturally resides in the relations between the major units of the chain—New Zealand and Australia at one extremity and the United States at the other.

The full significance of those relations cannot be appraised by the common ties of language and race alone. They mesh at too many other points.

Australians and New Zealanders are frontier stock, and so are we. They have built new empires, and so have we. They share our youth, our verve, our energy; in fiber and temperament, they resemble us much more closely than do even the English.

THEY are our good customers in an increasing volume of trade and our good neighbors in a growing exchange of travel—as we are theirs. Over the expanse of the Pacific, they face many of the same world problems; and, looking back, they can be seen sharing an interesting perspective in history. With no diplomacy to mold it and no alliances to weld it, they have developed a friendship which, for intimacy over a vast distance, has no parallel.

Closest and strongest ally of trade in building good will is travel. During the past decade, particularly, it has become a powerful factor in promoting friendly relations between these nations of the north and south Pacific.

Most of the overseas travel to and from New Zealand and Australia has always been between them and the British Isles. And most of that goes by way of the Indian Ocean and the Suez Canal, the remainder being divided among several other routes, including the one across the United States. Aside from this intra-empire travel, the greater part of the passenger traffic between the United States and the South Pacific ten years ago was for business, professional, or official purposes; only a small number of the passengers were tourists traveling solely for pleasure. This was by no means surprising, for nothing had ever been done systematically to develop tourist travel in this area.

But the substantial growth of travel between the mainland United States and Hawaii, which took place during the 1920's, pointed to the possibilities of extending tourist traffic farther south, while stimulating a similar flow northward.

It was recognized, however, that a prerequisite was faster and finer ships—in effect the sea going luxury of the Atlantic transferred to the Pacific. For the modern tourist demands not just transportation to his destination but speed and comfort in getting there.

Such a service was established with new ships by the Matson Line eight years ago. It is interesting to note that the route chosen is marked by the ports along the Anglo-Saxon "axis"—San Francisco and Los Angeles in the United States; Honolulu in Hawaii; Pago Pago in Samoa; Suva in Fiji; Auckland, metropolis of New Zealand; and Sydney and Melbourne, chief capitals of Australia.

These ships reduced the running time between Australia and America by several days. They made a living artery of travel and trade along this chain of Anglo-Saxon nations and communities. And they brought into action on a constantly increasing scale the powerful factor of modern tourism to weave closer and closer international ties.

The depression cut trade between the United States and the South Pacific down to about one fifth of normal, and, of course, business and miscellaneous travel declined almost as much. But, while commerce has climbed back only to about 50 per cent of normal, travel has come back practically all the way. In spite of the still lingering depression, there were as many Americans sailing to Australia in 1936 as there were in 1929, because of the extraordinary increase in number of tourists.

In the number of New Zealanders and Australians visiting this country, the increase is far greater. For, in addition to a comparable growth in tourist traffic, there has been a substantial diversion to this route of regular travel to and from England.

EVIDENCES of the American influence confront the visitor to these countries on every hand. They have adopted our five-and-ten-cent stores; our merchandising and advertising methods; our automobiles, electric appliances, and airplanes. There is an increasing exchange of scholarships and other educational activities; a wider distribution of American books and magazines; a more and more extensive use of our phonograph records, our broadcasting methods and transcribed programs. And nowhere in the world, not even in America, is the impress of Hollywood deeper or more perceptible in manners and modes than in Australia and New Zealand.

On the other hand, much of the liberal legislation and social reform of modern years in this country emanated originally from Australia and New Zealand. Those countries have sent us outstanding scientists, artists and musicians. And their exports to us are an important item in our foreign trade.

Says Frederick Paul Keppl, in *Philanthropy and Learning*, speaking of British lands in the southern hemisphere:

> For those of us who believe in what, for want of a better term, is called the Anglo-Saxon tradition, these far distant lands have a significance to us beyond anything that can be measured by their present population, wealth or economic importance. This significance lies in an essential unity of the spirit, an agreement as to what things are really worthwhile in life. I have confidence that, as the years go on, this essential unity will assume real importance in world affairs.

The classic expression of the essential unity of which he speaks has been the long, unfortified border between the United States and Canada. But it is equally implicit and eloquent in the Anglo-Saxon axis across the Pacific. And there it is much nearer the center of important world affairs.

The sudden shifting of our Pacific fleet back to the western ocean last April was a dramatic reminder of that fact. It was a move for preparedness in any eventuality that might require defense of American interests centering in that axis — interests which, in any conceivable turn of events, are certain to be mutual with those of the British countries in the South Pacific.

The hectic debate here last winter over how far this country should extend her fortifications in the Pacific is still another related development.

A THIRD is the growing sentiment for strengthening the American merchant marine on the Pacific. To protect American commercial interests; to develop markets for surplus products; to keep the nation self-sufficient in her economic life, regardless of the course of world events; and, finally, to provide a vital auxiliary for transport in case of war—these are being increasingly recognized as cogent reasons for expanding the merchant marine, a task already under way.

Meanwhile, commerce, travel, culture, science, sports and general good neighborliness shuttle busily back and forth along this Anglo-Saxon axis, creating a bulwark of mutual interest and good-will on which great issues may, some day, depend.

Rhode Island's Vanderbilt

(Continued from page 52)

he implicitly trusts her judgment of people. "When Anne says a person isn't to be trusted—well, that person isn't to be trusted."

How does Rhode Island like him? Well, it is no secret that some within the folds of his own party would be glad to scuttle his whole program. His unswerving forthrightness and his bluntness make enemies. For instance, the New England Race Track Association asked him to submit the names of state officials who were to receive race track passes, as usual.

"I do not wish to be a party to the distribution of race track passes to state officials," he replied. And he sent out an executive order stepping up office hours to the usual business day of nine to five. The previous six-hour day had been largely theoretical during the racing season.

Some of those who worked hard for his election are loud in their protests now because the jobs are not being parceled out. "Wait until the next election—we'll show him then," they say. But as one sage observer declared, "the last bunch based their hopes on patronage." The Governor is not worried. "The job hunter is a noisy minority," he says, "and not nearly as important to consider as the great rank and file of taxpayers." And perhaps he's right when he adds, "Good government is good politics." Impartial observers think he is gaining more strength than he is losing. The garage man and the mill hand and the little business man think the Governor is a regular guy, trying honestly to do a hard job well. They call him "Bill."

And he loves it.

America and Neutrality

(Continued from page 42)

as one who seeks undue executive power. The various New Deal measures which enlarged executive authority, the effort to increase the size of the Supreme Court, the first reorganization bill controversy– all of these have been used by Administration opponents to create an issue of threatened dictatorship. Once the attack became so strong that Mr. Roosevelt felt called upon to make public a letter denying that he had any ambition to become a dictator. The rise of dictatorships in Europe tended to make the American public more susceptible to this line of attack. This attack now is easily carried over into the present critical situation. The Senate is particularly sensitive to expansion of executive power and that issue will play in and out of discussion during the present session of Congress.

Thus, growing out of the political situation, there exists a brake upon our sliding into war through executive steps, a brake which did not exist in 1916-17 when the pressure on the White House was chiefly exerted toward pushing us in.

Of course now, as before, German recklessness and stupidity can give us powerful provocation. In view of the hostile feeling in this country toward the Hitler regime, a feeling which is now perhaps as strong and widespread as was the feeling against Germany in late 1916, there is no calculating what margin of patience the American people will have toward war outrages. That is the great uncertain factor — how Germany will conduct herself. In that respect, we are in the lap of the gods.

Scrambled Eggs in California

(Continued from page 60)

fails to get rid of the warrants will impose a 2 per cent cash loss.

Ham-and-Eggers argue that the warrants will be more secure than bank deposits, citing the fact that there is in California only $66,000,000 in cash and $259,000,000 in Federal Reserve notes, against which the banks of California owe on time and demand deposits a total of $3,717,928,000. They further point out that on a basis of only $325,000,000 of legal tender California produces an annual income of $3,631,000,000 which is about 12 per cent of its total annual turnover of approximately thirty billions. By releasing annually $780,000,000 in warrants, or "credit instruments" the State's business will be doubled. Merchants, they say, can well afford to pay a 2 per cent weekly redemption tax on new business they would otherwise not have.

To offset the effect of the ill-fated experiment in Portland, the Ham-and-Eggers quote Professor Fisher's report on the success of self-liquidating warrants in Germany. In the Bavarian town of Schwanenkirchen in 1931 a self-liquidating script plan, which spread throughout Germany, was accepted by a number of banks, and two-and-a-half million people before it was suppressed by the German government two years later.

As a final argument the proponents of the measure declare that the $200,000 cash appropriation carried in the Act for educating the public as to the use and value of the warrants will break down any prejudice which the merchant may have against them.

Apart from its intrinsic merits or demerits, the popularity of Ham-and-Eggs and its serious acceptance by so many Californians as the solution to their economic problems is a source of amazement to the more staid sections of the nation. They view it as one more bit of proof of the inherent crackpot psychology of the Golden State. They class Ham-and-Eggs with the bizarre religious cults, health fads, and other social peculiarities which have advertised California.

Ham-and-Eggs, however, is the logical heir to the Townsend, Epic, Utopian, and Technocratic movements which have swept California since 1932. All these movements developed and obtained their character from social and economic conditions peculiar to the State.

Southern California, where most of these plans first developed, is an open shop industrial community, not only because employers are aggressively organized, but because of the tremendous influx of labor from less favored sections. The labor market is flooded, which depresses wages and working conditions. Under such circumstances, the benefits of collective bargaining are restricted, so labor in Southern California and most other communities in the State looks to political action for redress rather than to direct economic action such as the strike or boycott.

Another large fraction of the electorate, which also depends upon political means to remedy its ills, is composed of middle-class, retired Californians who have lost their property or incomes during the depression. This group is not interested in the more orthodox reforms of collective bargaining, social security, hours and wages, and the like, whose benefits, since they have no jobs or even prospects of jobs, seem academic. Their average age is past forty-five, which inclines them to pension plans, but their middle-class psychology precludes their accepting any Marxian scheme as a solution to their problems. What they desire is a plan promising immediate and adequate relief, immediately realizable through an election, and one that does not abolish or curtail cherished institutions and traditions.

Schemes for monetary reform have always had an appeal in the United States. Since the days of Andrew Jackson, who destroyed the national bank, down through the periods of Populism and the Greenback Party to the epoch of free silver and Bryanism, there have been crusades against the money system. None of them, with the exception of Jackson's reform, succeeded nationally. It remains to be seen if money reform, combined with pensions, will carry in California, and how the experiment, if it does win at the polls, will work out.

Self-Revelation: CHECK THE NEW BOOKS YOU HAVE BEEN ANXIOUS TO READ—AND THOSE YOU HAVE ACTUALLY READ

This is a list of books which have been greatly in demand within the past few months by Book-of-the-Month Club members who represent an excellent cross-section of the entire nation's reading public. Most of them will be found on all other best-seller lists.

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- Grapes of Wrath—John Steinbeck
- The Yearling—Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings
- Wickford Point—John P. Marquand
- Captain Horatio Hornblower—C. S. Forester
- Christ in Concrete—Pietro di Donato
- Seasoned Timber—Dorothy Canfield
- The Patriot—Pearl Buck
- The Brandons—Angela Thirkell
- Here Lies—Dorothy Parker
- The Web and The Rock—Thomas Wolfe
- Mr. Emmanuel—Louis Golding
- Tellers of Tales, Ed. by W. Somerset Maugham
- The Sword in The Stone—T. H. White
- Adventures of a Young Man—John Dos Passos
- Rebecca—Daphne du Maurier
- All This, and Heaven Too—Rachel Field
- Tree of Liberty—Elizabeth Page
- Black Narcissus—Rumer Godden

NON-FICTION

- Not Peace but a Sword—Vincent Sheean
- Inside Asia—John Gunther
- Wind, Sand and Stars—Antoine de Saint Exupery
- Days of Our Years—Pierre van Paassen
- America in Midpassage—Charles A. & Mary R. Beard
- Reaching for the Stars—Nora Waln
- Huntsman, What Quarry?—Edna St. Vincent Millay
- You and Heredity—Amram Scheinfeld
- Autobiography with Letters—William Lyon Phelps
- A Peculiar Treasure—Edna Ferber
- The Hudson—Carl Carmer
- Andrew Jackson—Marquis James
- Benjamin Franklin—Carl Van Doren
- You're the Doctor—Victor Heiser, M.D.
- Listen! The Wind—Anne Morrow Lindbergh
- Moses and Monotheism—Sigmund Freud
- Designs in Scarlet—Courtney Ryley Cooper
- Security: Can We Retrieve It?—Sir Arthur Salter
- The Promises Men Live By—Harry Scherman
- Dry Guillotine—René Belbenoit

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The World Today in Books

NORMAN COUSINS

On the shores of the Danube many centuries ago, according to Germanic legend, there lived the Nibelungen, an evil, vengeful tribe which embraced pagan ways and which fell victim to their own intrigue. The legend ends in slaughter.

On the shores of the Danube today there is a man. He has sprung from the seed of a legend. In the valley of the Danube where he stands he has stirred up old echoes of the *Nibelungenlied*. He is Adolf Hitler, a strange man who looks to Thor and Mars for destiny.

And after he has gone the Danube will have added another page to its history. Before him there were the Romans who attempted to make the river its frontier; there was Genghis Khan whose Mongol invasion struck at the heart of the valley; there were the crusaders who stormed down the river on the way to their conquest of the East; there were the Turks whose horses seemed to sound the deathnote for the West as they thundered along the Danube's banks; there were the Hapsburgs who founded an empire and saw it crumble; there was a great war. . . .

Emil Lengyel has written the biography of this river. It is a beautiful book. Beautiful on two scores: it is beautifully written and beautifully put together. It is rich in substance and form. The writing is calm, careful, finely-balanced, almost finely-etched. The physical production is strikingly good.

Emil Lengyel's *The Danube* is certain to remind many of Emil Ludwig's *The Nile*, published two years ago, not only because of the alliterative quality of the authors' names or the similarity of subject, but because both books tell the life story of a river through the story of the peoples who lived on its shores. Moreover, the Danube is to Europe what the Nile is to Africa. The stream of each is heavy with history; no record could be written of either continent without constant reference to them. The fingers of the Nile reach back farther into history, but the blue waters of the Danube carry a more significant message for Western civilization.

Emil Lengyel looks at the Danube, the 2000-mile Danube, looks at it as it springs to life out of a forest in

Books Reviewed in This Issue

BOOK	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	PRICE
The Danube	Emil Lengyel	Random House	$3 75
The Defence of Britain	Liddell Hart	Random House	3.50
How Strong Is Britain?	C. E. Count Pückler	Veritas Press	2.50
Sidney Hillman: Labor Statesman	George Soule	Macmillan	2.50
Man Against Microbe	Dr. Joseph W. Bigger	Macmillan	2.50
Chaos in Asia	Hallett Abend	Ives Washburn	3.00
The House of Mitsui	Oland D. Russell	Little Brown	4.00
Traders' Dream	R. H. Mottram	Appleton Century	3.00

Germany; looks at it as it gains body and strength in moving through what used to be a sovereign Austria; looks at it as it separates what used to be the sovereign state of Czecho-Slovakia from Hungary, through which it winds almost at right angles before picking up additional waters and flowing through Yugoslavia; looks as it cuts through the Transylvania Alps and becomes the common frontier of Rumania and Bulgaria before swinging back into Rumania where it makes a dash for the sea, splitting into three before reaching the large waters.

Emil Lengyel looks at all this but what he sees most of all is a river scarred by history. He sees a fertile, rich valley along its banks—ample enough to nourish hundreds of millions, providing them with every basic need—but which has been despoiled by centuries of conflict. Along its waters German, Slav, Magyar, and Latin could have submerged their differences for their common good—as indeed, they did during a brief period in the river's history—but instead used the river as a dividing line which bristled with guns. Versailles intensified the chaos. "Some problems had been solved and secular injustices corrected, but other and graver problems and injustices were created . . . The Danube lost its role as a lifeline. Gloom settled upon its valley."

When the swastika was planted upon the shores of the headwaters of the Danube, the tremor was felt all the way to the Black Sea. "The river became the lifeline of Germany; not merely Germany's but that of an intolerant creed, believing in war for its own sake, forced by its own nature to create havoc." (So said Rauschning in *The Revolution of Nihilism.*) What was a highway of beauty, says Lengyel, became a dictator's battleground.

There can be no solution for the 80,000,000 people along its shores, he writes in his epilogue, unless there arises an honest Federation which would not attempt to dissolve racial and linguistic ties but which would give the entire region a unity as its foremost guarantee of security. Such a Federation, he adds, would have to comprise the former Czecho-Slovakia and Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Rumania.

The very remoteness of such a possibility may suggest that there is some hope: "When the political horizon is darkest the stars appear . . .

The Danube Valley had led the way to war. It would be logical for it to show the way to peace."

FAR and away the best book for Americans on the war in Europe is Captain Liddell Hart's *The Defence of Britain*, originally published in London. And it would have been twice as good—for Americans, that is—if half the book were deleted for publication here. Of interest to Americans is Liddell Hart's rounded, sound discussion and explanation of modern military strategy; his appraisal of comparative military strength of the major powers; his incisive comments on the muddy thinking that contributed so largely to the breakdown of Europe today. These chapters more than make up an average sized book. What is not so vital or pertinent to Americans are the discussions of British military promotion systems, the development of the British territorial army, appendices relating to specialized information about British defense of colonies, etc.

Another improvement might have been a change in title. Actually, the book is more of a guide to a world war than it is to the peculiar defense problems of Great Britain. The specialized nature of the title, however, should not discourage prospective readers who are looking for a comprehensive, intelligent explanation of the issues—political and military—at stake in Europe. For Liddell Hart's book—or at least upwards of half the book—does just that.

The present war has been called the strangest of all wars, but Liddell Hart, who wrote this book months before its outbreak, shows why it is not so strange. "It is an unfortunate aspect of the present situation," wrote Mr. Hart, who has a strong belief in the superiority of the defense, "that if Poland were attacked, the French could not give direct help in reinforcing her defense." The best thing for France to do, he said—and we iterate that this book was written before September 1—would be to consolidate her positions, combining her defensive operations with "harassing offensive." And this, precisely, is what the French have done. Another bull's eye for Captain Hart was his appraisal of Polish fighting ability. Manpower she had in abundance, he says, but there was too much of a tendency to stake heavily on cavalry; there was not enough realism among her military leaders; too much de-

November **CURRENT HISTORY** 1939

THE PLEDGES OF NATIONS: A BALANCE SHEET

THE SECOND WORLD WAR

GENERAL ARTICLES

DEPARTMENTS

COVER DRAWING BY JOSEPH ALLORO

Current History, Volume LI, No 3 November 1939 Whole No 300, Published monthly by C H Publishing Corporation, 420 Madison Ave New York, N Y J Hilton Smyth, President; John T Hackett, Vice-President, I H Williams, Secretary E Trevor Hill, Treasurer John A Curtis, Advertising Manager 25c a copy; $3 a year, in the United States, possessions, Canada Central and South America and Spain, elsewhere $1 25 a year additional, Subscribers should send change of address three weeks in advance Indexed in the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature Unless accompanied by postage, unsolicited manuscripts will not be returned, Entered as second-class matter September 28, 1935, at the postoffice at New York N Y, under the act of March 3, 1879 Additional entry at the postoffice at Springfield, Mass. Entered in Canada as second class matter Printed in U S A

pendence on her terrain. Without neighboring powers fighting with her, he added, Poland would be hopeless.

But Captain Liddell Hart (apparently he has dropped the initials of B. H.) failed to take one important factor into account: the possibility that Germany and Russia would cancel their differences for the sake of mutual opportunism. Unlike Raymond Leslie Buell and Henry C. Wolfe, American observers who foresaw the likelihood of a new color combination in Europe, Liddell Hart proceeded on the assumption that Russia would remain anti-German, even if she did not join the war. But the wonder is not that he failed to anticipate the defection of Russia but that so little of his book is impaired despite it.

We repeat: Liddell Hart's book is far and away the best new book for a Baedeker to World War II, Mr. Hitler's new bridge partner notwithstanding.

FROM *The Defense of Britain*, we pass on to *How Strong Is Britain?* by C. E. Count Pückler. First of all, it is—unlike Liddell Hart's book—concerned with Britain and Britain alone. Second of all it was written by a German and originally published in Germany, in full sight of anyone who wanted to look, including Herr Goebbel's G-Men. Third of all and somewhat surprising, it is reasonable and fair. Count Pückler gives Great Britain her due, recognizes that she is the "greatest empire" in the world, and though he does not say so directly, indicates that it would be poor judgment on the part of Germany if the Reich should attempt to pit her might against England at the present time.

If this book has official or quasi-official sanction or approval, then a number of statements in it take on singular significance, and if what we read between the lines of this book is true, then Germany did not plan to go to war against Britain until 1941 or 1942. It would seem, too, that the new German strategy in foreign affairs was to have called for "moral politics"—in other words, beating Britain at her own game in appearing before the court of world opinion in spotless raiment.

The spectacle of Hitler under a halo is not exactly convincing, but that, nevertheless, is the direction in which the new party line of the Nazis is supposed to move—or so it might seem from Count Pückler's book.

REPORTS from China that Afghanistan is mobilizing to repel border violations by Soviet forces which are said to be massing in Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang Province) for a drive into India, place oft-neglected India squarely into the news. Timely, therefore, is R. H. Mottram's *Traders' Dream*, the story of a fabulous treasure chest—India—and the way in which it came into Britain's hands.

Traders' Dream tells of a trading venture that became an instrument of imperial power. Few chapters in history are as colorful, as dynamic as the story of the British East India Company, which became the conqueror of India and whose ships and men played so vital a part in laying the foundation of the present British Empire. Mottram has done it full justice, incorporating much new material into a book which is as authentic as it is vivid.

Through the pages of *Traders' Dream* parade figures such as Clive, who, as an employee of the East India company, won India for Britain; and, too, the almost forgotten Warren Hastings who helped the company gain the right to acquire territory, command troops, form alliances and wage war, to make money and to exercise civil and military jurisprudence.

Traders' Dream provides sound background for an insight into a country which in the near future may prove to be the weakest link of an Empire now hard pressed.

HALLETT ABEND, *New York Times* correspondent in the Far East, who several years ago wrote, with Anthony Billingham, a book called *Can China Survive?* has written a new work on the Far East which takes into account the Japanese campaign in China. It is a valuable work, one which is remarkably unbiased and objective, considering that Abend was in the thick not only of the war itself but of the welter of propaganda manufactured by both sides.

Japan is fighting, says Mr. Abend, for "aims not yet definitely disclosed and stated in such vague terms as 'the establishment of a New Order in Asia.' The New Order has already arrived. It is poverty, desolation, hatred, and chaos." Yet Chaos has always been the word for China. Even before Japan launched its Japanese steamroller China was in chaos; indeed, that is one of the reasons given by the Japanese to justify their invasion. Our missionaries found chaos the best one-word description for conditions in China. This point is stressed because Mr. Abend later remarks that well-informed Japanese diplomats and business men "will tell you very frankly . . . that co-operation among all interested nations will be essential (to the New Order) if China's economic and industrial rehabilitation is to be accomplished." This restoration, he adds, is a prime necessity for China's eventual prosperity, and Japan realizes she must have a prosperous neighbor in China, "or be bitterly poor herself."

A THIRD important book dealing with the Orient is Oland D. Russell's *The House of Mitsui*, the amazing story of one of the oldest and most powerful families in the world—the Mitsuis of Japan, whose history reaching back to the dim ages of mythology, is closely coupled with the rise of the Empire to the position of a mighty political and military power today.

As Russell points out, what the

Mitsuis do even today is vital to the destiny of the Empire, for they control fifteen percent of all Japanese trade.

France has 200 Families, America her 60, Japan only five—and the greatest of these is the House of Mitsui. They operate banks and mines, factories and shipping companies, and while Mitsui ships carry products of their industrial empire to all parts of the world, the family has commercial agents in every large capital to see that the cargoes are sold and that the vessels return to their home ports with full holds.

Russell has done a masterful job on a subject heretofore considered well-nigh impossible to approach. For the Mitsuis, unlike other monied princes of other lands, are patricians in their own right and thereby extremely aloof from those who wish to inquire into their private lives. And so it took an American newspaper man, following the tradition of others of his profession who have bucked and been rebuffed by the Morgans, Rockefellers, Fords and dime-store heiresses, to accomplish what no other journalist has ever done before. The result is that Russell, who opines that the Mitsuis probably look upon the Rockefellers, the Morgans and the Vanderbilts, Rothschilds and DuPonts as mere upstarts, has turned out a masterful book.

The historical record of the building of the fabulous Mitsui fortune, is engaging reading, not only because it is the story of an extraordinary family, but because it shows the equally amazing development of Japan, slowly over many centuries, from feudal days to the rise of a great power. And it was the Mitsuis, of course, who figured in the building. Students of the ramifications of finance in world affairs as well as those who are interested in people *as* people will enjoy Mr. Russell's book.

SIDNEY HILLMAN represents to George Soule a case study in creative and democratic leadership. The career of the labor leader, says Mr. Soule in the introduction to his book, *Sidney Hillman*, has shown "how democracy can work, not only in achieving difficult material results, but in offering an opportunity for the human personality to grow."

It is clear from this book that Mr. Soule has become deeply inspired by the work and personality of Mr. Hillman. In fact, he shares with millions of clothing workers an honest admiration for the former immigrant who in thirty years has perhaps done more to destroy sweatshops and slums than any man outside public office in this country. The book is generously sympathetic, describing Mr. Hillman as both thinker and doer—a man who is creative and industrious. He is, says Mr. Soule, "essentially American . . . Surely it is significant that he is passionately devoted to the American future far more than many who trace their ancestors back to those who first felt intoxication in the boundless opportunity for man in a new country."

Actually, Mr. Soule's book is a double biography: it tells the story not only of Sidney Hillman but of hundreds of thousands of workers fighting a winning fight for laboring justice. That the fight has been both honest and successful Mr. Soule has no doubt. And the prime mover from the very start was Sidney Hillman.

ABSENT from the headlines—or even the back newspaper pages—are stories of a far more sensible battle than the one being fought today in Europe. It is a battle not of man against man but of man against microbe. And this is the battle described by Dr. Joseph W. Bigger, Professor of Bacteriology and Preventive Medicine at the University of Dublin, in *Man Against Microbe*, a compact, immensely useful guide for all microscope hobbyists or students, or even the layman who is interested in microbe study.

Dr. Bigger rounds out his book with a brief history of microbiology and the stories of past and present pioneers in the study of slide life. Those who have read and enjoyed *Microbe Hunters* and want to explore further in this field will find *Man Against Microbe* of especial interest.

CURRENT HISTORY VOL. L, No. 9, November 1939

Two Months of War

At the end of two months of the European war, which broke out on September 1 with Germany's invasion of Poland, some of the minor issues had been decided. The major issues had not. Victory or defeat for one side or the other seemed as far off as ever.

Poland had been conquered and partitioned between Germany and Russia, accomplishing a Nazi intention of "righting wrongs done by the Versailles dictate." Communist Russia, insisting that she was "neutral," had supplemented with other agreements her sensational non-aggression pact with Nazi Germany, had bloodlessly seized the eastern half of Poland, and had extended her domination over the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania through treaties which gave Moscow the right to establish troops and naval bases in those countries. In the course of negotiations with Lithuania, Russia gave Vilna, Lithuania's ancient capital which had been taken by the Poles in 1920, back to that country in a deal that, however, gave Russia complete domination over the Liths.

Italy, as a member of the Rome-Berlin axis, was still neutral. Turkey had been courted by both Russia and the Allies for the control of the Dardanelles—on October 17 negotiations in Moscow for a Russo-Turkish mutual-assistance pact broke down. Finland had been threatened by Russia, which sought control of the Aland Islands and the use of the sub-Arctic port of Petsamo, thereby threatening to involve the Scandinavian nations.

Hitler had made peace proposals which had been emphatically refused by Paris and London. The Berlin press had intimated that President Roosevelt would be acceptable as a mediator, but the President had received no official invitation and had ignored unofficial feelers. Meanwhile the war continued, intensifying after mid-October.

> **COSTS OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR —$350,000,000,000**
>
> ***Enough to provide***
>
> - 5 acres of land and a $3,500 house for every family in the United States, Canada, Great Britain, France, Germany, the U S S.R. and Australia
> - a $10,000,000 university for every city of 200,000 population or more in those countries
> - a $5,000,000 library for every city of 200,000 population or more in those countries
> - a life-long salary of $2,500 a year for 50,000 teachers
> - a life-long salary of $2,500 a year for 50,000 nurses
>
> **AND BUY UP EVERYTHING OF VALUE IN FRANCE AND BELGIUM**

Foreign Policy Association

It was against this background that the United States Congress, called into special session on September 21, pressed its reconsideration of the Neutrality Act of 1937, designed to keep America out of war, with the Administration driving to revise the act, specifically its embargo on the export of certain war materials to the warring nations. Opponents of the Administration held that to lift the embargo would be unneutral, would assist Britain and France which have the ships and money to obtain war materials from the United States while Germany has neither. Nevertheless, under the leadership of Senator Pittman, Nevada Democrat, the Administration drove on.

Pittman and Neutrality

Key Pittman was a sourdough in the Klondike, a tall, lithe prospector on whom the Yukon had laid its spell But for him the Klondike held no gold and he turned to prospecting on the sands of Nome. He found there a wife, but again no gold. The next stop was Nevada, and this time Key Pittman struck pay dirt—in politics. In 1912 he became a United States Senator. He has been one ever since.

The Senator from Nevada is now sixty-seven, brilliant rather than industrious, and one of the most important figures in Congress. He is a staunch pro-Administration Democrat. Since 1933 he has been Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, a post which gives him influence in the shaping of American foreign policy, and in which several Senators have made famous names. William E. Borah and the late Henry Cabot Lodge were immediate Pittman predecessors.

Because American foreign policy under the New Deal has been so much in the hands of President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull, Senator Pittman has been slow in picking up the reputation that belongs to his post. The revised Neutrality Bill sponsored by the Administration in the special session of Congress gave him his chance. The measure bears his name and he opened the Senate debate upon it on October 2, though many observers felt he left much of the management of the debate thereafter to his colleague, Tom Connally of Texas.

Three Moot Points

The Neutrality Bill, quickly revealed three points of controversy:

(1) Repeal of the arms embargo to allow sale of war materials to all nations—provided they paid in cash and carried their purchase home;

(2) A ninety-day credit system that, its proponents argued, would be equivalent to cash and in accordance with business practice;

(3) A ban on the sailing of American ships to belligerent ports, whether those ports were in Europe or in some West Indian island like Martinique.

It was predicted that the Senate debate on this bill would be "historic," likely to resemble the truly historic debate two decades ago over the Treaty of Versailles. The deluge of mail and telegrams—300,000 on a single day—that descended on Capitol Hill and the crowds at the early Senate sessions pointed up the "historic" angle. Radio arguments pointed it further. But interest died quickly. Congressional mail receded to normal. Attendance in the Senate gallery dropped away, and on the Senate floor a quorum was often lacking.

The reasons were obvious. Repetition made the arguments tiresome, and neither side wanted to discuss the heart of the issue: Should the United States aid Britain and France by selling them war materials? Was such aid necessary to keep Germany away from our door? The public, moreover, had apparently made up its mind. An American Institute of Public Opinion survey, one of the well-known Gallup polls, found that 60 per cent of the country declared in favor of lifting the embargo.

At this point Senate leadership started maneuvering for a vote. The ninety-day-credit clause was scrapped and ways were studied for compromise on the shipping restrictions, which opponents insisted would cripple the newly built merchant marine. Senate leaders had another stimulus for action. They feared that some turn in the European war might so affect American opinion that the Administration would be deprived of the victory for embargo repeal that seemed so clearly to be within its grasp.

Threat to Finland

While the United States debated neutrality, Germany clashed with France and Britain on land and sea and in the air. Meanwhile, too, Soviet Russia advanced into Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, apparently attempting to weld an iron belt around the Baltic. The Red army crossed the border of Estonia on October 18, demanding to be quartered in private homes. "The difficulties in quartering troops," said the Estonian newspaper *Rachvaleeht*, attempting to hearten its readers, "are as nothing compared to the difficulties that we would have had in a military conflict."

The bloodless imperialism that brought the shivering little Baltic states into the Soviet orbit won Stalin the title of "The Dry Peter the

Senator Key Pittman

Great." It took Peter (1682-1725) twenty years of fighting to seize the ice-free ports of the Baltic. Stalin accomplished much the same end without bloodshed, and in a few weeks. But when he demanded that Russian troops be given the right to occupy the Aland Islands, which stretch across the Gulf of Bothnia from Finland to Sweden and command the entrance to the Gulf of Finland, the Finns, though they number only four million, immediately prepared to defend themselves.

Helsingfors, the capital, was blacked out for the first time in its history and other Finnish cities vulnerable from the air were evacuated. Finland mobilized her tiny fleet of 4 gunboats, 5 submarines, 7 torpedo boats and 25 mine layers to repulse the might of Russia, which massed at Kronstadt most of her fleet of 5 battleships, 7 heavy cruisers, 4 light cruisers, 23 destroyers and 111 submarines. Concentrated along the bleak Soviet-Finnish frontier were 700,000 Red army troops against a small Finnish army which at most can muster a quarter of a million men.

About as large as New England, New York and New Jersey, Finland is more than half covered by forest. Its greatest industry, therefore, is lumbering. Finland also has large aluminum mines which Russia covets and would control if Finland surrendered the Aland Islands to Soviet domination.

Under Swedish influence until 1809, Finland then became a more or less autonomous duchy within the Russian Empire. But the Finns, renowned for their progressive tendencies, were never happy under the autocracy of the Czars.

In 1918, the Finns won their independence from Russia, at which time they contracted a debt to the United States— a debt they have been paying religiously on time at the rate of $5,000,000 a year. That fact has created pronounced pro-Finnish sentiment in the United States. So likewise have other facts about Finland which are widely known here—the facts that, while Finland is a stern foe of Communism, it has pioneered in progressive legislation. It granted woman suffrage in 1907, experimented with prohibition and abandoned it before we did. It is one of the few true democracies in Europe.

Americans, therefore, rallied behind their President when they learned that he had sent a personal plea to Moscow to refrain from any action which might disturb the peaceful relations between Russia and Finland. In a reply, interpreted as reassuring, Russia protested that it was interested solely in "guaranteeing the security of the Soviet Union and Finland."

While the Finns realized that there are simply not enough of them to resist a Russian drive, the brave stand of the little Baltic republic had its background in the belief of many military experts that Russia's army is not yet developed to the point where Soviet leaders want to test it in a real conflict. Last August this opinion was clarified by the usually well-informed Moscow correspondent of the Finnish paper *Helsingen Sanomat* who wrote:

"The truth behind the Berlin-Moscow pact, it is revealed in reliable quarters, is that Soviet Russia has discovered two weaknesses—the Stalin regime is growing increasingly unpopular even among the most

ardent Communists, and the Russian army has been found to be exceedingly weak following the conflict along the Mongolian border, where planes, tanks and guns were tried and found wanting. In almost a panic, therefore, the Council of Commissars, looking askance at a powerful Germany, joined their erstwhile foes rather than fight them."

Scandinavian Solidarity

The Russian threat to Finland had repercussions not only in the United States but in all the Scandinavian countries. The subjugation of Finland by the Soviet would bring Communism, which they all dreaded, to their very doors.

To determine to what extent they should go in support of Finland, the three Scandinavian Kings Gustaf of Sweden, Christian of Denmark and Haakon of Norway—conferred in Stockholm with the Finnish President, Kyosti Kallio. The moral support of Washington was behind the conference, as was indicated by dispatch of a message from President Roosevelt stating that America would support the conference's principle of "order under law." Several Latin-American governments sent similar messages. This Pan-American move suggested that little Finland was getting far-reaching support in this hemisphere.

Convinced of the backing of the Scandinavian States, which were likely to be supported by the other Oslo powers — Belgium, Holland, Luxemburg and even, possibly, Switzerland—President Kallio announced in a radio broadcast from the Castle of King Gustaf on October 19 that Finland was determined to defend its independence in view of the "constant proofs of the solidarity of other Nordic nations with Finland." The one-time farm boy who became President of the little Baltic democracy declared that Finland wished to live peacefully, and indicated that Russia's demands against her had been of a "serious nature."

As the Scandinavian powers convened, there were rumors that Germany would propose that the Oslo group help to bring about peace on the Western Front. In return Germany was said to be willing to help protect the Northern States against excessive Soviet claims. As for the reason Germany had failed to curb her ally thus far, Berlin explained that Germany had to depend absolutely on Russian support as long as the war continued, and therefore could do nothing against the Communist forces creeping across the north.

Thomas in The Detroit News

"Little Man, What Now?"

Turks Shun Soviet

While the Finns were repulsing Moscow in the Baltic, the Turks rejected the "Soviet line" in the Balkans, where both Russia and the Allies long had been dickering for the control of the Dardanelles. For nearly a month, Turkish Foreign Minister Shukru Saracoglu had been a "diplomatic hostage" in Moscow, apparently under pressure to sign a treaty that would bar the use of the Straits leading to the Black Sea to warships of all countries except Russia, and at the same time agree to territorial revisions in Rumania in favor of Russia and Bulgaria—in short, agree to Soviet-Nazi overlordship of the Balkans.

Moscow had confidently expected Turkey, of all the countries in Eastern Europe, to accept her demands, for the Turkish Republic and the Soviet Union, both born of revolution, were close friends; they had both been outcast nations in their early years. Russia had consistently supported the Turkish claims for the control and militarization of the Dardanelles, and there had long been a tacit understanding among the sea powers that Turkey, as keeper of the Straits, was a silent partner of Russia.

Turkey, however, seemed to conclude that Moscow's demands threatened her independence. As both an umpire and a player in the present game of power politics, Turkey is a key state and Russia and the Allies have begged desperately for her support. The Dardanelles, a long stretch of dark and turbulent water which for centuries has funnelled fighting men between the West and the East, is vitally important to both blocs. For Russia, control of the Straits guarantees a warm water outlet from the Black Sea, and the free transport of supplies across that sea to Germany. If French and British warships are allowed to enter the Black Sea through the Straits, they will be in a position to cut these vital trade lines.

The Allies, therefore, were believed to have won a signal diplomatic victory when, on October 19, a treaty of mutual assistance was signed be-

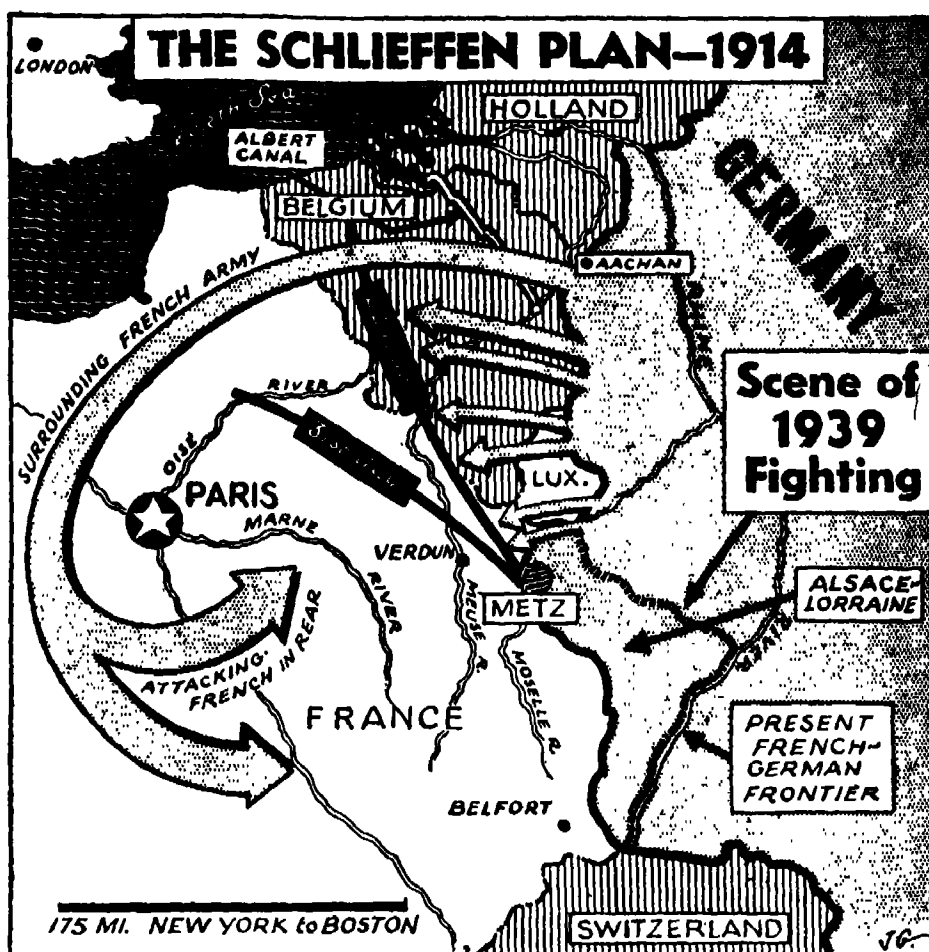
tween Turkey, on the one side, and France and Britain on the other. At the same time two Allied generals arrived in Turkey to discuss military cooperation. They were General Weygand of France and General Wavell, British Commander-in-Chief in the Near East.

Persia and India

The Turkish Foreign Minister was still under pressure in Moscow when Red army units were rushed to reinforce the military patrols in the Caucasus Mountains, on the southern frontier facing Turkey and Iran (Persia). To meet this threat to the important Iranian oil lines that supply the British fleet, London rushed troops to strengthen her forces in the Near East, to ward off a Russian expansion to the Gulf of Persia, a plan long envisioned by Czarist Russia. South of the Caucasus, besides Turkey and Persia, is Iraq, which is Britain's ally and bound to resist any move by Russia to invade that area.

As Red troops massed on the Turko-Persian border, reports from China said that a Sovietized Chinese army, led by Russians, was being formed in Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan) Province for what might be a thrust at India. That fabulous Oriental domain of Great Britain had been hurled into the war against its will, and Indian nationalists immediately informed London that, though it participated voluntarily in the last war, India would hesitate to enter the present conflict unless she was granted independence.

This presented a ticklish problem to Britain, which likes to feel that in this war she is defending "democracy." Indians were quick to point out that, if Britain was defending democracy, she ought to democratize India, practicing what she preached.

That Hitler had "promised" India to Russia in one of his loose statements recorded in the past, London well knew. Furthermore, there had long been pro-Nazi as well as pro-Communist agitation in India. To counteract that, London has now declared that a new federal government for India, long planned and on the way, will be forthcoming after the war, and has urged India to strive for greater unity. "Profoundly disappointing," said Mohandas K. Gandhi of Britain's attitude, adding: "What the future has in store for India I dare not foretell."

Daily Mirror, New York

This plan almost won a "blitzkreig" for Germany in 1914. But the General Staff blundered by cutting in to the north of Paris, exposing the army's flank to a counter attack—the famous battle of the Marne. History may repeat itself and the "revolving door" may open again, this time through Holland as well as Belgium.

Hitler Gets His Answers

In the second month of the war, Chancellor Hitler continued his bids for peace, declaring that "the Western powers . . . have recklessly provoked a war on flimsiest grounds. If they reject our readiness for peace, then Germany is determined to take up the battle and fight it out." A few hours later Premier Daladier replied to Hitler's peace proposal with a decisive "No!" and declared that France would not lay down her arms until she had a certain guarantee of security "which may not be put in doubt every six months." Two days later Prime Minister Chamberlain rejected Hitler's peace proposals even more bluntly, declaring that there could be no peace based on the recognition of Hitler's conquest and the right to do what he pleases with the conquered.

In Herr Hitler's peace proposal there was no mention of a mediator, but the inspired Berlin press declared that President Roosevelt would be the natural arbiter. The President, however, rejected all unofficial invitations to step into the European war, although it was indicated that if Britain and France assured him that they would accept his mediation, he might reconsider.

Hopes of peace dashed, Germany's moves against the West intensified. War planes roared across the North Sea in waves and bombed the British Grand Fleet base at Scapa Flow, in the Orkney Islands, for two days in succession. Submarines were active, too, and on October 19 the British Admiralty issued an official casualty list showing that, of the 1,234 officers and men aboard the battleship *Royal Oak* when she was sunk at anchor at Scapa Flow by a U-boat, 810 were killed and only 424 saved. Among those lost was Rear Admiral H. E. C. Blagrove. Other activity included a dramatic battle in which twelve German war planes attacked six warships not far from the German port of Emden, which British planes had attempted to raid on October 18.

On land, the German High Com-

mand announced on October 19 that the first phase of the war in the West had been concluded with the driving of all French troops from German soil. Paris denied the claim, and announced that French outposts were still inside the German frontier. On the same day Germany announced that her casualties in the West were 196 killed, 356 wounded and 114 missing up to October 7. In the course of heavy fighting since that date, however, the French reported that the Germans had suffered many thousands of casualties in single attacks.

Japanese Sit Down

In mid-October, Tokyo treated the world to a unique sight: all the secretaries and section chiefs of the Japanese Foreign Office resigned in a gesture that may have important repercussions on Japanese foreign policy.

The official reason for the strike was the proposal of the Foreign Minister, Admiral Nomura, to establish a new commerce bureau in the Foreign Office—similar to the existing bureau which the Cabinet would abolish—and to transfer the economics division to the Ministry of Trade. When Japan's leading diplomats, totaling 113 and including more than 50 ambassadors, ministers and consuls-general—among them Ambassador Horinouchi in Washington and Consul-General Wakasugi in New York—resigned the negotiations narrowed down to the issue as to whether the Foreign Minister could retain the right to appoint and dismiss commercial attachés. The strikers finally submitted a plan aimed at preserving the Foreign Minister's authority in negotiating trade agreements and retaining for the Foreign Office the control of the vitally important commercial personnel abroad.

Japanese diplomatic service examinations are among the hardest in the world. To pass them assures ambitious Japanese youth of official rank, social prestige, perhaps even titles. But despite their eminent position, the most brilliant Japanese diplomats seemed to have no hesitancy about resigning in a body. That meant that, if the Cabinet had accepted the resignations, a whole new diplomatic corps would have had to be created. A major power would have been represented by a raw and untrained diplomatic corps during a time of extreme tension. It was no surprise, then, that the strike was settled as quickly as possible.

The foreign trade issue, however, was merely a smoke-screen. The main issue was the final precipitation of the long struggle on the part of the civil service against the military. Japanese diplomats have long been hampered by the brusque moves of army and navy men heading the various Cabinets. During the past two and a half years Tokyo's diplomats have been faced by general American and European opposition to Japan's expansion on the Asiatic mainland. Somehow the diplomats would always manage to smooth things over, explain what Japan was trying to do and restore the confidence of more or less cynical and inimical nations. Then would come such incidents as the *Panay* sinking, or the machine-gunning of the British Ambassador while motoring through a Chinese No-man's land. Immediately, all the work done by the diplomats would come to naught while the Army and Navy cliques at the head of the Japanese government would proceed blissfully on their way, heedless of the protests of the government's civil arm.

Furthermore, the military men never thought it necessary to advise the ambassadors or ministers abroad on Japan's future moves. Hence, the envoys often found themselves hard pressed to give the right answers when some indignant, "insulted" government demanded explanations for exceptionally undiplomatic acts in the Far East.

The victory of the civilian service, therefore, may be highly important to the conduct of Japan's foreign affairs in future. It means that the much criticized fascist trend of the Japanese army and navy ruling cliques has been halted. With Tokyo's foreign affairs in the hands of a well-trained civilian diplomatic corps whose members all understand the undercurrents of world opinion, Japan is now the more likely to present its case before the world in the most convincing light.

Parish—Chicago Tribune

Quiet Please

Lindbergh Speech

In the United States, Charles A. Lindbergh, thirty-seven-year-old flyer and twelve years ago the nation's hero, threatened to be the chief casualty of the protracted debate over American neutrality. The flyer—he is also a Colonel in the reserve corps—entered the debate with a radio broadcast that, in opposing American "involvement in European wars," took almost the position of his late father, a Minnesota Congressman, who was a bitter critic of American entry into the World War. This first broadcast might have been forgotten had there not been a second. It backfired.

In the second the Colonel advocated an embargo on all "offensive" weapons, denied that the European war had anything to do with democracy, insisted that Americans and their ships keep out of the war zones. He then asked whether the British possessions in the New World, all of which the United States would presumably defend against foreign attack, had the "right to draw this hemisphere into a European war simply because they prefer the Crown of England to American independence." He went further. He predicted that eventually both mainland and islands of the Western Hemisphere would be "free from the dictates of European power."

The broadcast was immediately answered by Administration leaders in the Senate. Key Pittman remarked sarcastically that the Lindbergh speech showed "remarkable intuition" for one whose "experience in statesmanship and military affairs" did not duplicate his experience in aviation. Isolationists defended Lindbergh, and there was no doubt that many Americans agreed with him, even in regard to the British possessions, for the American guarantee to protect Canada against invasion seemed reckless to some, especially when the Dominion entered the present European war.

It was in England, however, that

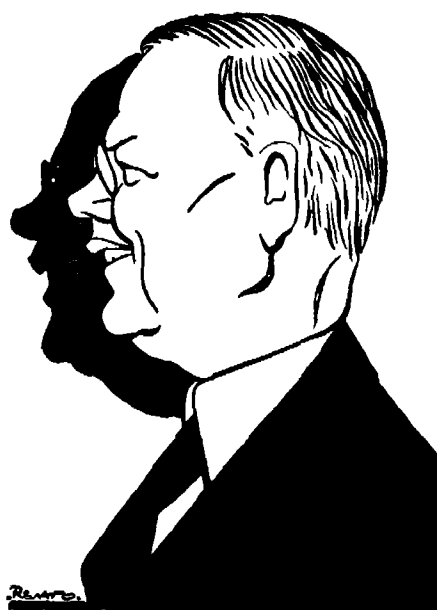
the Lindbergh remarks caused the most violent reaction. Once before he had produced a storm in the country that gave him a home after the tragic kidnapping of his child. At the time of Munich—a little more than a year ago—the Colonel was cited as authority for the charge that Russian aviation was weak, a charge that may have shaped British and French policy in the Czecho-Slovak affair. Later, when Lindbergh accepted a German decoration, there were rumors that he was a Nazi admirer.

The English press recalled all this after Broadcast No. 2. "International busybody" was one of the phrases thrown at Lindbergh. "American troublemaker number one has been shooting off his mouth again," one columnist remarked. Particular exception was taken to the observations about Canada, one Londoner asking: "Will Lindbergh's next speech recommend that Roosevelt rescue American minorities in Canada?"

American Safety Zone

In Anton Lizardo Bay, on Mexico's gulf coast, the German liner *Columbus* recently lay at anchor. The great liner, familiar to world cruise and trans-Atlantic travelers, was not formally interned and considerable secrecy surrounded her. Rumor had it that she was taking on supplies—foodstuffs, oil and what not. In the Mexican port of Tampico the German tanker *Emmy Friedrich* was taking on oil—and livestock.

What these vessels, and there were many others in Latin-American ports, were up to none knew, but many suspected. There were at least three possibilities. They were loading supplies to attempt the British blockade. Or they would become supply ships for German raiders in the Western Atlantic and the Caribbean. Or they would become raiders themselves.

The latter two possibilities, with all they might mean to commerce between North and South America, had worried governments of the Western Hemisphere from the moment Europe took up arms. The worry was publicly expressed at the Inter-American Congress, meeting in Panama in late September and early October. From twenty-one American republics came delegates, most of them in tropical white, to devise means of protecting the Hemisphere against war's dangers and of lessening the impact of war on their economies.

William Green

They met at the University of Panama for public sessions. They carried on their real work behind the closed doors of hotel rooms and embassies, taking time out occasionally for cocktails or for a swim behind the shark net at Fort Amador's bathing beach. Of all their work, none caused more subsequent talk than a declaration that would establish a three hundred-mile safety zone (replacing the traditional three-mile limit of territorial waters) from Canada south to Cape Horn and north again to the Canadian line.

This zone—always providing the belligerents would accept it—would allow normal commerce, unmolested by such potential raiders as the *Columbus* or the *Emmy Friedrich*, between North and South America. It would take the terror from reports of German submarine operations in the Caribbean and end sinkings like that of the British freighter *Clement*—presumably by a German cruiser—off the South American coast.

The protected zone, however, was a paper matter. No provision was made for the all-American naval patrol that would be necessary to make such a zone really safe, and since only the United States has ships enough to do much patrol work, a tremendous burden would be placed on the American fleet. American admirals quickly indicated that they did not like the idea. Nor did belligerents—when informed of the safety zone plan—show much enthusiasm. "Nothing doing," said the British Admiralty, unofficially. Other belligerents kept their own counsel—for the time being.

No Labor Peace

In his green-walled, oval White House office, President Roosevelt recently prepared two messages to labor. There had to be two, because labor's house is divided. The President wants reunion—the international crisis makes it the more imperative—and he urged the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. to forget their rows and make up. Apparently, however, he did not get far.

The messages were dispatched to labor. In Cincinnati, within the Hall of Mirrors at the Netherlands-Plaza Hotel, the A.F. of L., many of its members old and bent, was holding its fifty-ninth convention. Simultaneously the C.I.O. was meeting in San Francisco's Municipal Auditorium, the delegates to this second C.I.O. convention appearing notably younger than their counterparts two thousand miles away on the banks of the Ohio.

It was four years ago this autumn that the C.I.O. split off from the Federation. Their original difference was regarded as merely one between organizing industry along craft lines and along industrial lines. But the A.F. of L. itself has chartered industrial unions during the interim. The difference now has become more fundamental. It is, in short, which group shall control organized labor, and it threatens to become a life-and-death struggle.

In such a struggle the rights of labor are at stake. So also are the interests of the public, not to mention the employer. The struggle extends to politics. It may even affect the immediate course of liberal thinking in America.

President Roosevelt knows all this. For months he has tried to bring the labor civil war to an end, and last spring a peace conference did hold sessions in New York. The C.I.O. halted the negotiations; the A.F. of L. says it is ready to resume any time. Resumption was what was in the President's mind, presumably, when he sent his messages to the rival conventions, but neither message brought much response. The C.I.O. in particular indicated a readiness to fight it out along the present line if the labor war lasted for years. That prospect, labor observers feared, might be certain to bring government intervention that would neither please labor nor help its independent position.

The Pledges of Nations: A Balance Sheet

I. Hitler's Germany

MARCUS DUFFIELD

Day News Editor, New York Herald Tribune

ADOLF HITLER'S peace proposals in his speech to the Reichstag on October 6 were sufficiently plausible so that, had they come from a man with a different record, they probably would have been given the most serious consideration all over the world. Herr Hitler, however, has achieved such a reputation for promise-breaking that the answer from both France and Britain was inevitably a quick "No." As Prime Minister Chamberlain put it: "The plain truth is that, after our past experience, it is no longer possible to rely upon the unsupported word of the present German government."

Nobody, not even Mr. Chamberlain, expects perfect consistency of Hitler or of any other statesman. Nor does anyone look for untarnished veracity in the chancelleries of Europe. In general, however, it has been the desire of diplomats at least to be regarded as truthful, and to conceal their tergiversations when possible.

What makes Hitler unique is that he has elevated the broken promise to the status of an instrument of national policy.

Looking back over what the British Prime Minister calls "our past experience" with Der Fuehrer, it is hard to avoid the feeling that it took Mr. Chamberlain a long time to reach the conclusion that "it is no longer possible to rely upon the unsupported word of the present German Government." Here is the record. The words are Herr Hitler's. So are the deeds.

I. PEACE

May 17, 1933 (Hitler speaking to the Reichstag shortly after he came to power): "The German government is convinced that there can be but one task today--namely, to secure the peace of the world. . . . No new European war could replace the present unsatisfactory conditions by something better."

August 1933: "As long as I am Chancellor of the Reich there will be no war, save possibly in the event of an invasion of our territory from without."

However, on March 16, 1935, the man who was bent on peace tore up the military provisions of the Versailles Treaty and began rearming Germany. The pace he set was swift so swift that Britain and France have not been able to catch up to this day.

As Hitler's military machine grew, his protestations of pacifism became louder. On April 1 of this year he made a speech at Wilhelmshaven in which he told about the forthcoming Congress of Nuremberg, the annual Nazi party convention scheduled for this past September 2.

"I am convinced," he said, "that I have . . . rendered a great service to peace. And it is from this conviction that I determined three weeks ago to give the coming party rally the name of Party Rally of Peace. For Germany does not dream of attacking other nations."

The "Party Rally of Peace" scheduled for September in Nuremberg has been indefinitely postponed.

II. THE RHINELAND

May 17, 1933 (Hitler speaking to the Reichstag): "Germany will choose no other path than that recognized by treaties as just."

The Versailles Treaty forbade Germany to erect any fortifications or maintain any troops on the left bank of the Rhine River. Thus there was set up a safety zone to protect France and Belgium from German attack. In 1925 Germany, France, England and Italy signed the Pact of Locarno, a series of treaties designed to guarantee peace. In one of the treaties, Germany voluntarily and specifically reaffirmed the promise to keep her Rhineland area demilitarized.

January 30, 1934 (Hitler speaking to the Reichstag): "After the solution of this question [return of the Saar territory] the German government is willing and determined to accept in its innermost soul, as well as external formulation, the pact of Locarno."

May 21, 1935 (Speaking to the Reichstag): "The German government will adhere scrupulously to each voluntarily signed treaty, even if its conclusion occurred before this government seized power. Particularly it will fulfill all obligations resulting from the Locarno Pact as long as the other contracting powers on their part are ready to stand behind this pact."

Nine months later, on March 7, 1936, Hitler repudiated the Locarno treaty and marched German troops into the demilitarized Rhineland zone.

III. AUSTRIA

At this point a pattern begins to emerge. Hitler is developing a technique of making and breaking promises which he will continue to use as a diplomatic weapon as his aggressions succeed one another. The tech nique is this: (1) Promise solemnly not to commit a certain aggression; (2) Commit it; (3) Promise never to offend any more; (4) Offend. And so on, *ad bellum*.

On the same day that Hitler remilitarized the Rhine after having promised not to, he reassured the world that he was satisfied now, and planned no more mischief. He announced to the Reichstag:

"I have removed the question of the everlasting European revision of frontiers from the atmosphere of public discussion in Germany."

He added a statement which has since become famous:

"After three years I believe I can today regard the struggle for German equality as over . . . We have no territorial demands to make in Europe."

Europe breathed more easily. Hitler's pattern had not, at that time, become familiar.

There were a few cynical souls, however, who suspected him of having designs on Austria. He had said he had none:

January 30, 1934 (Speaking to the Reichstag): "I reject the contention of the Austrian government that any intervention against the Austrian state has been undertaken or planned by the Reich."

On June 14, 1934, Hitler went to Venice and personally promised Mussolini that (in the words of *The New York Times* correspondent), "Austrian independence must be maintained at all costs."

May 21, 1935 (Speech to the Reichstag): "Germany has neither the wish nor the intention to mix in internal Austrian affairs, or annex or unite with Austria."

On March 12, 1938, Germany seized Austria and incorporated it into the Reich.

And, as usual, Hitler held out to the world the pleasant vision of a now contented Germany. On March 19 he stated before the Reichstag: "Germany wants only peace. She does not want to add to the sorrows of other nations."

IV. Czecho-Slovakia

March 7, 1936 (Speech to the Reichstag): "Czecho-Slovakia, like Poland, always primarily followed the policy of representing their own national interests. Germany does not desire to attack these states."

Close observers of Hitler's technique might well have begun worrying about Czecho-Slovakia right then. Two years later, Hitler began clamoring to annex the Sudeten strip of Czecho-Slovakia's territory. But that strip was all he wanted; as he explained to Prime Minister Chamberlain, Germany's interest lay only in bringing Germans back to the Reich; his foreign policy was strictly limited by the Nazi racial theory.

September 26, 1938 (Hitler speaking in the Sportpalast): "We do not wish at all to have other nationalities among us. . . . I further assured him [Mr. Chamberlain] and I repeat here, that if this problem is solved, there will be no further territorial problems in Europe for Germany.

Chancellor Hitler

And I further assured him that . . . the Czech state no longer interests me and that, if you please, I give him the guaranty: We do not want any Czechs."

Mr. Chamberlain believed Hitler, and allowed him to take the Sudeten areas on October 1. In the Munich Pact, Hitler put in writing his promise to respect Czecho-Slovakia's new borders and her independence. The British Prime Minister went home from Munich happily exclaiming, "Peace in our time!"

On January 30, 1939, speaking to the Reichstag, Hitler reiterated his promise of peace: "We may now regard this process of growth of the German nation as virtually completed . . . All the German nation wants is peace and quiet."

Less than six weeks later, on March 14, 1939, Hitler marched his troops into Prague and wiped Czecho-Slovakia off the map.

V. Poland

On January 26, 1934, less than a year after Hitler came to power, he signed a ten-year treaty of friendship and arbitration with Poland. Excerpts from the text of this treaty between the German government and the Polish government:

"Should any disputes arise between them, and agreement thereon not be reached by direct negotiation, they will in each particular case, on the basis of mutual agreement, seek a solution by other peaceful means . . . In no circumstances, however, will they proceed to the application of force for the purpose of reaching a decision in such disputes.

"The two governments base their action on the fact that the maintenance and guarantee of a lasting peace between their countries is an essential pre-condition for the general peace of Europe."

Hitler was pleased with his treaty with Poland, and kept assuring the Poles that their mutual friendship was eternal. The Poles should have become increasingly nervous.

May 21, 1935 (Speaking to the Reichstag): "We recognize, with the understanding and the heartfelt friendship of true nationalists, the Polish state as the home of a great nationally-conscious people."

February 20, 1938 (Speaking to the Reichstag): ". . . both the city of Danzig and Germany respect Polish rights. And so the way to a friendly understanding has been successfully paved, an understanding which . . . has today succeeded . . . in finally taking the poison out of the relations between Germany and Poland and transforming them into a sincere, friendly co-operation."

September 26, 1938 (Speaking in the Sportpalast): "There was a danger that Poles and Germans would regard each other as hereditary enemies . . . I succeeded, in precisely twelve months, in coming to an agreement which, for ten years in the first instance, entirely removed the danger of a conflict. We are all convinced that this agreement will bring lasting pacification."

January 30, 1939 (Speaking to the Reichstag): "We have just celebrated the fifth anniversary of the conclusion of our non-aggression pact with Poland . . . One only needs to ask oneself what might have happened to Europe if this agreement, which brought such relief, had not been entered into five years ago . . . During the troubled months of the past year the friendship between Germany and Poland was one of the reassuring factors in the political life of Europe."

Eight months later, there was no Poland.

Hitler did not stop weaving his pattern. On August 25, 1939, five days before he signed the order for German troops to attack Poland, he held out to Great Britain the most alluring promise he had ever made. I quote from a telegram from Sir Nevile Henderson, British ambassador in Berlin, to the British Foreign Minister, Viscount Halifax:

"Among various points mentioned by Herr Hitler were: . . . that he was by nature an artist, not a politician, and that once the Polish question was settled, he would end his life as an artist, and not as a war-monger."

On October 6, the Polish question having been settled to Hitler's satisfaction, he failed to offer his resignation so that he could end his life painting pictures, but he did promise peace to Europe and limitation of armaments.

This time few persons outside Germany believed him.

VI. Bolshevist Menace

Hitler's frequent tirades against Soviet Russia and his anti-Comintern pact are so familiar that quotations are unnecessary. His world-shaking turn-about in clasping Stalin to his bosom two months ago is still fresh in every mind. The subject is brought up here only to cite one instance in which Hitler told what—unfortunately for Germany—may possibly turn out to be the absolute truth.

In his book *Mein Kampf*, written before he came to power, Hitler discussed and denounced the idea of a German alliance with Russia. "How can it be made clear to the German worker that Bolshevism is a damnable crime against humanity," he asked, "if we ally ourselves with the organizations of this fiendish scheme, thus acknowledging it on a large scale?"

Not only would an alliance with Russia be immoral, Hitler went on, but it would be worthless anyhow because Russia would not be able to render much help to Germany either militarily or economically. All it would do would be alarm Britain and France, and precipitate a war. Then Hitler wrote these two dramatic sentences in *Mein Kampf:*

"Thus, indeed, in the formation of an alliance with Russia lies the direction for the next war. Its result would be the end of Germany."

II. A Chain of Broken Promises

MARK SULLIVAN

Historian, author, Our Times, *syndicated newspaper columnist*

WHAT is the matter with the world? Why does it seem that civilization is deteriorating into bloodshed, and misery, and barbarism?

There is no simple answer, of course. The best one can do is to trace single threads of an extremely tangled web. But there is one thread which, it seems to me, warrants particular examination; there is one series of recent events so similar that the very repetition seems to make a pattern of high and somber significance.

Few will deny that one important factor in civilization is ethics—morality—or that the moral fabric of our civilization is held together by faith —faith slowly built up by the long observance of honor among men and among nations, the conscientious fulfilment of promises.

Promise-breaking by individuals cures itself—people just stop relying on the faithless ones. But when nations break promises, the individual is unable to protect himself. He is helpless, and his helplessness leads to the kind of frightened apprehension that today we see all about us.

Some of the promise-breaking has, indeed, been unavoidable. But innocence of intent did not lessen the harm done to the world's sense of security. Avoiding, then, discussion of intent, let us look at the bare record.

David Lloyd-George

In 1914, Germany was under promise to respect the neutrality of Belgium. It was the most solemn of promises, a written contract signed by Germany, Britain and France. That promise Germany broke. "Just for a scrap of paper, Britain is going to make war," was the German view.

The violation of one promise thus launched the World War and the War started a chain of promise-breaking.

President Wilson, speaking for the Allies, made a promise to the German people. He told them that if the German people would unseat the monarchial and military caste of rules, the Allies would make a peace in which there would be "no annexations, no contributions, no punitive damages."

Relying upon that promise, the German people asked for an armistice. Wilson, replying in behalf of the Allies, specifically incorporated his Fourteen Points and his "subsequent addresses" into the Armistice contract.

But when the Peace Conference met at Versailles, the Allies, especially Lloyd-George and Clemenceau, would not let Wilson live up to his promise. Lloyd-George meanwhile, in an election in which he sought renewal of his tenure as Prime Minister, had promised the British people to "make Germany pay the whole cost of the war," "pay to the last farthing." And Lloyd-George and Clemenceau had made a secret promise to Italy, inconsistent with Wilson's to Germany.

To that second link in the chain of promises broken we can trace the conditions that most distress the world today.

Another of Wilson's promises to the Germans was to set up "a general association of nations . . . . for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike." Wilson did set up the League of Nations. But his promise

(Continued on page 62)

The Second World War

Five experts on history-in-the-making interpret and report on important events in Europe and the U. S.

I. Stalin in Europe: *The Balkans*

VERA MICHELES DEAN

Research Director, Foreign Policy Association, author,* Europe in Retreat. *Returned September 14 from trip through Central Europe

THE Balkans, Europe's southeastern cockpit, devastated by the two Balkan wars of 1912–1913 and the World War of 1914–1918, once more seem destined to serve as the arena for a struggle between Russia and Germany. Russia's triumphal re-entry into the Balkans, where it played an important role before 1914, has created an entirely new set of problems for this region, which after the Munich accord of 1938 appeared to have become a sphere of influence for Germany and its axis partner, Italy.

The future of the Balkans is of direct concern to the totalitarian dictatorships, as it is to the Western democracies. For Nazi Germany, as for the Imperial Germany of the Kaiser, the Balkans are an important reservoir of primary products, richer and far more accessible than overseas colonies. They could provide 50 per cent of the foodstuffs and raw materials Germany must import (excepting wool, jute, rubber, cotton, and coffee, which are either not produced or not exported by Balkan countries).

In 1938 southeastern Europe (Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece) supplied 10 per cent of Germany's imports (and only 1½ per cent of Britain's), and took more than 10 per cent of Germany's exports (as compared with 1½ per cent of Britain's). Unlike France and Britain, Germany has no capital to invest in the Balkans. But Hitler's theory is that what counts in national economy is labor, not money; the Nazis plan to furnish the Balkans with highly-trained labor and technical skill. According to the Nazis, the resources of this region—cereals, livestock, timber, tobacco, bauxite, iron ore, steel, copper, manganese and oil—should not be left in the hands of backward peoples, lacking in modern technique, but should be developed intensively to serve the needs of Germany's predominantly industrial economy.

The fact that the Balkans are inhabited not by uncivilized African natives but by peoples who trace their culture to the dawn of European history does not disturb the Nazis, for whom all non-Germans—especially Slavs—are inferior peoples. Germany does not want the Balkans to continue the industrialization begun after 1919 and intensified during the world depression, when all countries sought economic self-sufficiency; nor does it want them to engage in intensive farming, except for production of the soya bean. Germany's needs would best be served if they remain primarily producers of foodstuffs and raw materials, providing a convenient market for German manufactured goods.

From the German point of view, it seems entirely logical that the Balkans should serve as a sort of German colony. The Nazis cannot understand why France, which is practically self-sufficient in food, or Britain, which commands the resources of its overseas empire, should interfere with German domination of this region.

But Germany's interest in the Balkans is not solely economic. In 1939, as in 1914, the Reich regards the valley of the Danube as the highroad to the Near and Middle East, where it has attempted to arouse Arab sentiment against Britain, Germany's principal opponent in world politics.

Unlike Germany, the Soviet Union, which already possesses large supplies of wheat, oil, iron and steel, does not need the foodstuffs and raw materials of the Balkans. Its ties with the Balkan countries—especially the predominantly Slav populations of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia—are ties of sentiment and tradition. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the Slavs of southeastern Europe looked to Russia for support in their struggle to throw off the yoke of the Ottoman Empire, and for protection against German and Hungarian encroachments. This support and protection pre-war Russia, the self-proclaimed champion of Pan-Slavism against Pan-Germanism, was always ready to give.

But Russia's participation in Balkan affairs was not entirely disinterested. It had a direct interest in control of the Straits, which command the entrance to the Black Sea and, through that sea, to the rich Russian provinces of the Ukraine, the Crimea and the Caucasus, which at different times have been coveted by France, Britain and Germany.

While Russian influence in the Balkans declined after the Bolshevik revolution, which aroused the fears of the ruling classes, the peasant masses of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia retained their pro-Russian sympathies, and displayed considerable interest in Soviet methods of collective

farming. Unlike the Germans, the Russians have no feeling of superiority toward the Balkan peoples. This, combined with the old appeal of Pan-Slavism and the new appeal of communism, may draw the Balkan region —especially the Slavs—away from Germany and Italy in the direction *of the Soviet Union.*

SINCE Germany's interest in the Balkans is chiefly economic, while Russia's is chiefly political-sentimental, these two great powers might possibly pursue parallel action in that region without coming into immediate conflict. But if Germany should be driven by war necessities to press the Balkan countries for increased deliveries of foodstuffs and raw materials, these countries—especially Bulgaria and Yugoslavia—may turn to the Soviet Union for protection against Germany, with the resulting possibility of a clash between the U.S.S.R. and the Third Reich.

Whatever may be the future of Soviet-German relations in the Balkans, Russia's reappearance in that region bodes no good for Italy.

For Italy the Balkans are important both as a source of foodstuffs and raw materials, and as a strategic base from which hostile countries might menace its vulnerable Adriatic coast-line and its communications with Italian colonies in East Africa. Following its failure at the Paris Peace Conference to receive Albania as its share of the war spoils, Italy first established an economic protectorate over that country and then, on Good Friday 1939, occupied its territory. From this point of vantage Italy is in a position to menace both Greece and Yugoslavia, just as from the Dodecanese Islands it can menace Turkey.

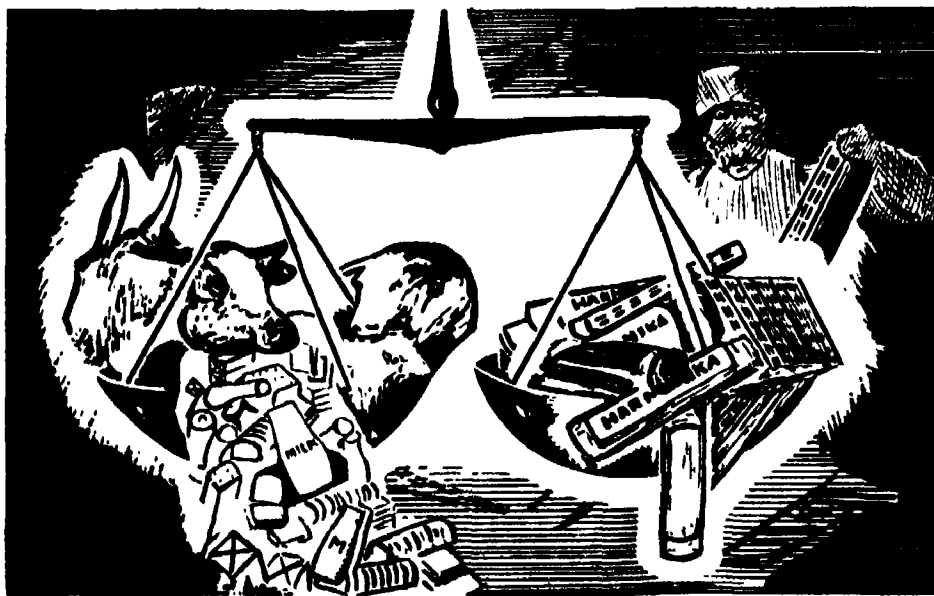
On the whole, however, the chief purpose of Italy's policy in the Balkans has not been so much outright expansion as the effort to organize an economic bloc which might withstand both the economic pressure of Nazi Germany and the political pressure of Soviet Russia. The price Hitler promised to pay for Italy's support of the Rome-Berlin axis, formed in 1936, was a share in the control the two dictators planned to establish over the Balkans. Except for the occupation of Albania, Italy has profited little from the axis.

Now that Hitler, voluntarily or not, has brought Russia into the Balkans, Italy is in grave danger of losing the advantages it had hoped to achieve with Nazi support. Not only do the Italians, 95 per cent of whom are Catholics, oppose the spread of communism in that region, but they fear further Soviet advances there on both strategic and economic grounds. It may therefore be expected that Italy will seek to obtain Balkan support, especially from Turkey, against Soviet expansion in the eastern Mediterranean. A further complication is the conclusion on October 19th of a military pact between Turkey and the Allies. It may be that Turkey, prompted by Great Britain, will ask Italy to promise continued neutrality as the price for aid in the Balkans.

For the Western powers—France, Britain and, to a lesser extent, the United States — the Balkans have been not so much an area for the propagation of their political doctrines or a source of raw materials, as a backward region, like China or some Latin American countries, where capital could be invested profitably. Whatever industrial enterprises exist in the Balkans—oil in Rumania, iron and steel in Rumania and Yugoslavia, bauxite in Yugoslavia and Hungary—have been developed principally with French, British, Czech (now German) or American capital.

French interests, moreover, had made heavy investments in the Skoda works of Czechoslovakia, which supplied most of the Balkan countries with armaments before September 1938—and continue to do so now that these interests have been sold to Germany. To this extent, France, Britain and the United States may be said to have encouraged a course directly contrary to Germany's by fostering the industrialization of the Balkan countries rather than the development of their agriculture.

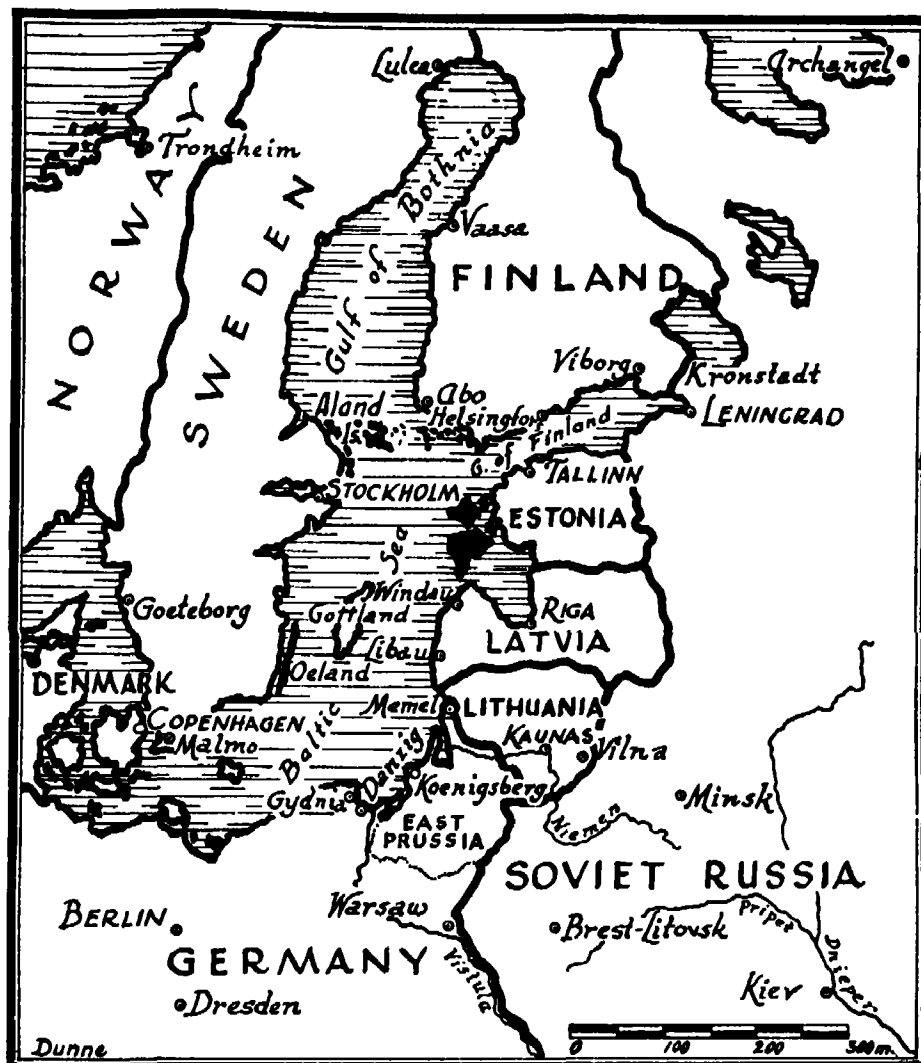
THE fact that the Balkan states have found it difficult, if not impossible, to dispose of their surplus of cereals and tobacco in the West has made them peculiarly dependent on Germany, which has been ready to take all they produce, partly for home consumption, partly for re-export. Germany, however, was unable to pay cash for these purchases, and instead developed a network of barter agreements, under which the Balkan countries were forced to receive payment in the form of German manufactured goods and technical contracts. These barter deals appeared tempting to the Balkan countries at the depths of the world depression. But they soon discovered that they had to accept whatever goods Germany chose to send them; that these goods were often of inferior quality and high price; that purchases of armaments from Germany threatened to place them at Germany's mercy in case of war, since parts and replacements would have to be obtained from the Reich; that Germany, whose industry was more and more preoccupied with the war needs of the Reich, was falling behind on its deliveries; and that they needed free exchange for the purchase of goods Germany could not supply.

This economic domination was reenforced by strong political weapons —German support of native pro-Nazi propaganda and German demands for the reincorporation of all their "blood brothers" in the Third Reich. With

great astuteness, German propaganda in this region was directed at two of its most vulnerable spots—social maladjustments and the problems of national minorities. While several of the new states established in Eastern Europe after the World War had effected agrarian reforms, they had not yet been completely carried out; and in Hungary, for example, the feudal system of large estates remained practically undisturbed, in spite of growing peasant demands for redistribution of the land. Nazi groups in this region promised that, once they were in power, they would redistribute large estates at the expense of the aristocracy and the Jews; while white-collar workers, shopkeepers, unemployed intellectuals and others who formed the backbone of the Nazi parties were told they would receive jobs as soon as the Jewish question had been "liquidated."

THIS agitation found fertile ground in a region where the war had shaken but not demolished the superstructure of royal and aristocratic privilege; where much of the industrial control was in the hands of foreigners; where the peasants lived for the most part in abject poverty; and where liberal and socialist movements among workers and intellectuals had been systematically suppressed.

This entire region was ripe for profound social transformation; and the only question was whether it would be effected by the native dictatorships themselves, or forced on the Balkans by the simultaneous advance of Nazism and Communism.

In a similar way Nazi propaganda utilized the grievances of national minorities. The Balkans are plagued by the problem of national minorities, scattered in their midst by successive migrations and invasions. Each of these national minorities remains true to its cultural traditions, its language, its religion. Each longs—or is encouraged by propaganda to long—for reunion with its homeland.

When the post-war system failed to provide a retaining wall against Hitler's *Drang nach Osten*, the Allies found it impossible, for various reasons, to come to the rescue of the small nations whose independence was menaced by Germany and Russia. While they fulfilled their pledge to Poland by entering the war against Germany, they did nothing to rescue Austria, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania. The Balkan countries, having witnessed this debacle, put little faith in protection from France and Britain, and were forced to consider alternatives.

Stalin's drive to the west has already gained Russia a series of important military, naval, and air bases in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Two of the most valuable are Hiiu and Saare which are blacked out above.

One alternative was offered by Hitler in his Reichstag speech of October 6, when he outlined a plan for the resettlement of minorities "to remove at least part of the material for European conflict," without indicating how it would be done. Such a resettlement is an enormous task. It might well take the fifty or one hundred years assigned for it by Hitler, and would entail one of the greatest migrations of peoples in modern history, as well as infinite suffering and painful readjustment for families which have been settled for centuries in the affected countries.

Germany alone claims nearly 3,500,000 "blood brothers" scattered in Hungary, Yugoslavia, Rumania and the Soviet Union. Hungary claims nearly 2,500,000 "blood brothers" in Rumania and Yugoslavia; Russia, 200,000 in Bessarabia, a Russian province seized by Rumania in 1918; Bulgaria, 1,200,000 in Rumania, Yugoslavia and Greece. If these peoples are returned to their "racial" homelands without the territory on which they live, they are bound to create grave economic dislocations both in the countries they leave and in those they enter. If they are to be returned with the territories they inhabit, then the countries which must surrender these territories may resist such dismemberments.

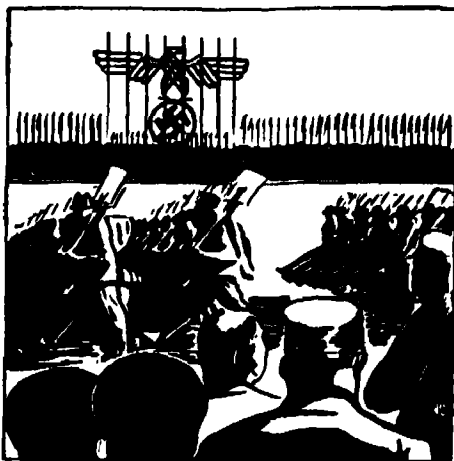
THE Soviet Union has a different solution. Within its own borders it has combined the dictatorial rule of the central government and the Communist party with a considerable measure of cultural autonomy for the 150 nationalities which compose its population. The Soviet system is based not only on racial, but on class considerations, and the framework of the Union of Soviet Socialist Re-

publics was devised to permit the eventual inclusion of all national groups whose members have voluntarily or involuntarily accepted the tenets of communism.

Whatever the relative merits of the Nazi and Soviet schemes for a new order in the Balkans, the Balkan peoples themselves are beginning to grope their way toward still another alternative—the time-honored system of a Danubian federation, realized in rough form by the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which in perspective appears as a far more desirable set-up than one created by the peace treaties of 1919-1920. In such a federation the member states would retain political and cultural autonomy, but would seek to collaborate on questions of finance, foreign trade and foreign policy. Such a federation might have a monarch as its ruler, possibly Archduke Otto of Hapsburg, who has liberal views and is said to be ready to establish a constitutional régime with wide representation for workers and peasants.

The truth of the matter is that the peoples of the Balkans are sick and tired of being used as pawns by the great powers. The slogan "the Balkans for the Balkan peoples" has gained ground since Hitler's rise to power and the subsequent Franco-British retreat from southeastern Europe. In the Balkan pact of 1934 Turkey, Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia agreed to maintain the territorial *status quo*, and mutually guaranteed the security of their Balkan frontiers.

ONLY two countries in southeastern Europe are dissatisfied with the *status quo*—Hungary, which wants the return of territory taken from it by Rumania and Yugoslavia at the end of the World War; and Bulgaria, which wants to recover territories it lost to Rumania and Yugoslavia. But both countries have been alarmed by the expansion of Germany, and seem more ready than they have been in the past twenty years to subordinate their ambitions.

Rumania, equally alarmed by German and Russian designs on the Balkans, has tried to meet Hungary and Russia half-way by granting belated reforms to its Hungarian and Ukrainian minorities; and in October Rumania and Hungary, which had seemed at swords' points earlier in 1939, announced partial demobilization as a gesture of goodwill. Once Hungary feels that it can obtain revision by peaceful means, without the armed intervention of Germany or Italy, it may feel less under compulsion to follow in their wake. It is significant that, soon after Russia's invasion of Poland, Hungary, which has unpleasant memories of the post-war Communist régime of Bela Kun, renewed diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, broken off in February 1939, when it had joined Hitler's anti-Comintern pact.

Yugoslavia, too, has attempted to set its house in order by adopting a more conciliatory policy toward its Roman Catholic Croats, who were irked by the dictatorial rule of the Orthodox Serbs. The demand of the Croats, led by Dr. Matchek, for a large measure of self-government was finally granted by the Belgrade government in August 1939; the agreement may open a new page in Yugoslavia's history. As Slavs, the peoples of Yugoslavia, despite their internal dissensions, have little love for either Germany or Italy. Until recently, however, the Belgrade government had followed a distinctly anti-Soviet policy, partly because of the influence of White Russians exiled in Yugoslavia. Russia's re-entrance into Balkan politics abruptly altered this situation. It was reported in September that the Yugoslav government, reversing its policy of twenty years, would establish diplomatic relations with Moscow.

Similar interest in Russia has been displayed by Bulgaria, which has even expressed the hope that the U.S.S.R. might help it to recover Dobrudja from Rumania. Immediately after Russia's invasion of Poland, Bulgaria, which also had had no diplomatic relations with the Soviet government and had followed a pro-Italian rather than pro-German course, opened negotiations with Russia for a trade treaty. While Bulgaria's revisionist aspirations might tend to align it with Germany, Hungary and Italy, King Boris, who has held down socialism and Fascism with equal firmness, has on the whole steered an independent course; and seems inclined, under Yugoslavia's influence, to soft-pedal Bulgarian demands for Dobrudja.

Greece, more than the other Balkan countries, has been affected by fear of Italian rather than German expansion. When Italy invaded Albania, Greece felt directly menaced, recalling Mussolini's occupation of Corfu in 1923. The Greeks suspect that Italy would like the use of their harbors, especially Salonika, which in the World War served as a base for the Allies. Italy, however, assured the dictatorship of General Metaxas—who has been accused of pro-German sympathies—that it would respect Greek independence. Its guarantee was countered by Britain, which gave Greece a pledge of assistance in case of aggression by a foreign power.

When the present war broke out, Italy took infinite pains to convince Greece that it would remain neutral, and had no designs on Greek territory. To implement these assurances, Italy in September signed an agreement with Greece, by which the two countries undertook to withdraw the troops they had maintained on the Greco-Albanian frontier since Italy's occupation of Albania. While Greece remains sympathetic to Britain, and respects the strength of the British navy, its economic interests—notably the necessity to dispose of its tobacco crop—make economic collaboration with Germany imperative.

Turkey feels even more suspicious of Italian motives than Greece, recalling that at the Paris Peace Conference Italy demanded a share of the territories in Asia Minor once held by the Ottoman Empire. But here, too, Italy has gone out of its way to convince the Turkish government of its peaceful intentions, and has reduced its Dodecanese garrisons to normal.

Turkey, which controls the entrance to the Black Sea, has been assiduously courted by its war ally, Germany; its post-war friend, the Soviet Union; and its World War enemies, France and Britain. To these blandishments Turkey, which has assumed the leadership of the Balkan countries, has replied that its chief

concern was to preserve its neutrality while maintaining friendly relations with all the great powers. While the Turkish Foreign Minister, M. Saracoglu, was marking time in Moscow, where he had been summoned for negotiations by the Soviet government, Turkey sent a military mission to London on October 3; and two days later the head of that mission, General Orbay, initialed a British-Turkish mutual aid pact which had been hanging fire since last May, when the two countries undertook to help each other in case of foreign aggression.

Both London and Ankara declared that their pact was not incompatible with any other obligations the Turkish government might want to undertake. There appeared to be a conflict, however, between Turkey's pledge to aid Britain and France, and Russia's reported demand that Turkey close the Dardanelles to French and British warships which might seek to aid Rumania, another recipient of Allied pledges, against German—or Soviet—aggression. This conflict might be eliminated if the Allies should decide that their mutual aid pacts with Turkey did not call for resistance to the Soviet Union, which they apparently regard as a valuable counterweight to German expansion.

Whatever the outcome of these complicated diplomatic maneuvers, three points stand out. First, France and Britain, for the time being at least, have lost the prestige and influence they once enjoyed in the Balkans, chiefly because of their own failure to demonstrate their readiness to protect the Balkan peoples against encroachments by Russia and Germany.

Secondly, Russia now challenges German and Italian interests in this area, which Hitler had until recently regarded as a Pan-German preserve; and by that same token makes Italy wonder whether it can derive any tangible benefits from its Axis partnership. At the same time, Russia's re-entrance on the Balkan scene appears to have given the Balkan countries courage to resist Nazi encroachments.

Thirdly and finally, the Balkan countries themselves hope to effect a new deal, without interference by the great powers, and to preserve their neutrality. In their efforts to reconcile their age-old feuds and to establish a workable Balkan federation lies perhaps their greatest hope.

II. Stalin in Europe: *The Baltic*

HENRY C. WOLFE

Author, The German Octopus, *lecturer. Returned October 6 from European tour, including Russia and the Baltic*

ONE afternoon late last summer I was sitting on a bathing beach near Tallinn, Estonia, talking with a native business man and watching the crowds swimming or basking on the sunny sand. Behind us a band was playing Strauss waltzes and hundreds of people were seated around small tables eating and drinking. Warm days are none too common on Estonia's sea-coast even in August, so the pleasant weather on this occasion drew a large crowd to the beach. Everything looked peaceful and the throngs seemed happy and carefree. Yet this was only a surface impression. The Estonians, like their neighbors the Finns and Letts, were uneasy. The threat of war was looming ever more darkly on the horizon. And the people in the little Baltic countries, always informed about international affairs, were deeply concerned. They were watching intently the drawn-out British-French-Soviet negotiations still dragging on in Moscow.

The Baltic peoples realized that the Kremlin conversations were tremendously important. They were not like the publics in Britain, France and America, who believed the confident and optimistic bulletins issued in London. The Estonians, Finns and Letts knew that in the Moscow conferences all was not going well for peace and security. They were skeptical of London reports that except for an academic definition as to what constituted "indirect aggression" the negotiations were successfully consummated. In the Baltic capitals informed observers suspected that Josef Stalin was having his revenge upon Chamberlain and Daladier for their snub of the Soviet at Munich last year. In Estonia, especially, people suspected that Stalin was playing with his Western guests much as a cat plays with a mouse. A few officials in the Baltic nations whispered to me the suspicion that the Reich and the Soviet were making a deal. My business man friend on the beach at Tallinn was of that opinion.

Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov

"We who live in the Baltic States," he told me, "are like bones lying between two fierce, hungry dogs. As long as the Nazi mastiff and the Soviet wolf-hound are snarling at each other, we bones are comparatively safe. Neither dog will allow the other to grab us. If either of these dogs were to fight with a third dog, then the neutral dog might seize us. But what we fear most of all is the possibility that the dogs may become friends. In that case they would divide the bones between them, or one dog would let his friend take all the bones, while he got bones somewhere else."

Finns, Estonians and Letts all feared some kind of deal that would put the little Baltic republics under Russian domination. Down in Lithuania people felt a little differently. They had no common frontier with the Soviet; their apprehension of Russia was not acute. And the Lithuanians still smarted from the humiliations suffered from Poland. Kovno remained only their "provisional capital." Their real capital, they declared, remained, and would always remain, the city of Vilna taken away from

them in 1920 by the Poles. On Lithuanian maps the Vilna region was labeled "occupied territory." But even though the Lithuanians had their own special fears and their own particular ambitions, they realized that their future was bound up at least in some measure with that of their small Baltic neighbors.

If we made a journey northeastward from East Prussia and followed the cold waters of the Baltic we would pass through provinces inhabited by hardy peoples whose ancestors came there at least a thousand years ago. Ethnically, the Lithuanians and Letts are related, but neither of these peoples is related to the Estonians. The Estonians belong to the same ethnic group as their neighbors, the Finns, just across the Gulf of Finland. Intermingled with the Baltic peoples are considerable minorities of Russians, White Russians, Poles and Swedes. Until early October, 1939, there were about 115,000 Germans scattered through the Baltic lands. Today "blood brothers" of the Nazis are being transplanted to the Reich under an agreement made between Hitler and Stalin. The astute master of the Kremlin is taking no risk of a quarrel later on with Hitler over the Soviet's treatment of Germans in the Baltic lands.

For centuries the Baltic peoples have been forced to live under one alien master after another. Their provinces have been battlegrounds where Teutonic Knights carried fire and sword; where Tartar hordes from the East ravaged and enslaved. But even the ruthless Teutonic Knights were never able to bring the bellicose Lithuanians under their sway. The Letts, who boast the almost incredible number of 200,000 folksongs, were under German domination from 1158 to 1562. Later, they suffered from Polish, Swedish and Russian occupations. But the Letts could not be won by German and Swedish cultures and Russian harshness failed to destroy Lettish national consciousness. The Estonians were attacked seven centuries ago by Waldemar II of Denmark. But the pugnacious Esths kept up such a continual revolt against the Danes that a century and a quarter later Waldemar IV was glad to sell his portion of the Esth provinces to the Teutonic Knights for 19,000 marks. At about the time that the Danes invaded the lands of the Esths, Sweden was taking over the regions inhabited by Finns.

The location of the Baltic provinces has long made them valuable prizes for empire builders. Whether it was the Swedes or Germans pushing eastward or the Russians driving westward, the eastern Baltic lands were battlefields of the rival imperialisms. Riga, the capital of Latvia, is one of the most important windows on the Baltic for the vast hinterland to the eastward. To hold it the Germanic Brothers of the Sword, the Russians under Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great, the Swedes under Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII, and the Poles under King Sigismund II waged savage warfare at the mouth of the Dwina river. The Russians finally gained possession of the lands populated by the Lithuanians, Letts, Estonians and Finns, but the Letts and Estonians continued to live under German economic domination.

This German economic supremacy in some of the eastern Baltic provinces dates from the days of the famed Hanseatic League, when Memel, Riga and other cities in this region were members of this powerful and influential association of northern European cities. German merchants and traders trekked overland or sailed the Baltic, bringing the Baltic cities into communication with the towns of Western Europe. German landowners formed a feudal aristocracy that ruled the Estonian and Lettish peasantry. Even after Tsarist Russia had taken over complete domination of the Esths and Letts, the Germans (called Balts) continued their economic rule of the provinces where they lived. This situation continued down to the World War.

While Europe was torn by the greatest war in history, and the huge Russian empire was beginning to break up, the Liths, Letts, Esths and Finns began their struggle for freedom. In spite of the most cruel and relentless Russian efforts to denationalize these Baltic subjects of the Tsar, each people maintained its own language, its own literature, its own ideals and national aspirations. The backbone of each people was the peasant. The Baltic peasants are hardy individualists who insisted on keeping their own customs and loyalties. Unlike the Russian peasant who lives in a village, the Baltic farmer prefers to have his own homestead. He is independent in his living and thinking.

In the chaos of the late World War days and the early Armistice period, the Liths, Letts, Esths and Finns founded nations of their own. But it was no simple task. For many months after fighting had stopped on the Western front, free-booting German armies roamed through the Baltic countries. Moreover, Bolshevik forces were trying to bring Latvia, Estonia and Finland under their control. And the Liths were at grips with the Poles over Vilna and the surrounding countryside. In addition to the armed conflicts, each of the new countries had to cope with the economic problems inherent in years of war and revolutionary upheaval. There were famines and serious epidemics. But all of the Baltic countries emerged safely from this trying postwar period.

One of the first measures taken by the new nations was a program of land reform. The great estates formerly owned by the German and Russian nobility were broken up and made available to landless peasants. The primary object was to make more land available to the local farmers, but it also accomplished a political purpose. It broke the power of the Baltic Barons, a hardy caste who sought to have the Baltic domains incorporated with Germany. Indeed, the German nobility in the Esth provinces demanded that the region in which they lived should be made a duchy in union with Prussia. Baron Dellingshausen, leader of the Baltic nobility, forwarded a request to Germany asking that the lands along the Gulf of Finland be incorporated in the Reich. On April 21, 1918, when German armies seemed to be winning their great offensive on the Western front, Wilhelm II agreed to add the Esth country to his expanding domains. The Allied victory put an end to the Reich's plans for annexing the Baltic provinces, but it by no means dampened the ambitions of the Pan-Germans.

During the nineteen twenties the

Baltic countries made steady progress. They quickly cleared away the débris left from the war, strengthened their economies, developed international trade relations, and raised the standard of living. Indeed, the Finns, Esths and Letts advanced quite as rapidly as any other peoples in Europe. The Liths, though moving more slowly, were headed in the right direction. All four countries proved to be staunch little republics vitalized by strong patriotism and aspiration toward social progress. Riga, Tallinn and Helsingfors became modern, attractive capitals, whose clean streets, modern theatres, comfortable hotels and excellent stores brought many foreign visitors. The inscription, *"Tevzemei Un Brivibai"* (For Fatherland and Liberty), on the Liberty Monument, in the heart of Riga, expresses the national feeling not only in Latvia but also in the other Baltic countries.

Hungary and Rumania are next in line for a drive to the east. Whether the push will come from Berlin or Moscow is not yet apparent. To the Allied cause the Turkish Dardanelles are of vital importance.

This was the situation in the Baltic States on January 30, 1933, when Adolf Hitler came to power. Even before the ex-Austrian became Chancellor of the Reich, his shadow had been thrown across the Baltic countries. For in *Mein Kampf* he had said that if the new Reich wanted land in Europe it must be obtained at the expense of Russia. Germans "must again march along the road of the former Teutonic Knights in order to win with the sword soil for the German plow, and for the nation its daily bread." The Baltic nations seem destined to be part of the *Lebensraum* (living space) which Hitler was staking out for the Third Reich.

In accordance with Hitler's imperialistic plans, Nazi agents penetrated the German minorities in the Baltic States and organized units of National Socialism. They became the *Vorposten* (advance guards) on the Reich's route from East Prussia to the Gulf of Finland. A Balt from Tallinn, Dr. Alfred Rosenberg, born a Russian subject, became one of Hitler's closest advisers on international relations and was given the post of Director of the Foreign Affairs Section of the Nazi Party. Embittered former German landowners in the Baltic provinces turned hopeful eyes toward the Reich and made cause with the new Brown-Shirt imperialism which might some day restore to them their old property.

Meanwhile the Soviets had launched their series of five-year plans and were straining hard to bring order out of the chaos attendant upon collectivization of the farms and the building of large-scale industry. At Geneva the Russians boasted that they were the foremost champions of peace and collective security. The enormous Red Army was pictured as an instrument of defense that would be used to protect peace and the rights of small nations. The Soviet and the Reich appeared to be last-ditch enemies who would one day fight for the mastery of Europe. At the 1936 All-Union Congress of Soviets, Premier Molotoff said: "Nazi leaders have well earned their appellation of 'modern cannibals.'"

At that same meeting, November 29, 1936, Andrei A. Zhdanoff, Leningrad Party leader, issued the following sharp warning to the Baltic countries: "We at Leningrad are sitting at one of the windows looking abroad. Around us are a number of small countries which dream of big adventures to be manipulated on their small territories. We are not afraid of little countries of course. But if they do not mind their business, we may be compelled to open our window a little wider, and it will be just too bad for them if we are forced to call the Red Army into defensive action."

This was a warning to the Baltic nations not to become entangled in any conspiracies with the Nazis against the Soviet Union. But the Baltic States had no desire to be involved in a plot against any of their large neighbors. All they wanted was to be let alone. They knew only too well that war between the Reich and the Soviet was almost certain to affect them adversely. Their territory would undoubtedly become a battlefield. In such a conflict they had nothing to gain, everything to lose. Consequently, all four of these countries on the eastern shore of the Baltic sought to maintain a neutral position between the powerful authoritarian giants to the east and the west.

When the news of the Nazi-Soviet deal broke over an astonished Europe two months ago, the British and French saw the diplomatic labors of months collapse. The Baltic peoples were even more fearful of the consequences, but they were not taken by surprise. Furthermore, they could look farther ahead than could many of the statesmen in London and Paris and they could discern some of the catastrophic effects of the war which was about to break. In the Western capitals, officials were loud in their assertions that Russia would not move, that the Soviet menace was a mare's nest. In the Baltic capitals informed men knew better. They realized that the war was a signal for the Soviet to advance westward and take advantage of the conflict.

THE Berlin-Moscow non-aggression pact represented a striking diplomatic victory for the Reich over its Western democratic enemies. But Hitler was compelled to pay a high price for his victory. He was forced to abandon a great deal of the territory which had been included in his prospective *Lebensraum.* He was forced to resign all his ambitions in the Baltic lands in favor of Stalin. It is possible that, if the British and French had been willing to arrange an armistice with the Nazis, Hitler could have called a halt to the Russian westward march. But with a major conflict facing him in the West, the Fuehrer dared not refuse the terms of his neighbor on the East.

Stalin lost no time. While his troops were occupying a large tract of territory in Poland, his diplomacy closed in on the Baltic States. The Estonian Foreign Minister, Karl Selter, was "invited" to Moscow a few weeks ago. When he returned to Tallinn his country was a protectorate of the U.S.S.R. The Soviets had obtained the right to garrison large bodies of troops in the little country and to build naval bases and air fields. Estonia could no longer offer any resistance to anything that Josef Stalin demanded.

Next came Latvia. The Letts suffered the fate which had overtaken the Estonians. Soviet troops will be stationed in this small country, Soviet naval forces will occupy its excellent harbors, and Russian aviators will have air bases at strategic locations. Libau promises to become Russia's

(Continued on page 58)

III. France Goes to War

ROBERT STRAUSZ-HUPÉ

Writer, lecturer on world affairs. Returned September 14 from trip to France and Spain

NEVER once while I was in Paris during the early days of World War II did I hear these questions asked: "Why doesn't our army launch into large-scale operations against Germany? Why don't we strike a major blow?"

But when I returned to the United States, the questions were on everyone's lips. People wanted to know why France didn't "go over the top in a big way." They wanted to know why France didn't aid Poland by providing a major diversion against the Siegfried Line. Why, in short, it was all quiet on the Western Front.

Americans were puzzled; but to Frenchmen, the conduct of the war by their army leaders was in perfect keeping with their own feelings and traditions. France's entire philosophy of war, indeed, her entire military and economic organization, rests on defense rather than offense. France, whose every family was touched by the last war, France, with 1,500,000 graves as her reminder of 1914-1918, had no desire for a new holocaust. She was resolved that the war, if it came, would not be of her making. There was yet another resolve which she carried out of the World War: never again would an enemy invade her land.

And so during the post-war years France prepared not *for* war but *against* war. She built an underground city of steel on her eastern frontier, calling it the Maginot Line, after the man who conceived and started building it, a six-foot-five-inch giant named André Maginot, who served as French Minister of War from 1922 until one year before his death in 1932. To the colors were called French youth, their military schooling stressing *défence et sécurité.* They were trained for war because they hated war.

Thus there grew up a strange paradox: a nation in arms completely unmilitaristic in outlook. The people loathed regimentation, looked unsympathetically upon the goose-stepping of their totalitarian neighbors. And yet at a given signal they could convert themselves into an intricate, smoothly-functioning war machine as highly organized as any in the world In operation this machine could be totalitarian in form if not in substance.

It is this dual French nature which we must comprehend if we are to understand the relationship of the individual to the army, or the army to the individual. It will help us understand, too, why the French *poilu,* by training as well as inclination, is a civilian individualist. Finally, it will help explain why France today wants to fight the kind of fight for which she is best prepared, psychologically as well as militarily. And that kind of fight is a defensive one.

What about the French war machine in action? On the basis of the first seven weeks of war, at least, we can say that there has been a complete meshing of military organization with the economic and political structures of France. The smoothness of the start of war seemed to belie its gigantic scope. Four million citizens donned uniforms, took assigned posts. Simultaneously, France readjusted herself to the exit of able-bodied males from civilian life, switched her economy from the level

ways of peace to the steep road of war, and settled down to the grim routine of defense. The men in the war ministry who had planned the time table of war fixed seventeen days as the period required for complete mobilization. On the nineteenth day of September, M. Daladier laconically announced the execution of the program.

Yet with all its immensity and precision the process of transforming France into a nation in arms never lost its air of casualness. Citizens fell into line with unhurried steps. France was able to rely on that remarkable trait of the French people —their gift for improvisation.

By mid-August the Maginot Line had been garrisoned and the troops stationed along the Italian border had been strengthened. By that time, too, the government had called certain categories of specialists and technicians to the colors. By August 24 the mobilization of the classes had begun. Some men received their notices by mail, a few by telegram, none by telephone. To the mass of Frenchmen war came on September 3 in the person of the gendarme with his inevitable bicycle and leather pouch. And those who either had no domicile, or could not be reached, could see from the sober notices posted on thousands of billboards and walls throughout the land that their turn had come.

The fateful message discreetly gave its recipient time to settle his accounts, embrace his loved ones and change into the shabbiest suit he could find. While officers and sergeants may keep their uniforms at home, corporals and men must take pot-luck from the store of uniforms available at the depots, and place their civil garments in the safe-keeping of the army.

Garages were converted overnight into military depots; green one-decker buses forsook the boulevard of Paris and rolled away towards the east, carrying citizen-soldiers off to prescribed destinations. The first measures of mobilization, mostly executed at night and in measured stages, hardly appeared to alter the aspect of Parisian life. There seemed to be more children, women and elderly men doing the routine chores of a big city. But neither public services nor private enterprises showed signs of irregularity. Those left behind stepped resolutely into jobs left vacant by reservists. There was no mystery in the smoothness of the transition; military leaders had planned the war machine wisely and set it in motion wisely.

France is a country where industry and agriculture, big and small enterprise, still co-exist in a state of economic balance. The war ministry's blueprints provided in detail for the integration of these vital industries into a war-time economy. The adjustment by innumerable workshops, and by the 750,000 small peasant holdings which represent the bulk of French agriculture, was left to individual ingenuity. If it is true that an army, and particularly the French army, marches on its stomach, then surely the tillers of French soil are as much part of the French war machine as are the *troupes de couverture* in the Maginot Line.

The daily food ration of the French soldier consists of coffee, one pound of bread, meat, dried vegetables and one-half liter of wine. His main dish is a stew of meat and vegetables. This stew—thanks to the high culinary standards of the country and to the sense of duty among French army cooks—is as tasty and savory as you will find anywhere on the Continent and is served hot in camp, on the march and under fire. Cigarettes are also part of the ration. Few of the first letters home, written from somewhere on the front, failed to mention the absorbing topic of food. They said the food was good.

Aside from coffee and tobacco, the French army's food requirements are covered by French products. France does import some wheat and meat, but imports represent only a small percentage of her peace-time consumption of these staples. In an emergency France can manage with her own agricultural resources as long as wives and children, the aged and the militarily unfit can do a man's work in her fertile fields.

The problem of supply looms larger today than in the trench warfare of 1918. It reaches from the front deep into the country. Fully 500,000 workers, it is estimated, are required to keep France's gun and ammunition factories going under "normal" war conditions. It takes from fifteen to twenty men on the ground to keep a French fighting plane ready to take off. A huge personnel is required to supply with food, fuel, machine parts and replacements the army of the Maginot Line. The supply of motor fuel alone poses a task which will keep some 75,000 men busy. This problem would loom larger still had the army not retained, side by side with its trucks and tractors, its mules and horses which can be fed home-grown fodder and which consume no precious gasoline. While exact figures will not be available for some time the rough guess by French experts that twenty Frenchmen must produce and transport supplies to keep one man in the fighting line may be taken as a fair statement of the problem of "war in depth."

The bulk of the 1,250,000 French troops massed along the Eastern borders are citizen-soldiers, that is, trained conscripts. Not all of them have served as recruits for the same length of time. In the 1920's France

All aboard for the Maginot defenses.

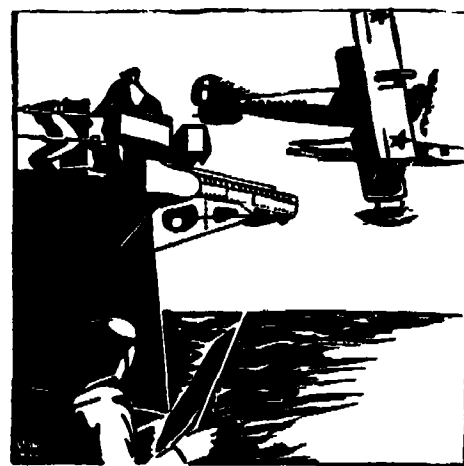
felt still safe enough to experiment with the one-year period of military service. It was not until 1935 that the two-year period was re-introduced in acknowledgement of the change of atmosphere across the Rhine. Since then the annual training periods have done much to restore cohesion among the different classes. In this respect the partial mobilizations during the first and second Czecho-Slovak crises, which kept the younger classes under arms for several months, proved of value.

The French infantry soldier is a fair marksman in target practice. His training, however, stresses mainly the use to which he can put a given topography in maneuvering and in firing. Theoretical instruction and field practice are devoted largely to problems of terrain, of movements in loose formation and of action by isolated groups. A plentiful supply of automatic weapons, of light and heavy machine guns, assures to those tactics the required intensity of firing power. The French soldier has been taught methodically the intricacies of new arms, new ways for the reduction of pill-boxes, latest safety devices against gas and air attack, but he has been confirmed, not less deliberately, in his innate ability to act alone and use his wits. Modern technique of infiltration and localized thrusts, developed against extended fortified lines, seems to require just the type of soldier which French military training evolves.

COMPLEMENTING the excellent fibre of her manpower is France's mechanized equipment. At the occasion of the military parade in Paris, on July 4 this year, France displayed many impressive specimens of light, medium and heavy tanks. Of the six armored divisions, three are known to have been actually assembled and three are said to be in the process of organization. Of late, conscripts drawn from France's large automotive industries have been trained as replacements for the existing armored units and as crews of tanks still to be built. Mechanized infantry and artillery can draw on this same reservoir of skilled garage workers and mechanics.

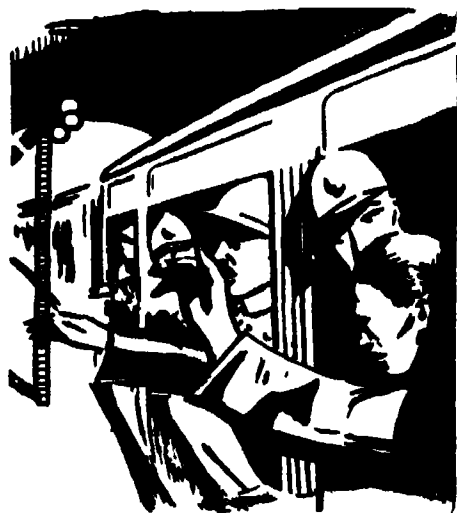
French military budgets have been more bountiful to artillery than to any other branch of the service. For French strategy throughout the last century has been evolved by gunners. Napoleonic tradition still animates the army and the Napoleonic doctrine of the concentration of fire still molds French military thought. The roar of the massed 75's and 155's on the battlefields of Northern France in 1914-18 echoed the voice of the greatest of all gunners.

Even the Maginot Line, which harbors several thousand heavy pieces, can be said to have sprung from a French gunner's imagination. Military thinking had favored—up to the end of the World War and notwithstanding costly lessons—the axiom relating to the superiority of attack over defense. It had reserved to artillery the role which all great captains since Napoleon had attributed to this arm: to blast the way for advancing columns of infantry. The Maginot Line, however, reverses this theory, for the French at least, and freezes the tide of war from the outset into siege warfare. French army leadership, by accepting security against a surprise attack from the east, itself forsook the element of surprise, the dearest standby of the strategy of the offensive.

The Maginot Line, built at an enormous cost and completed in 1934, has been constantly improved. Some of its levels are ten stories below the surface of the earth. Well-sheltered electric plants provide power for lighting, elevators, narrow-gauge railroads, and a system of ventilation which protects against seepage of poison gas by an increase of air pressure within the casemates. While it was thought that the Line, which, in fact, is a zone of fortified units, could not be broken, it was feared that flanking movements might take and trap the garrison from the rear. Thus two wings, one north along the Belgian border and one south along the

Swiss Jura were added to the main structure facing Germany. Both were completed this year.

When war broke out on September 3, the French High Command mustered 1,250,000 men along the Maginot Line, or nearly twice Germany's estimated effectives across the Rhine. By mid-October well over four million men stood under arms throughout France. As regards numbers the French and German armies were more evenly matched than Germany's greater population would seem to suggest. In fact, France's beautifully timed mobilization of trained reserves assured her army a head start over Germany. Germany, notwithstanding some five years of frantic efforts, still feels the pinch of her military impotency under the Versailles Treaty which for fifteen years allowed for no conscript training and for no reserves.

So despite dire predictions as to her decline in man power, France in September, 1939, had more effectives than her bulky opponent. Yet her Maginot Line, true to the old adage of military science which holds that new weapons unfailingly beget counter weapons, had begotten and inspired the Siegfried Line. Germany's West Wall was believed by French observers to hide behind an impressive front the patch work of hasty improvisation. But it had bulk and it did circumscribe the use to which the French command could put numerical superiority.

THE initial actions of Wissembourg, Saarbruecken and Perl, along the frontier of the German Palatinate, in addition to being drives aimed to "correct and improve our lines," were the first tests applied to the French war machine in the heart of fire. The small patrols which groped their way

through mined woods and deadly angles of machine gun fire to the German pill-boxes tried out training methods on which France had staked the worth of her modern army. The skill of these small and independent groups in the use of terrain and weapons and in reaching their objectives proved reassuring to the High Command. For their part, the troops in the field felt reassured that this year's copy of the French Infantry Manual speaks the mind of the generals in command when it insists that offensives must be carried out "with the least losses."

Aviation has not figured largely in offensive action. So far, the French High Command seems to have kept its air force at the business of observation. Pursuit ships ensured the safety of many reconnaissance planes against enemy fighters.

French military literature, published within recent years, reflects a remarkable agreement among French experts as to the mission of aviation in modern war. They differ on the relative merits of different types of planes, but unite in the opinion that action of aviation should be limited strictly to strategic objectives. They insist that only in retaliation should aviation strike against objectives not defined in the plan of military operations and that random bombings of civilian and of most industrial centers entails a dangerous "wastage" of material better employed in winning the decisive battles. In short, the air force should keep its strength to assist the ground forces. Whether or not the experts' theories can meet the test of time is yet to be decided.

FRANCE'S biggest worry about her military aviation is the supply of planes. In 1932 France had four thousand war planes, the biggest fleet on earth. In 1937 the critics of the government, which then represented the Leftist majority of the Popular Front, asserted that there were available not more than two thousand first line planes and that the aviation industry barely managed to turn out fifty new ships per month. This seems to have been nearer to the truth than the government cared to admit.

Any attempt to answer the question: "What has happened to French aviation?" must be prefaced by the statement that the topic is shot through with politics. Some Frenchmen blame the sad decline of French air might on the nationalization of the aviation industries in 1936. Some say the government did not legislate private manufacturers out of business early enough. Others place the guilt on organized labor and costly strikes. The truth, however, seems to be that the rapid development of German and Italian aviation caught France off guard and rendered her planes obsolete. Her aviation industry, split in comparatively many and small enterprises, could not adjust its leisurely processes of manufacture to the demands of mass production. France was faced with the alternative of scrapping not only her air fleet but also her production facilities, and of building a new industry from scratch or of adjusting available plants to modern requirements "as you go" and making the best of her old fashioned planes. She chose the latter method and muddled through.

Premier Daladier

By September, 1939, it was stated, semi-officially, that production had reached three hundred units per month, and that the new types of Bloch, Amiot, Potez planes with their renowned Hispano-Suiza and Gnome engines compared favorably with the best across the Rhine. Yet France had long before prudently swallowed her pride and gone to America for more and faster planes. Only by supplies from abroad can she hope to make up for the previous lag in production.

There is no ill wind which does not blow some good. By keeping her obsolete fleet in the air France maintained her pilots in trim. Flyers she has now in quality and numbers not excelled by her rivals. The French government, by the energetic stimulation of private flying, assured the fighting force of some thirty thousand reserves. Generous subsidies were made to prospective buyers of tourist planes; bounties encouraged Frenchmen between eighteen and thirty years of age to try for the license of tourist pilot. Frenchmen have a propensity for flying. It is in their nature to be daring, quick to react.

THE French like to remind themselves that their army is the valiant servant but never the master of their Republic. A set of laws, enacted in the spring of last year, provides for national organization in time of war. The scope of this legislation is as comprehensive as the nature of "total war" seems to require. All citizens are at the bidding of the Nation in Arms. Yet the French Republic entered upon war governed by civilians who are the delegates of the Parliament. M. Edouard Daladier presides, as Premier, over the Supreme Council of National Defense, and, also, as Defense Minister, over the Supreme Council of War. These two omnipotent agencies, in which civilians outnumber soldiers ten to one, are closely linked. Their task is to supervise the conduct of war, and to direct the war machine to its ultimate political goal. But the machine's control levers were placed, six months ago, in the hands of a General: the Vice-President of the Supreme War Council. The Third French Republic has bestowed upon the holder of this office a power with which it has invested no other General in history.

General Maurice Gamelin, the Supreme Commander of all French armed forces, is a man who has the advantage of having been proved right. Twice he emerged brilliantly from the record of muddled World War strategy; first when he advised his chief, Joffre, to strike at the self-sure Germans under Kluck in 1914, again in 1918 when, as Divisional Commander, he performed the war's neatest maneuver of rear guard action against the spear-head of the German Spring Offensive. In 1925 he was given the uncongenial chore of pacifying the war-like hill tribes of French mandated Syria, and quietly accomplished his task. In 1935 he

proved himself right in requesting and obtaining the extension of the conscript period from one to two years.

His World War reputation as an officer who carried through his offensives "with the least losses" has followed him to his high command. The tactics of this war's opening weeks bear the stamp of his prudent mind. The stress on a thorough artillery preparation and the careful exploitation of protective topography is also said to reflect the mature thoughts of a soldier who knows each phase of Napoleon's campaigns by heart, has a penchant for map making, and an unusual memory for the geographical aspects of France's strategic borders. General Gamelin, who is as short as Minister Maginot was tall, is said to view with composure the fact that his army is, per man, less lavishly endowed with certain mechanical gadgets than that of Germany. The General is Frenchman enough to envisage his army and its arms as a whole in which men and machines strike a balance.

Europe watches intently the test of French fighting power. From its performance veering neutrals will take their cue. Between the Lorraine gateway and Luxemburg lies only one of the French High Command's potential theaters of war. There are also the old routes of invasion across the Lowlands and Flanders, the Belfort Gap which may tempt Germany, and the trough of the Lake of Geneva which may tempt both Germany and Italy to violate Swiss neutrality. Italy from the French Maritime Alps to French Tunisia straddles the Mediterranean almost as completely as she does the issues over which this war is being fought. There are Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, forming the glacis of both France and England's system of defense in the Orient. The Balkan Peninsula may again become the back door through which the fighting powers may seek to enter in the quest for a decision denied by the war of position.

France does not know on which future battlefield she must risk her fortunes, in which corner of Europe the blank cartridges of diplomacy will turn into bullets. But France does know that her army knows its job, husbands its strength, and can rely on the traditional valor of the French citizen-soldier.

IV. Our American Defences

FLETCHER PRATT

Military expert, author. Sea Power and Today's War

Suppose a foreign power or coalition were to make on the United States tomorrow morning a series of incredible demands, followed immediately by ships, bombing planes and troops—which seems to be the approved way of beginning a modern war.

Or suppose, with rather more likelihood, that the demands and the military pressure were turned on one of our Latin American neighbors.

Suppose, most probable supposition of all, a triple Axis reinvigorated by the prospect of plundering the British Empire, drawing supplies from the reservoirs of the cynical Soviet, should beat down England, throwing the shadow of invasion across Canada, Jamaica, British Honduras, Bermuda and the Bahamas.

Suppose any combination of circumstances that launched us into a fight.

What would our chances be?

To be sure, we do not want to fight. But in a world where Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Estonia, Latvia and China did not want to fight either, this makes so little difference that the question of means rather than desire appears the important one. What, then, is our strength?

Taking operation rather than formal organization as a basis, our defensive forces may be stated as five in number, each with a specific duty at some stage in the process of defense. These five forces are (1) the navy, (2) the naval air force, (3) the coast defense system and the army's G.H.Q. air force which co-operates closely with the coast defense, (4) the army air force, and (5) the army.

Chief of Staff George C. Marshall

There is no central office, except that of the President, which co-ordinates the efforts of all these forces, and except for the navy and its air service, no two have yet been able to achieve that close co-operation which is the price of efficiency in combined arms having widely different powers. Experiments in joint maneuver are continuing and will doubtless crystallize into a unified system. The only question is whether it can be done before the day of wrath.

Meanwhile, without even a conditional word, we may safely count on our navy, the most effective fighting force of its kind. Only the British marine rivals it in total size. And the British navy, by the exigencies of protecting the trade of a scattered Empire, is so distributed that it can hardly bring together, even in emergency, such force as ours.

Nor is concentration the only advantage we enjoy. The British fleet, with so many spots to guard, is required to fragment its strength into a large number of ships of relatively small size and generalized type, and to achieve local concentration by the assembly of numbers. The French and Italian fleets, operating in seas that can be crossed between dawn and dusk, are required to specialize on speed at the expense of both gunpower and protection. But our navy operates in vast oceans, and geography makes upon it only the special demand of large size of the individual ship—size which gives it great fuel capacity and enables it to keep the sea for long periods and distances.

Now size in a warship is itself a military quality. It represents resisting power in the first instance, and in the second, permits the ship that has

it to carry a greater load of guns and armor. At the same time, the fact that we can and do keep our fleet concentrated permits the American navy to specialize its ship types for tactical duties. Thus our battleships have the heaviest armor and the greatest gun power of any in the world.

The belt armor of the most recent British, French, German and Japanese battleships is the same 13½ inches as our old *Nevadas* of 1915; new ships now building for European navies are reported to have 14 or 15 inch belts, but our new ships 16 inch. New French ships have eight 15 inch guns, German and Italian the same, British ten 14 inch; but our new ships nine 16 inch.

Our ships are also the slowest, since one cannot have the maximum of guns, armor and speed in the same ship. The new British and German battleships have a designed speed of 30 knots; the French and Italian of 32; while our six new *North Carolinas* are designed for 26 or 27 knots.

Most other nations have either invested part of their battleship tonnage in speed, or provided themselves with a special fast wing of battleships, to prevent the leading ships of an enemy from forging ahead in action and circling round the top of their battle line—"crossing the T," as the expressive naval phrase puts it. This is the ultimate objective of most naval tactics; it brings a crushing concentration on each ship in turn.

But the American fleet is built to the idea of crushing an enemy by superior gunfire in parallel combat, while specialized ships prevent its own T from being crossed. In line of battle destroyers precede battleships, to slant across toward the enemy's line, force him to stop, turn, give ground to avoid their torpedo attack. Light cruisers accompany them to beat off enemy destroyer attacks and support their own.

Now thanks to our capacity for specialization, inherent in our national position, we have been able to provide our fleet with oversize destroyers which carry the heaviest torpedo armaments of any destroyer types in the world. Of over seventy modern American destroyers built and building only eight have as few as eight torpedo tubes, which is the standard torpedo armament abroad.

Claude C. Block
Commander-in-Chief of U. S. Fleet

The rest have either twelve or sixteen, plus a gun armament heavier than that in any but a few French and German craft.

Our destroyers are supported and led by terribly potent light cruisers —10,000-tonners with strong armor belts, prodigiously armed—capable not only of breaking up enemy destroyer attacks but also of smothering any light cruisers with which an adversary might seek to protect himself from our destroyers. The heaviest foreign light cruisers are the English *Southamptons* and Japanese *Mogamis* of 8,500 tons. The *Southamptons* have three fewer guns (twelve against fifteen) than our craft, and less armor. The *Mogamis* are now armed like the *Southamptons*, and match our cruisers neither in armor nor in cruising radius.

The American navy has a numerical superiority over every navy but the British.

Our navy also has a ship-for-ship superiority over every other navy, including the British. And this is not all. The prospect of heading an enemy's battle line, slowing and turning it into the overmastering fire of our battleships does not rest on torpedo attacks alone. The bombers of our naval air service will have a good deal to say there, just as the flying patrols of the same service can watch everything that moves on water for five hundred miles off our coasts.

That U.S. naval air force is not only the largest of its kind, with over eleven hundred seaborne planes, mainly bombers, but is also incomparably the most skillful, the best trained, supplied with the best machines. No other nation has anything to approach the Sperry bomb sight, which enables our flyers to practice precision bombing—dropping bombs from heights as great as 18,000 feet for direct hits. Other nations, without the sight, drop ten or twenty in a group, and hope that one of them will make the target.

Finally, the cruising range of American ships gives our fleet at least a five hundred mile advantage over any other. We can meet the enemy at his gates, in all cases but that of a war with remote Japan, force him to fight a sea battle before he can even get an expedition against us started. No foreign fleet has a radius of more than twenty-five hundred miles. To conduct an effective campaign against the United States, foreign fleets, singly or together, must establish bases within that distance of our shores. There are three such regions—Canada, Mexico and the northern coast of South America, including the West Indies. Until a hostile foreign power has seized a base in one of these regions, or achieved one through some such arrangement as a puppet state, or built a new fleet that can cruise the oceans without tiring, the navy is our sure defense.

Yet suppose the navy's power has been discounted by some European-Asiatic combination which holds our navy in check on one ocean by maintaining a fleet there that will not fight, while it attacks on the other flank. Suppose a British defeat and the seizure of Canadian or West Indian bases so sudden that our slow

Ships Built and Building

	U.S.	*England*	*Japan*	*Germany*	*France*	***Italy***
Battleships	23	23*	12†	5	12	8
Carriers	7	12	6	2	3	0
Heavy cruisers	18	15	12	8‡	7	7
Light cruisers	25	68	26	12	14	15
Destroyers	259	290	109§	40	88	149

*Minus *Royal Oak*, recently sunk.
†Including two ships probably building.
‡Including three "pocket battleships."
§Known; probably many more building.

moving democracy is given insufficient time to react. What then?

While most of our ships are concentrated in the Pacific, three old battleships, a number of cruisers, destroyers and submarines and many shore-based patrol-bombers of the naval service are kept in the Atlantic. If the main fleet were on the east coast, about the same strength would be left to hold the Pacific. These detachments would undoubtedly put up a fight, but it could not be much more than a delaying action in the face of a strong attack. In the time gained it would be the duty of the coast artillery and the G.H.Q. air force to assemble and strike at the invader.

Both forces are nominally under the army. In operation, they work closely together and actually constitute a separate branch. We are not quite so well off here as with regard to naval power, especially in the coast artillery department. Many of its big guns have become obsolete without being replaced. The failure of Congress to give us a separate anti-aircraft branch has forced the army authorities to make anti-aircraft work the duty of the coast artillery and to assign seven regiments from that corps for the duty, detaching them from their normal function.

Many people are of the impression that arrangements have been made to defend our coasts with big guns on railroad mounts. This is not the case; and railroad guns are useful only to a limited extent and in special localities. The weight of modern long range artillery is so great that few bridges and roadbeds can carry it, particularly along our low and sandy Atlantic coast. The employment of railroad guns requires the construction of special sidings and observation stations. They have not been built.

Still worse is our position with regard to ground anti-aircraft defense. Up to this summer we had only twenty-four anti-aircraft guns east of the Rockies and sixteen west of them. To be sure, 338 new pieces were completed in September (the single city of London had nearly two hundred before the present war), but the men have not been trained to use them and there are no authorizations for the enlistment of more gun crews. In fact, the question of beating off air attacks is pretty much one of locating the enemy and fighting them in the skies before they start to bomb us.

But this question is in the hands of the G.H.Q. air force and here again we enter a rarefied region of excellence, like that in which our navy operates. The G.H.Q. air force is an independent organization, operating directly under the high command of the army. This means it has no attachment to ground troops; it can be concentrated in any part of the country at the full speed of which its giant bombers are capable, and instantly deal a blow at the enemy. It has bases in California, north and south, in Louisiana, Virginia, New York and Michigan; in time of war it could doubtless make use also of the naval air bases now being built in Alaska and Puerto Rico, thanks to the two thousand mile range of its planes, which can fly farther and faster than any European types. It could attack an enemy's convoys at sea on their way to a base near our shores, with paralyzing effect. It could deliver a terrific blow at any base already established, blow up the airdromes, smash planes in their hangars or on the ground.

Most comforting of all, there has been no difficulty at the point which is the bottleneck in most foreign air forces—the enlistment and training of young men fit to be pilots.

The G.H.Q. air force is the arm of first instance in preventing aerial attacks on us. If, in spite of its efforts, the enemy gets his planes into the air, the problem devolves upon the army air forces attached to the various army corps which have their headquarters in local areas. In fact, it is upon this arm that the task of defense against air raids mainly rests, and must rest, for our bombable cities and industrial areas are so many and so scattered that to give them adequate ground protection on the European model would require the enlistment of something like 500,000 men (twice the size of our present army) and an outlay for equipment almost equal to the entire cost of the navy.

But the arrangement is not so shaky as it might seem at a glance. American-built fighting planes, not so good as those with which our army air force is now supplied, have recently proved superior to the best European machines in actual warfare. The German Messerschmidt, for example, holds a world speed record of 484 miles an hour; but European dispatches tell of planes of this type being consistently outfought by American-built Curtiss Hawks with a service speed of 333 miles an hour, and the new Lockheed fighters building for our air corps not only have a service speed of 360, but also carry more and heavier guns. The army air force is already numerous and the industry behind it geared to rapid production. The flyers, both those from the regular army and the reserves from civil flying, are probably better than any but Italy's.

The last line of defense is the army itself. At present it may be said to be in a state of solution. Officers and men are excellent. The potential reserves, of intelligent, well-educated men, just the right type for the modern form of war with its reliance on individual action, are enormous. But the regular army, which only a week or two ago was authorized to increase its strength to 270,000 men—about the size of Finland's forces—lacks training in large units. Normally, no unit as large as a brigade is ever brought together, which means inexperience in the high command.

As this is being written the scattered units of the First Division are being assembled for unified training, the first time such a step has been

undertaken in the history of the United States in peace, but even this is only a single division. Germany, according to the best accounts, had seventy divisions in Poland, and Russia something like one hundred.

The National Guard, as the recent Plattsburg maneuvers showed, lacks training of every kind. In fact, it has nothing but drill, which is a vastly different thing, and may prove a dangerous drawback to men unfitly trained. Drill teaches men to march in cadenced step, to line up exactly with their comrades left and right, before and behind. Thoroughly drilled but untrained men fall in these alignments naturally on the battlefield and thus become admirable targets for machine-guns.

The status of army equipment is about the same as that of personnel: excellent material, but not enough of it, and little training. The Garand semi-automatic rifle is probably one of the best infantry weapons extant. But even our small force of regulars has not yet been completely supplied with them, the National Guard has none at all, and no plants in private industry are yet capable of turning them out in quantity. The government arsenals now making the Garand weapons are producing them only at the rate of fifteen or twenty a day. September saw the first order placed with private industry for the new weapon, and that for sixty-five thousand, not quite enough for a single army corps. If war came tomorrow, we should have to equip our troops with the old Springfields, model of 1903, which were used in the World War.

The infantry tank and the cavalry combat car (which is a tank under another name, given a different designation because Congress was moved to declare that all "tanks" belonged to the infantry) are fine mechanisms —probably as good as the Russian tanks which astonished and discouraged the Germans in Spain. But we have very few of either, the whole army containing only a single mechanized brigade, while Germany (for example) carried ten divisions, each consisting of two or three brigades.

Only in October of this year were 329 new tanks ordered (Germany has in service about 6,000). They are not ready yet nor are the men trained to use them.

In the artillery the situation is the same. There is probably not a better

(Continued on page 58)

V. American Business and the War

EDWARD H. COLLINS

Financial writer, New York Herald-Tribune

Two groups of persons seem to feel that the financial markets and business violated precedent by behaving as they did in the weeks immediately following the outbreak of war. One group is comprised of those persons who were prepared to cut and run the moment war was declared, on the assumption that the stock market would close and business would go into a decline similar to that which marked the latter half of 1914. The other group is made up of those who had persuaded themselves that the announcement of hostilities would be the signal for a stock market boom of unprecedented violence.

As this is written neither of these things has occurred. Business, which had been advancing steadily, but unsensationally ever since the last week in May, accelerated its pace feverishly, and was still rising toward the close of October, when it was promising to surpass the peak level of 1936. But the financial markets followed this lead with extreme caution and at a very respectful distance.

Commodity prices, in the first flush of the war excitement, soared 20 per cent within the space of a single week, a truly extraordinary performance. But that phase passed quickly, and in the ensuing month not only was there no further net gain, but the

Fitzpatrick—St Louis Post-Dispatch

Bubble Ride

trend was toward somewhat lower levels. Much the same thing occurred in the stock market, the only difference being in the time schedule and the extent of the rise. The share market advanced vigorously—and to the accompaniment of much activity—for approximately a fortnight. Then its enthusiasm suddenly abated; and by mid-October, like the commodity markets, it was lower than it had been at mid-September. On the basis of the volatile Dow-Jones industrial averages, stocks in the third week of October stood only 14 per cent above their August 31 level. As measured by the less mercurial averages of *The New York Herald-Tribune* their advance was only about 8 per cent.

Now, it is true that this is not the pattern that many persons expected finance and business to follow. But it is one thing to admit this, and quite another thing to accept the conclusion that there has been something wholly perverse and unprecedented about the whole episode. This is an optical illusion. It grows out of the mistaken assumption that, regardless of time, place and circumstances, "a war is a war," and that a new war inevitably must have precisely the same financial repercussions as the one which immediately preceded it.

We know, of course, that major wars have many characteristics in common, so far as their over-all effects are concerned. But this is by no means the same as saying that their immediate impacts on neutral countries must be, or are likely to be, identical. This is the sort of naïveté that accounts for the popularity, for example, of the notion that "election years are bad years in the stock market." Some election years, we know, have been bad years marketwise. But it is not the fact that a year is an election year that creates hesitancy; it is the implications of the particular election, coupled, of course, with other essentially contemporary considerations. That this is so is illustrated spectacularly by the fact that the elec-

tion year 1924 marked the beginning of the greatest bull market in the country's history. This was neither in spite of, nor because of, the fact that 1924 was an election year. It was because underlying market conditions at the moment happened to be propitious and because the nomination of Calvin Coolidge was regarded as assurance that business could count upon the sympathetic co-operation of the Administration in the ensuing four years.

As a matter of fact, while no two market manifestations are ever precisely alike, it is quite possible to find a precedent for what has happened in recent weeks, and to find it without going back a great many years. For an incident much like that of September-October 1939 was witnessed as recently as in the spring and summer of 1933. On that occasion the stock market and the wheat market led the way in the advance, but were soon completely outstripped by the production indices, which recorded their most sensational rise up to that time, and one which, despite the erratic behavior of business during the last six years, still remains to be duplicated.

The stock market showed an extreme advance between the end of April that year and the middle of July of approximately 20 points, or a little more than 22 per cent. But the weekly business index of *The New York Herald-Tribune* shot up within three months from 40 to 80, a rise of 100 per cent!

It is not especially surprising that the pattern of events in recent weeks has been very similar to that of 1933. for essentially the same thing has been taking place as occurred then. That is, business, which had been operating on a hand-to-mouth basis for months, suddenly found itself stampeded into speculative purchases on a heavy scale. The immediate incentive in 1933 was different, but the phenomena were almost identical. The prime mover on that occasion was the President's declaration of a gold embargo.

As the inflationists had been the most urgent advocates of "going off gold" the speculative public and business men generally immediately assumed that greatly increased prices for everything were in the offing. The speculators rushed to buy in hopes of turning a quick profit; business men bought in order to stock up while materials were still at "reasonable" levels.

The inflation fear might have passed as quickly with the business man in 1933 as it did in the stock market, but two other factors entered into his calculations at about the same time. One of these was his anxiety to turn out as large a volume of certain goods as possible before the processing taxes, just then enacted, went into effect; the other was the concerted effort of purchasers of manufactured goods to stock up before the N.R.A. codes, with their higher costs, became operative.

The questions which will immediately occur to those who do not clearly recall the 1933 incident will naturally be: "What was the sequel to that amazing rise in business activity?" and "May we expect history to repeat itself on the present occasion?" To the first question, the answer is that the immediate aftermath in 1933 was a sharp recession in the fall, which erased about half the advance. To the second question, the answer is that to assume that the same thing now lies ahead for business would be to make much the same mistake made by those who assumed that the markets and business must inevitably repeat, in 1939, their World War performances of twenty-five years ago.

In their initial phases these two episodes were alike. Both represented a sudden transition from a buyers' to a sellers' market. But in 1933 two things happened to hasten the abrupt reversal of the course of the markets and business. One was the realization that there was no magic in the price of gold. The other was that, once the processing taxes and the N.R.A. became effective, the basis of the abnormal buying activity, both by business and by the public, automatically ceased to exist.

On the present occasion it is probably safe to assume that business has gained sufficient momentum to maintain a pace at or near current levels throughout the rest of this year. What will happen after that must depend largely upon the answer to two questions, namely: (1) How long will the present war last? and (2) What will be its nature? For this writer to venture a prognostication without knowing the answers to these questions—and certainly no one can know them at this writing—would be to ignore whatever moral the present essay might be expected to convey.

What Business Thinks

The following quotations from well known organizations and individuals indicate the reaction of responsible business leaders to the possibility of a war boom.

It is to be kept in mind that the financial situations in some of the South American countries have in the past resulted in the building up of great quantities of blocked funds. Also, the shutting off of South American exports to certain European States may increase the difficulties of some countries in meeting payments for their imports and returns on direct investments.

The removal of Germany as a supplier and buyer of products in ocean-borne trade, will result in greater export demand in the United States, but at the same time creates a difficult situation for countries which have been supplying ocean-borne raw materials and foodstuffs to Germany. Similarly, the diversion of a substantial part of British production to war purposes will result in the lessened ability of British factories to supply the demand of overseas importers and thus create an abnormal demand in the United States.

This war-created demand for American products involves serious dangers for the future. We recall the expansion of American production for export during the World War, and the economic effect of the subsequent decline of that demand.

But it is important that our government and private groups examine into what action it is appropriate to take to protect and preserve such investment. Increased taxation that is sure to accompany the conduct of the war places in jeopardy not only accrued profits but the capital investments of some of these American enterprises.—*from a recent report by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.*

We cannot remain untouched by major events in Europe, but we can establish our own defensive Maginot Line or Westwall of American thinking for America.

Our own emotions may betray us; we may be mesmerized by the purely defeatist claim that this nation has not the intelligence to plan its own

(Continued on page 59)

Meng Chiang, The New Nation

Inner Mongolia, homeland of Genghis Khan, emerges as a modern Asiatic commonwealth

WALKER MATHESON

COLD weather was on the way and the trigger fingers of the soldiers in the muddy trenches of bleak Mongolia were numb when the order to "Cease fire!" came on the morning of September 15, 1939. This surprise armistice between Japan and Soviet Russia — which since 1932 have been waging a curiously unpublicized war on the Mongol-Manchukuo border—has thrown the spotlight on a corner of the world that in the past few years has witnessed the rebirth of an ancient Asiatic state. This old-new nation, commonly known as Inner Mongolia, now called Meng Chiang, is the last remnant of the Mongol Empire which, under Genghis Khan centuries ago, sprawled from the Pacific to the Danube.

Today, upon the site of the birthplace of the mighty Genghis, a new Mongol banner has been unfurled, designating a new nation with its own frontiers, its own army and a government led by a recognized Prince of the tribes, thirty-seven-year-old Te Wang.

Considering the magnificence of the Mongols in war during the golden years of Genghis and his successor, Kublai Khan, it seems incredible that these people should have shrunk to the present lowly state from which Prince Te and his new nation propose to extract them. The present Khans, or tribal princes, however, declare that the will to win and the fighting force of the three million Mengku (braves) dwelling in Inner and Outer Mongolia and in adjacent Manchukuo are reminiscent of their indomitable ancestors. Needless to say, the Mongols do not dream of re-establishing their former Empire on any grand scale. But they do wish to create a unified state, and one which would take in Outer Mongolia, which since 1924 has been under the rule of Russia.

It is no secret that Inner Mongolia has been receiving tremendous assistance from Japan, and that Meng Chiang itself was re-organized under the princes as a buffer state between Communist Russia and the Japanese-controlled North China area around Peking. For it has been a life and death matter for Japan to prevent Manchuria and North China from sharing the fate of Outer Mongolia and Chinese Turkestan, which have been completely Bolshevized. Most of the world has blandly ignored the fact that Outer Mongolia was nonchalantly seized from China and made a filial state of Moscow, and that Outer Mongolia, through the construction of new roads, railways and aviation fields, has been developed into Russia's most available entrance into China, while Bolshevized Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang Province) is the Soviet entrance into India. But Japan cannot afford to ignore these facts.

While there had been incessant skirmishing on the borders of Sovietized Outer Mongolia and the buffer states of Meng Chiang and Manchukuo, it was not until last July that reports of serious warfare rocketed Mongolia into front page headlines all over the Western World. Fierce clashes at Nomonhan, in the area of the Khalka River, an oasis in a desert, placed this "test war" between Japan and Russia on the front pages, with reports from Japanese sources that "250 Mongol (Russian) planes have been shot down," and similar reports from Moscow, giving the same figures, but designating the planes as Japanese.

EARLIER border clashes were rarely of a political nature. But as Japan gradually extended her buffer states in North China and Inner Mongolia —in what Russian strategists interpreted as the establishment of a base for a thrust at Lake Baikal to sever the Soviet Far East from the rest of the U.S.S.R.—the conflict became increasingly political. The earlier quarrels were generally provoked by time-old disagreements among the Mongol tribes themselves over pasturage. Unaccustomed to international law which sets up an invisible boundary between men of the same blood, the tribes became involved over the Nomonhan oasis grazing lands on the right bank of the Khalka River, a shallow waterway on the Manchukuo side of the border. The Mongol nomads, however, had been using both sides of the river for centuries, and could not understand why they should suddenly cease to do so.

While Inner Mongolia is only about a third the size of Outer Mongolia—which, in turn, is more than one-third the area of the United States — it promises to develop into one of the most important sectors in Asia, economically. Politically, as a buffer between the Soviet and the proposed decommunized China under Japan's tutelage, the State is likely to be much in the limelight. Especially if, and when, Prince Te decides that he is able to avenge the destruction of many of the lama temples in Outer Mongolia, razed on orders of Moscow,

and bring his blood-brothers in Outer Mongolia into his new nation.

To prevent this possible absorption of Outer Mongolia by the smaller but more potent Inner Mongolia, the Soviet seriously started massing its forces and reinforcing frontiers more than a year ago, with the consequent border clashes culminating in the sensational Nomonhan affray this summer.

In the opinion of many foreign observers, the clashes in Mongolia were a sort of rehearsal on the part of Russia for a possible bigger war in Europe. For the Soviet-Japanese border truce concluded a few weeks ago these observers found good reasons: the Soviet had tested her modern weapons on the Mongol frontier—and had found them wanting. This may help to explain why, her much vaunted tanks, planes and guns having shown their weaknesses, and with a strong Germany menacing the Russian-European front, Russia was ready to sign the astounding non-aggression pact with Nazi Germany. Once she had decided to come to terms with Hitler, Russia needed her troops for her recent invasion of Poland and subsequent threats against the Balkan and Baltic nations. The truce with Japan removed pressure on Russia's weakest flank, the Far East.

ANOTHER Russian reason for a truce in Mongolia was the growing anti-Soviet feeling on the part of the Buryat-Mongols (Outer Mongolians) themselves. Last year, there were reports of wholesale executions of leaders in the Mongolian army on charges of treason against Moscow, and of a spreading nationalistic movement among the people. On October 6 of this year, press reports from Hsinking added that three hundred additional officers of the Outer Mongolian army, some of high rank, were executed by firing squads just before the recent Soviet-Japanese truce.

Thus, while Moscow and Tokyo have been as daggers drawn for the mastery of the Far East, two new states, Outer Mongolia and Inner Mongolia, have arisen out of the [illegible]golia of Genghis Khan.

[illegible] to the World War of 1914, [illegible] had been largely ignored by [illegible] and stood in close relation to [illegible]ussia which then—as now—followed a policy of extension in and domination of China. The Czar kept strong garrisons on Mongolian territory, particularly at Urga, the ancient capital now renamed Ulan Bator Khoto, or Town of the Red Heroes. With the outbreak of the World War, the Czar's cossacks dwindled away and were absorbed on the battlefields of Europe, leaving Mongolia to pass once more under the sway of China. Mongolia's modern history, including its partition and Bolshevization, the ensuing border clashes, and finally the recent truce between Moscow and Tokyo, therefore properly opens in 1917.

In that year occurred the revolution which overthrew Imperial Russia and spread chaos from Europe deep into Asia. Soldiers and serfs and prisoners of war were freed by the thousands, and went in every direction to find new homes and freedom. Thousands crossed into Mongolia, most of them entering Urga, the capital.

It was to Urga, too, that Baron Ungern-Sternberg, whose wife and child had been massacred by the Bolsheviks and whose estates had been destroyed by his erstwhile vassals, went to plot a blood-curdling revenge against his fellow countrymen "infected with the leprosy of communism." From Urga he planned to lead an armed force straight to the Kremlin, where he dreamed of wringing the necks of those who had slaughtered his Czar, his family and his friends.

Mongolia then was still under the nominal administration of China, but the Baron had no hesitation about overthrowing any authority that stood in his way. Armed only with a horsewhip, he led a band of thirty-five men against the Chinese garrison at Urga in the dead of night. His fury during the attack overwhelmed the surprised Chinese, and by next morning the Baron found that he had actually broken the Chinese power. While most of the Mongols stood amazed, not understanding the uproar, the Tshal-lama, head of the priestly hierarchy, grasped the meaning of the act and hurled himself on the Chinese, ruthlessly putting all who came his way to death.

Baron Ungern-Sternberg's massacre of Red Russians and his overthrow of Chinese control at Urga inflamed the Mongols, Buryats and Kirghisans, all the elements descended from the former hordes of Genghis Khan who had trampled the world underfoot centuries before. Immediately the whole of Mongolia was afire, set ablaze by a spark long buried under the inhibitions inspired by the temple hierarchy.

UNBALANCED, perhaps, by his success in rallying behind him a small army of Mongols, the Baron began to march off the steppes of Mongolia, his goal the Kremlin. But before he had gone far, he rode into a Bolshevik regiment, was seized, and fell before a firing squad in the mud of a Russian prison yard. This event naturally reawakened Moscow's interest in Mongolia and brought about a result the very opposite of what the Baron had planned—the eventual Bolshevization of a large part of Mongolia.

At the time of the Baron's fatal craving for revenge, Mongolia was a negative, priest-ruled country. Wealth was measured according to the number of cattle and sheep a man possessed. Life was difficult, primitive and spartan and each generation was short-lived. Soon, in their usual way, the Bolsheviks began to fish exceedingly well in these muddy Mongol waters.

Moscow made a few vague promises to the Mongols that tickled their curiosity and Sucha-Bator, a Russian-Mongol who had imbibed revolutionary ideas at a Russian university, proclaimed a Mongolian Republic, now known as Outer Mongolia. Whereupon the people were worked up to the necessity of freeing themselves from the lamaistic hierarchy of the priests. Perceiving that a storm was brewing against them, certain lamas invited Sucha-Bator to visit them in an effort to persuade him against his folly. Sucha-Bator

would not listen, and next morning he was dead—poisoned.

His death aroused the fury of the Soviet and the dread *Ochrana* arrested several lamas and executed them. Lamas of high rank, abbots of monasteries and children believed to be divine incarnations, all were sent to prison and vanished forever. An army of Buryat-Mongols from the Russian side of the frontier was put in charge of the administration of Mongolian affairs, and in a few years the absolute powers of the priests were broken. The treasure of the temples was confiscated by the State, and of the 8,000 temples throughout Outer Mongolia's 1,367,000 square miles, all but 2,000 were razed. Curiously, the Red march stopped at the Khalka River; none knows why; it could have proceeded southward indefinitely at the time.

While Outer Mongolia is theoretically an "autonomous" Soviet Socialist Republic, it has been thoroughly Bolshevized, almost to a ridiculous extreme. On January 27, 1936, the Communist party leaders received in the Kremlin sixty-seven "representatives of the toilers of Buryat-Mongolia." All of the delegates made speeches "filled with warm gratitude to the party, to the government and to Stalin." Typical in fervency was the speech of one chairman of a collective farm:

"Today, in this happy, joyous atmosphere I voluntarily recall the difficult, wretched past of the Buryat-Mongolian people. Ours was indeed a joyous past: a nomadic life, a felt tent, darkness. . . Now we have prosperity and a rise in our cultural life: we have a school, well-lit homes, a Red Corner, a bathhouse, a radio. Many of our collective farmers ride bicycles."

Typical, too, was the naive pride of the manager of a sheep-raising farm: "Our collective farm was organized in 1931. Stock raising is the chief occupation. When I first began to work as a manager of the sheep farm in 1932, we had only 425 sheep and goats. Now we have 1,305. Three times as many as we had before!"

In Inner Mongolia, across the Khalka River, the priests saw with horror what was happening to the tribesmen under the Soviets, and persuaded the khans to prevent the Red hordes from crossing the river at all costs. But in 1937 Inner Mongolia broke away from the Chinese republican government for the reason that, though a vassal province, it was not allowed a voice even in its own counsel halls. Today Inner Mongolia is well on its way to stabilization as an independent state, the new nation of Meng Chiang with a future as promising as that of the Empire of Manchukuo, which was created by Japan in 1932. Unlike Manchukuo, however, Meng Chiang has not now the trappings of empire. The government itself is neither republican, democratic, socialist, communist nor monarchist. Instead, the elders and leaders of the tribes have taken it upon themselves to govern the State under the guidance of Prince Te.

Meng Chiang itself is best described as a federal government of the five Mongol leagues. The administrative capital is Suiyuan, now officially known by its time-honored Mongol description of Koko Hoto, or Blue City, where Prince Te holds court.

Koko Hoto is 362 miles from Peking, or a twelve-hour journey by train, which has replaced the slow-moving camel caravans that in olden times brought goods into China from the Gobi through wild and rugged passes—the same passes used by the conquering hordes of old as they surged up against the Great Wall of China. The Blue City gets its name from the bluish haze which perpetually veils it. The Mongols, looking down upon the town from the surrounding heights, conferred the poetic name upon it back in the sixteenth century when they made pilgrimages there to pay honor to a Tibetan Lama who had been taken prisoner by one of the warring khans, and brought to Mongolia to introduce Tibetan neo-Buddhism.

In the walled Blue City of 120,000 people, Prince Te conducts the affairs of state from headquarters in an ancient Mongol palace, with gracefully slanting tile-roofed buildings, within a walled court, guarded by soldiers recruited from their nomad villages on the steppes. There, too, men and boys in tribal costumes, playing queer musical instruments and singing stirring Mongol songs, add an air of ancient glory, which contrasts strangely with the modern innovations such as a short-wave radio in a detached guardhouse, blaring out a waltz from somewhere in Europe.

Inner Mongolia, right center, has now become Meng Chiang.

Prince Te, who like all Mongol princes carries a Tibetan appellation of Demchip Domlop, is one of the most picturesque characters in the Far East. At his home in West Sunit, in the country of the steppes, he likes to forget affairs of state and engage in the sport of wrestling. Or again, he takes delight in entertaining his comrades by playing on a native guitar and singing old Mongol songs. He is married and has two children. His family lives in West Sunit, and whenever possible Prince Te gets away from Koko Hoto to visit them. He always takes an airplane.

In the Blue City, Prince Te holds audiences in a large chamber, fur-

nished in Occidental fashion, with upholstered armchairs and deep couches surrounding the usual low Chinese tables. On ornamental side tables are glass cases with Japanese gift-dolls, exquisitely gowned, dolls of the vivacious Parisian types, and short-skirted, slim-legged Hungarian dancing-girl dolls—for the Hungarians are the last remnants in Europe of the Mongols.

THE Prince's usual costume is a long blue gown, with upturned scarlet cuffs, and a Chinese hat, with a button designating his rank. He wears a hip-length queue, derivative of the Chin Tartars, or the Manchus. He has a smooth, oval and serene face, and the pink cheeks of good health in a land where life is hard, and the average life span no more than half a century. The few rare photos of Prince Te certainly do not reveal the spark and fire of his immortal predecessor, Genghis Khan. Yet the story of that fabulous conqueror, whose golden hordes reached the Rhine and later fought the Egyptians in Palestine, began with a mild-mannered man.

The Mongol Empire has a staggering history of conquest. It started with the birth, at Karakorum, of a boy with a clot of blood in his palm. When the old wives saw it, they said he was destined to be great, "even if satanic and horrible according to our standards." The boy, named Temujin, lost his father at the age of thirteen, and it was not until he was fifty-two that he asserted his genius, welded the Mongol tribes together and set out to conquer the world with an ambition and power beyond anything else in military history.

In 1189 he called the Council of Tangut, when the Mongolian banners (tribes) created him the Great Khan. Dropping the name Temujin, he became known as Genghis Khan. His first international ventures included the conquest of Turkestan, Bokhara, Armenia and South Russia. Though he died in 1229, his conquests were continued by his son, Ogdai Khan, who swept clear across Russia, destroying the city of Kiev. Poland was ravished and Hungary was occupied in 1241. According to historians, this conquest was not accomplished by a horde of horsemen running wild, but by strategy based on information acquired through a spy system. Ogdai also annexed the greater part of China, then under the degenerating Sung dynasty. The capital of the vast empire was at Karakorum, Genghis' birthplace in Mongolia.

After Ogdai came Batu in 1242 who conquered Moscow and extended the cowherd empire even further into Europe in what history says was the longest cavalry raid of all time. Dynastic troubles indicated that the Mongol regime was about to crack, but in 1251 Mangu Khan became the Great Khan, and named his brother, Kublai, as the Governer General of China. Kublai it was who subdued, finally, the Golden Dynasty in China, and it was Kublai who, at his capital in Peking, received Marco Polo, whose tales first aroused the incredulity and then fired the imagination of the West—and still do.

Mangu, meantime, had seized Tibet; Persia and Syria were taken by Hulago, another brother. Then Kublai was named the Great Khan, and he made Peking the capital of the world. Persia and Asia Minor were made independent then, under Hulago; the hordes in Russia set up a third great empire in Russia, known as Kipchak. The main Mongol empire was in Peking, where Kublai, who had set up the Yuan dynasty, died, his only unsuccessful military campaign having been made against Japan.

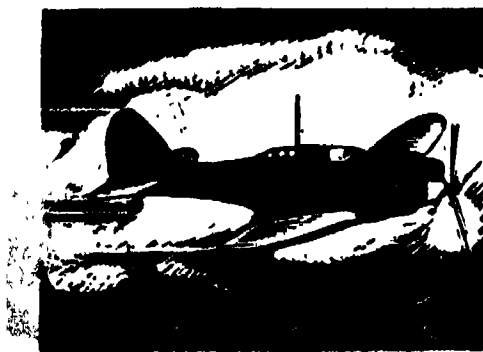
By 1335, the far-flung Mongol dominion was destroyed, and the Mongols, heretofore invincible, withered before the priest Chu Yuan-chang, who cast off his vestments to don warrior's garb and then to become the first Emperor of the Ming Dynasty, which ruled China until the Manchus came into power. The Mongols, meanwhile, had reverted to their happy-go-lucky nomadic life. Today they show few signs of their once all-powerful estate.

But that does not mean that the new Mongol nation of Meng Chiang is not striving for the greatest possible improvement. A five-year plan is now under way to build Inner Mongolia and place it on a sound govern-

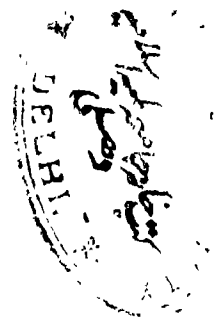
mental and economic basis. Its cities have shown a surprising trend toward modernity along Western lines, but plans for their development decree that the typical architecture is not to be replaced by incongruous types of structure such as have arisen in Outer Mongolia under the Russians, who have made Urga a monstrous sight of Russian houses interspersed with round-domed Mongolian *yurts*. In planning the cities of Meng Chiang, care is being taken to eliminate the architectural horrors which disfigure so many Westernized cities of the Orient, and to keep the Meng Chiang cities as Mongolian in style, yet as modern, as possible.

DESPITE its surface poverty, Inner Mongolia is rich in that it can be highly developed. The whole country appears to be a vast pasture; it may someday merge as the biggest "ranch" in the Far East. Australia, where there formerly were no sheep at all, has become the largest source of wool in the world, but Inner Mongolia already runs close behind it, and new, hardy breeds are being developed.

Other valuable resources are coal and iron. Coal deposits at the Tatung mine formerly were estimated at twelve billion tons, but the Meng Chiang Federated Commission last May announced that the deposits would be more like forty billion tons. Under a ten year plan the Tatung mine expects to increase its output from one million tons in 1942 to thirty million in 1947. In October 1937, the Lungyen iron mine was put under a production plan by the Federated Commission by which it is expected that 2,100,000 tons of ore will be produced in 1942. The Lungyen mine, discovered about twenty-five years ago by a Swedish engineer, has deposits of about 150,000,000 tons.

Thus, while still little known to the world at large, the new Meng Chiang under Prince Te, fondly referred to as the modern Genghis Khan, gives every indication of becoming a tremendously vital state in the Far East of the twentieth century.

Hollywood Sets the Style

The film capital exercises a strong influence on national customs ranging from dress to toys

MARGARET THORPE

When Greta Garbo returned to America in the fall of 1935 she almost precipitated a national crisis. She wore her blonde hair cut so that it just cleared her shoulders, and it was perfectly straight. Every newspaper announced the appalling fact; every photograph showed it. The hairdressers, facing a curl-less future, were at first in despair. Garbo was for millions of women the ideal. Was there to be no more waved hair?

Fortunately, the hairdressers were equal to the occasion. They persuaded the American woman that only the Great Garbo could be really lovely with string straight hair; her emulators might approach the same effect by combing their hair—blonde hair if possible—straight down over their ears, and then curling under the ends of the long bob. The idea proved sound. The hairdressers were saved, and thousands of women with long curled-under bobs went about hoping that they reminded their friends of Greta Garbo.

This Garbo situation was, according to the hair stylists' associations, the second great influence of the movies on the American head. The first was Jean Harlow, when she appeared as a platinum blonde. That was in *Hell's Angels*, as long ago as 1930, but the hairdressing profession still remembers how women flocked to the beauty parlors asking to be made to look like that lovely girl with the shimmering hair. The press agent's phrase "platinum blonde" has gone into the language.

The third great influence was Norma Shearer's *Juliet.* She appeared in 1936 and for a year or two afterward almost every other girl in the country wore her hair smooth on the crown and curling up into a soft fluff below her ears. It was becoming to most people, following natural lines, youthful, not too difficult to care for yet needing enough attention to keep the hairdressers in bread. According to the hair stylists Juliet's coiffure was Greek in origin, suggested by the Olympic games. Whatever its origin it was Norma Shearer who presented it to the nation and she actually set two fashions at the same time for she added to the coiffure a little fifteenth-century headdress which became known as the Juliet cap and, made of anything from string to pearls, appeared all winter at every party in the country.

This double influence is a good example of the power of the movies to popularize a style wherever it may have originated. No fashion magazine, however skillfully edited, can compete with them when it comes to making it seem imperative to own a particular hat or frock or necklace. Neither adjectives nor photographs nor drawings can make a woman feel about an evening wrap as she feels when she sees it on the shoulders of Irene Dunne or in the arms of William Powell. It is both the glamorous background against which it was originally seen and the, probably unconscious, recollection of what was said to the lady wearing that high-collared velvet cape which makes it seem infinitely desirable when it is hanging on a clothes rack in the local dry goods emporium.

It took some years to convince the retailers of this magic force of the movies. The man who harnessed their power, much as Franklin harnessed lightning from the clouds, was Bernard Waldman of Modern Merchandising Bureau, Inc. Mr. Waldman is the originator and entrepreneur of Cinema Fashions, Screen Star Styles, Cinema Modes, and other glamorous trade names. It is his business to guess, while a film is still in production, which of the frocks, hats, or gadgets worn by the stars the average American woman is likely to take to her heart, provided she is given a very good chance.

Like the motion picture producer, Mr. Waldman has no illusions about influencing public taste; he merely tries to anticipate it. Offer the American woman, he will tell you, something impractical or difficult to wear and, though it may be displayed by the loveliest of stars, she will turn to the garment worn by a comparatively unimportant bit player if it suits her particular purpose. If a fashion is good in itself, though, the fact that a big picture and a big star launch it will make it sweep the country.

Modern Merchandising works in coöperation with designers in all the big studios. The designer, however, must think first of the individuality of the player he is dressing and of the photographic qualities of stuffs and lines and colors. This does not prevent Mr. Waldman from seeing possibilities in forty or fifty pictures a year. He recognizes, for instance, the potentialities of the pirate costumes in *The Buccaneer* and he gets a New York manufacturer to turn out for him blouses called "The Boss," "The General," "Dominique." Tagged as Cinema Fashions they go into stores in cities from Bangor to Hono-

lulu. Attached to each is a label with a pirate's head, cocked hat and long mustache, and the legend "A Buccaneer Fashion, inspired by *The Buccaneer*, a Paramount Picture."

At first the movie companies used to ask for 1 per cent of the profits. Now they are satisfied with the publicity. Cinema Fashions appear in the big cities but their strongest influence is in the small towns. There the movies have little else to compete with as the dictators of fashion.

Modern Merchandising began in 1930 when Mr. Waldman persuaded the firm for which he was then working to turn out duplicates of the golden-wedding dress they had created for Universal's *King of Jazz*. Everybody in the trade scoffed at the idea at first. They said the movies had no influence on fashion. The American public today is convinced that they have an influence on practically everything.

Cinema Fashions are only one means of spreading the influence of the stars. Individual manufacturers of every sort of apparel and accessory are constantly attending previews of important pictures and obtaining permission to reproduce this or that article of dress. Even Fifth Avenue shops find a motion picture name now and then to their advantage. Merle Oberon's *Wuthering Heights* wedding gown, for instance, graced one upper Fifth Avenue window while hats from the film were shown in another, and a reproduction of one of the rooms in a third. "Exclusive in this country," ran an advertisement in *The New York Times*, "Snow White afternoon dress. . . . Every precious yard imported for dresses came straight to us. We've used it knowingly for piquant, conversation-making dresses. Silk crepe, a brilliant multicolor print on white or dark brown, $39.95." In the little towns they name anything they have in the shop after the movie of the week when an energetic theater manager suggests a "tie-up" to them in the right terms.

The stars' off-screen costumes are important too. Every fan magazine devotes pages to frocks modeled for it by this or that Hollywood beauty, topflight stars as well as those winging their way up. Sometimes the lady shows what she has selected from a rich collection as the "ideal date dress" or the perfect outfit for a winter cruise. Sometimes the camera has caught her off guard on the tennis court or at the Trocadero and the fashion editor fills up details with elaborate information about materials and cut. Sometimes it is merely a "type" dress, a Sonja Henie blouse at $2.98, "each with her own autograph on the label," or a series of "Judy Garland dresses that will give any young miss the 'Swing and Smartness' of this famous MGM star." Or you might get from Wrigley's a pattern for the "Sonja Henie Double Mint gum dress adapted from her applause-getting Norwegian skating costume."

Yet another type of service is furnished by some of the more sophisticated fan magazines that keep reporters on the lots to tell what the new pictures have to offer in fashion as well as in acting and plot. Their experts write learnedly in terms of trends and influences and designers, and even go so far now and then as to disapprove of some important star's costume in a big scene, a proceeding which gives their criticism a great flavor of authority.

Stars influence fashions in cosmetics, of course, moving the trend towards heavy or light make-up, artificial or natural lines, and here, too, they have the power of endorsement. A movie queen famed for her lovely mouth is a better argument for a certain brand of lipstick than a society matron whom the customers have never seen.

The influence of movies on fashions does not stop here; they serve as a standard of reference, making it possible for the housewife in Vermont or Oregon to explain to her hairdresser, her dressmaker, or her decorator the ideal that she is striving to realize. "I want a sofa like the one in Bette Davis's drawing-room in *Dark Victory*." "I want my curls to go up on the side like Irene Dunne's in the dinner scene in *Love Affair*."

Deep in the heart of many women lies the conviction that she is the Claudette Colbert or the Carole Lombard or the Hedy Lamarr type. Sometimes subtly, sometimes obviously she dresses herself accordingly. If she really has something of the outline or manner of her ideal she can get ideas for the expression and even enhancement of her personality and physical features. At times she may go astray in choosing her type, selecting what she would like to be rather than what she is. In consequence, the imitation is short of perfection.

There is something admirable as well as funny in this striving after ideals. One of the powers of the pioneer is the belief in the possibility of self-improvement, the conviction that we can and should strive for perfection. The movies cater effectively to that deep-rooted instinct. An interesting example is the American exploitation of the English film *Pygmalion*. The publicity men mentioned the fact that it was written by George Bernard Shaw but what they stressed was that it showed the transformation of a flower seller into a duchess. The shop girls went to see how it was done. When the picture was running in Cleveland the Public Library circulated a list of "Books Eliza Should Have Read": *Well-Bred English*, *Look Your Best*, *Individuality and Clothes*, *Give Yourself Background*, and so on. Every one of them

was in continuous circulation while the picture was in town.

It is not only the matron and the would-be glamour girl whose dress and appearance are influenced by the movies. With the increase in the number of juvenile stars it is possible for a young person of almost any age to find a model on the screen. She can fashion herself on such youthful heroines as Judy Garland, Deanna Durbin, and the Lanes. If she is younger than that, there is always Shirley Temple. That powerful little person is an influence on her contemporaries both for good and ill. The comfortable attractive frocks she has sponsored are probably a blessing to little girls but her curls have been a cause of permanent waves forced upon thousands of unhappy infants. At the National Hairdressers and Cosmetologists annual convention in 1939 it was reported that Miss Temple is responsible for the large number of juvenile beauty salons which have sprung up all over the country. Children of three are brought in for manicures.

Children themselves are willing and even anxious to imitate Shirley's diet, to eat the cereal she endorses or drink the same brand of milk. Her talents even command the respect of small boys who admire her as they admire Bobby Breen because he can sing and men like Gene Autry and Bill Boyd because they can ride and rope and shoot. The things boys seem to want most in their screen heroes are skill and energy and the ability always to come out on top. The more vicissitudes they go through before they emerge, the better. That is why boys like Westerns and *Andy Hardy* and *Tom Sawyer*. There were many twelve-year-olds who in the summer of 1939 declined to let their mothers buy them shorts, preferring to go about with long trousers rolled above their knees. They wore straw hats, carefully battered, and carried fish poles.

JUVENILE occupations often vary with the movie of the month. Many children had never thought of wanting bows and arrows until they saw *Robin Hood*, whose archery is far more spectacular than that of the average Indian. Sonja Henie has excited both young and old moviegoers to enthusiasm for skating. When she won her first Olympic championship in 1927 not many Americans thought of taking skating seriously. Eleven years later, when she was Hollywood's third-ranking box-office star, skate sales in the United States increased 150 per cent. When Clark Gable, the number two star, was cast as a news photographer in *Too Hot to Handle* the sales of amateur movie cameras instantly soared.

Where the fashion power of the movies fails is with the older masculine sex. Show the average man a coat approved by Tyrone Power and he will buy the other one. Unlike his wife, he does not want you to think that he thinks he looks like a movie star. Psychologists may explain this as they please. Fashion experts know it as a working fact. The only masculine adornments it pays to duplicate from films are minor gadgets like cuff links or belt buckles. Edward Arnold's *Diamond Jim*, for instance, sold a great many replicas of Brady's famous million-dollar jewels. William Powell's sapphire cuff links in *Man of the World* started not a masculine but a feminine fashion. When Carole Lombard told Paramount's designer Benton that she wanted to wear links like that he produced the first tailored dinner clothes for women, with shirts with cuffs.

The other point besides jewelry at which men will take suggestion from the movies is in a fashion which cannot be pinned to one individual. The vogue for colored shirts, the movies claim, started in Hollywood where the actors wear them on the sets for the benefit of the camera. They are reputed to have been introduced into society by John Gilbert, who left his studio so late for a party that he had no time to change, but the average American could adopt them with impunity for no one could say which movie star he was copying.

Men will take advice from the movies, too, the industry claims, in what not to wear. The story has been told so often that it must be true that the fashion of going without

undershirts began when Clark Gable undressed in the tourist camp in *It Happened One Night*. The sale of masculine underwear declined so sharply immediately afterwards that knitwear manufacturers and garment workers unions were reported to have sent delegations to the producers asking them to take out the scene.

The negative influence works with women, too. Garbo's straight bob was prevented from doing damage but the attempt to popularize "up hair" was unsuccessful largely because of the movie queens. Hollywood has been held responsible, too, for the trade-destroying vogue for informality—suits for dinner, polo coats just as good the fourth year as the first—for parties as well as sports, and, worst of all, bandannas instead of hats. An off-stage portrait of Dorothy Lamour is credited with having started that cheap and convenient fashion.

The most staggering of all the figures in the merchandising record of the movies are those that number the products made in the likeness of favorite cartoon characters; Mickey Mouse, Donald Duck, the Seven Dwarfs, Popeye. Walt Disney Enter-

(*Continued on page* 64)

What's YOUR Opinion?

A monthly department conducted by George V. Denny, Jr., founder and moderator of America's Town Meeting of the Air and President of Town Hall, New York

The Question this month:

SHOULD THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR?

Answers by: SENATORS LAFOLLETTE AND CAPPER, CONGRESSMEN RANDOLPH, HILL AND VOORHIS, HEADS OF PEACE AND PATRIOTIC GROUPS

AT one of our Town Meeting programs a few weeks ago, former-Governor Philip LaFollette of Wisconsin was asked this question by a member of the audience: "If we are going to stay neutral, will we have to abandon the idea of war profits entirely?" To which Governor LaFollette replied: "I think we will have to give up something far more important than profits, and it is one of the most difficult things for human beings—the luxury of giving way to our deep sympathies and our deep emotions."

This would seem to be the heart of the situation concerning our subject this month. Will Congress or the people be more likely to give way to sympathies and emotions and involve this country in a foreign war?

Just as was the case last month, the preponderant opinion of those who reply to our question this month is that we should stay out of this war. There is, however, a strong difference of opinion as to how this objective can best be attained. With the same set of facts available to all, it is strange to observe the strikingly different conclusions reached, depending upon how these facts were viewed.

The full statement of the question on which our contributors were queried this month was: "Should the Constitution be revised to require the approval of the American people, expressed at the ballot box in a national referendum, before the United States could take part in a war overseas?" Representative statesmen, veterans' organizations, patriotic and peace societies were asked for their views. So were a number of newspaper editors of the state of Indiana, as representatives of opinion in the middle west.

> WHAT'S YOUR opinion on this subject? Before you read the following article containing the views of representative leaders in American public life, write down on a piece of paper your answer in one word to the question posed this month. Then after you have read these conflicting opinions objectively and with an open mind, see if you hold the same opinion still. You have often heard it said that argument never changes anyone's opinion. The editors of CURRENT HISTORY would be greatly interested in knowing your reaction after reading both sides.

To begin with an affirmative statement, here is a well-reasoned answer from

Robert M. LaFollette

Senator from Wisconsin

"The proposal for a national war referendum is so vital to democracy that there must be a clear understanding of what it will and will not do. The referendum will keep us from waging an aggressive war on foreign soil without consulting the people first. But it will not delay or prevent the defense of the United States, its possessions, or any part of North or South America. In case a foreign power were to invade, or even threaten to invade, any country in this Western Hemisphere, we could rise up in swift defense without the delay of a nationwide vote.

"The referendum would be invoked only in case of a war on foreign soil. It would merely guarantee that we send our forces abroad only if and when the people have expressed their approval at the ballot box. Waging war across thousands of miles of ocean is a stupendous undertaking. We can not be effective in such an enterprise without popular support. The national referendum will be our best assurance of success if we go 'over there'. Absence of popular consent will mean disaster.

"The proposed constitutional amendment is a final check against secret diplomacy that may decoy us into a foreign war against our will. War breaks out in foreign lands. The Executive decides to help one side. The nation becomes involved in secret commitments and breaches of neutrality. Then there are 'episodes' and excuses for taking sides further. Congress and the people are not consulted until the United States has one foot on foreign soil. When it is too late to be neutral, Congress is asked to rubber stamp a declaration of war, and the people are lured by fancy slogans about fighting to end all war and save democracy. After the supreme sacrifice is made, democracy is destroyed and the peace settlement lays the groundwork for the next war.

"No President would deliberately plot to embroil us in a foreign war

Views of Henry A. Atkinson

General Secretary, the Church Peace Union

I am opposed on practical grounds to the proposal that we determine our policy in regard to peace and war by a popular referendum.

1. It is extremely difficult to keep any issue that is to be voted upon by the people specific enough so that it is not complicated with a lot of other issues.

2. When a nation makes war, it is under such great stress that those who propose it do so only because it is the only and last resort. Under these circumstances it would be impossible for a whole nation to vote intelligently on such a question.

3. Modern war is produced by forces over which the individual nations and their people have little or no control. It is accepted in the spirit of fatalism, for the alternative is played up as worse than war itself. How can such a question as this be intelligently solved by a popular vote? After the storm warnings have gone up and the course of a hurricane is charted showing that it is to strike a large part of the United States, it would be foolish to ask the people to vote whether they wanted a hurricane or not. The question would not be submitted to the people for vote unless the government felt that the situation was such that war became the only solution. Before arriving at such a conclusion, enough emotionalism would have been created, through mass fear and mass hatred, so that the vote would much more likely be for war than for peace. Wilson was elected because he "kept us out of war." A year later, the same people who elected Wilson burned in effigy the six lonely Senators who voted "to keep us out of war." The processes of representative democracy are slow and we become impatient with the divergent tracks and crossroads taken by legislative bodies but, in the long run, it is safer to trust the few representatives. A popular vote of the whole people, on such a question, is more likely to reflect mobocracy than democracy.

against our will, but he may take a series of dangerous steps that add up to a virtual commitment. It *did* happen here—in 1917.

"A vote of the people would give the Chief Executive pause lest he step further toward the deep end than the citizens are ready to go.

"The referendum principle assumes that the people, in the end, are best able to decide whether or not they want to fight in Europe or Asia, and for what goals. Those who have to do the fighting, make the supreme sacrifice, and in the end pay the staggering cost of war, are entitled to make the vital decision for peace or war."

In sharp contrast to Senator La-Follette's opinion is the view expressed by

Raymond J. Kelly

New National Commander of the American Legion

"As the outstanding product of the greatest mass education in war and peace that our country has known, the American Legion is definitely committed to the thought that the war referendum is not the tool to use in making plowshares out of cannon. No other nation of any consequence has such a provision in its basic statutes. In all the conflicts that face the world today there is no such thing as a declared war. The *blitzkreig* descends on the soldier at the front, and on his non-combatant family at home, with equal force, severity and heartbreaking desolation. But a war referendum wouldn't help him, or them, one least bit.

"The American Legion believes that a declaration of war in these days of undeclared wars cannot be decided by the town meeting method. We believe in the responsibility and capability of our representatives in the government to handle our foreign relations on the basis of their intelligent, informed knowledge of the situation as it exists. From the pages of history our children may learn the causes of the present conflicts. But no electorate, however intelligent, however free its press and other methods of communication, can sift from the present propaganda barrage the true causes that dominate power politics and send nations on their unhappy march.

"This is not our war and we want a national defense strong enough to back our representatives in govern-

Views of Arthur Capper

United States Senator from Kansas

When it comes to keeping this country out of a foreign war I am willing to trust the judgment and patriotism of the people themselves. The common man is opposed to war because he can see no good in it, because it is costly, because ordinarily he has no particular reason to hate the other fellow, because international quarrels mean little to him, because he knows he or his sons will have to bear the brunt of the fighting and do the dying, and because he believes there are other and better ways of setting international differences.

The proposal is simple. It in no wise restricts the freedom of action of the Congress or of the President in making war or declaring war in event this country is attacked or is threatened with attack. In such a case there would be no referendum vote.

The thing about the war referendum amendment that the diplomats do not like is that this nation could not join in somebody else's war. Congress, inflamed by some incident or worked into a state of excitement by war propaganda, could not declare war as it now has authority to do. It would have to consult the people, ask them if they want their boys to shoulder rifles again and sail away to fight on foreign soil for a foreign cause.

That is all the war referendum amendment provides. Nothing else. It gives the people the right to decide for themselves whether they want to go to war in the old world because of disputes among nations there, and takes away from Congress and the government the right to decide for them under these circumstances.

Because I trust the judgment of the common man on an issue of this kind and because it is he and his who must fight the war, pay for the war, suffer and perhaps die in the war, I am in favor of this amendment to the Constitution and I shall do my level best to get it through Congress. If adopted, it will prove to be, in my opinion, one of the most potent factors in maintaining peace so far as this nation is concerned.

ment in anything they may do to keep us from involvement in this, another phase of the centuries-long Old World arguments. We are committed to the policy that says our elected officials shall not be hamstrung in their efforts to maintain peace by the divided nation that would arise from the spectacle of the United States voting on the question of what to do when the day arrives that it is no longer possible to maintain an honorable peace."

But here is a member of Congress who feels that the war referendum would be valuable:

Jennings Randolph

Congressman from West Virginia

"I feel that the most sobering influence upon any country in its decision to make war on foreign soil would be the vote of the people of the nation. I certainly feel that the amendments that have been made to the Constitution of the United States will bear out the contention that, although the founding fathers certainly builded well, there are very few persons who would not agree that the action which gave to the women of America the vote has been worth while in our system of government. I feel that the extension of the voting privilege to that large group was a step forward in the furtherance of the full processes of democracy.

"I feel very strongly that if the men and women of America are to be guardians of the peace of this country, certainly when we are confronted with the question of war in which this country would engage on foreign soil, the very fine expression of the American people on that subject would have much weight and more influence than the expression of any elected official, no matter how highly that official felt his responsibility to the electorate."

Equally positive on the other side is the statement by another veterans' leader, who states that the 1939 national encampment of his organization unanimously adopted a resolution opposing proposed changes in the Constitution to permit a referendum by the people on the declaration of war.

Otis N. Brown

Commander-in-chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars

"As overseas veterans our members are convinced that a war referendum would be dangerous to the nation's security for the following reasons:

"(1) Aggressor nations would be encouraged to challenge America's sovereign powers by using propaganda to mislead and divide the American people in anticipation of a referendum.

"(2) In a crisis national unity is the foundation of national defense and disunity would constitute a menace to national safety.

"(3) Because it is impossible for the public as a whole to be familiar with all phases of international negotiations, diplomacy and intrigue, it would be impossible for the American people to vote intelligently on a war referendum.

"(4) We are committed to the principle of government by representation. Any departure from this principle would represent a breakdown in our representative form of government and pave the way for further encroachments upon the fundamental principles of democracy.

"(5) It has already been demonstrated that world powers do not hesitate to engage in actual conflict without a formal declaration of war. Under these conditions, America's welfare would be greatly endangered if those who guide the nation's destiny are unable to act quickly in a crisis.

"(6) Under certain conditions and circumstances a powerful offensive overseas may prove to be our best defensive measure and we know from history that battles fought on foreign soil or in hostile waters will avert the destruction of American lives and property.

"(7) Modern 'blitzkreig' methods of warfare prove America, and other world powers, must be prepared to take immediate action in the interests of self-defense or offensive strategy that prevents actual invasion or attack.

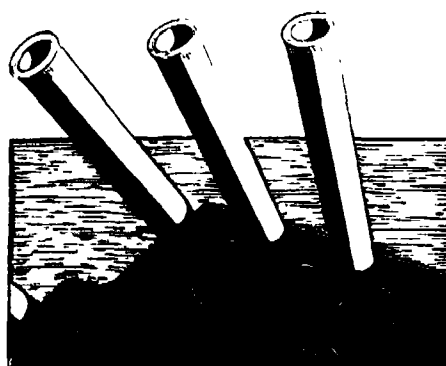
"(8) The Nazi method of penetration, coupled with insidious subversive activities, has already proved effective as a means of mobilizing public sentiment in support of camouflaged objectives. Any country can be swept into an hysterical demand for war by propaganda designed to inflame the passions of the people. Any unscrupulous individual, or group of individuals, in a position to command the attention of the press and radio, could stampede the public in the direction of war and thus control the results of a referendum. The assumption that a referendum on war —either domestic or overseas—would preserve peace for the United States is therefore based on a false premise."

One of those longest active in the peace movement is

John Nevin Sayre

Of the Fellowship of Reconciliation

"The war referendum is a logical and necessary extension of democracy in a world where there is totalitarian war. No issue on which Americans are ever likely to vote will touch their property, the welfare of their children and the liberty of their persons so vitally as will the Government's decision to go to war. For up-to-date war means regimentation by a war bureaucracy of the individual's life, work, property and time. If it is worth while to vote on any issue and if government of, for and by the people is to be a reality and not a sham, then in these days the people themselves, and not their representatives, must cast the final vote for *peace with democracy* or *war with regimentation.*

"It is sometimes said against the referendum that war propaganda and patriotic passion would sweep the people off their feet. My answer is that they are much more likely to sweep Congress off its feet. When Congress has the decision, propaganda and pressure can concentrate on less than six hundred men. When the people decide, propaganda will have to reach out to every election precinct, into each voting booth and into the secret places of each voter's heart. That is quite a large order. I think that propaganda might be less persuasive with the masses who have to do the killing, dying and paying in every war, than it is with the little

groups of men called governments who sit in legislative halls."

Contrariwise, this statement comes from another peace worker,

Clark M. Eichelberger

Director of the League of Nations Association and of the American Union for Concerted Peace Efforts

"I do not believe the so-called war referendum proposal is practical. From the standpoint of immediate policy I have opposed it on the ground that dictators, who would not understand its purpose, would take it as an indication of further American retreat into isolation. From the standpoint of practicality, how could such a national referendum be conducted in a nation of 130 million people? A nation threatening American interests could change its policy five minutes before the polls opened and re-change its policy after the polls closed.

"The chief argument advanced by the advocates of such a measure is that the people would be a brake upon the government that wished to go to war. No government is going to war without an overwhelming national sentiment in back of such a step; in fact, national sentiment is apt to push a government into war. The national sentiment of Great Britain was impatient because Chamberlain delayed the declaration of a state of war after Poland was invaded.

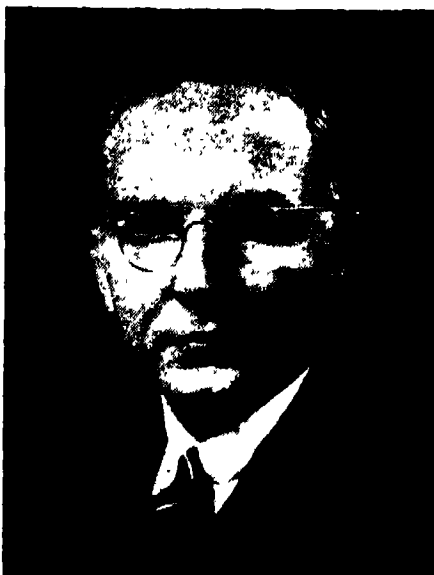
"The war referendum is one of the many panaceas put forward by the isolationists who are ever trying to find some way of keeping out of war without assuming the responsibilities for policies to prevent war."

But a statement to the opposite effect comes from

Estelle M. Sternberger

Executive Director, World Peaceways, Inc.

"The temptations are strongly present—and may persist for a long time to come—for sending our forces to Europe and to Asia. Congress may some day be persuaded by an administration then in power that our nation's interests demand our going to war in areas overseas. Such a war would be costly. No costly war can be fought without constricting our fundamental democratic practices and rights. A temporary policy under current conditions confronts the risk of becoming a continuing and permanent policy.

"When an issue as grave as that must be decided, when the issue becomes so critical that it clearly transcends the lesser problem of military strategy—that is the hour when the people, the ultimate sovereign power in this democracy, should be compelled, and not merely permitted, to speak its will through the ballot box of a national referendum."

George V. Denny, Jr.

Back again from the pros to the cons, to a statement by the head of a committee representing eleven national women's organizations with a combined membership of millions,

Josephine Schain

Chairman of the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War

"The proposal for a referendum is a red herring drawn across the real issue. It causes confusion without offering a solution to the fundamental problem. The declaration of war is the last step in the war-making process. If the proposal for a war referendum was adopted and those in authority willed it, a situation could be so manipulated that the other country in the controversy would be maneuvered into the position of being the one to declare war.

"In time of crisis unity is essential. The referendum would furnish the opportunity to minority groups to stir up trouble with the definite purpose of causing disunity.

"Why is it assumed that the people would vote against war? The history of our country shows that they have demanded action at times when the President has hesitated to recommend a declaration of war. If the war referendum should be adopted it would undoubtedly give the country a false sense of security. It would delay recognition on the part of the United States of the need of establishing an international society to work out peaceful methods for the settlement of disputes, which is the true basis of security."

It is as a step to give the people greater control over foreign policy that the war referendum proposal gains the support of

Florence Brewer Boeckel

Of the National Council for the Prevention of War

"The intricacy of foreign affairs today means that the question of war or peace is involved in many issues. The character of modern war demands that a nation engaged in war accept a complete military dictatorship. Unless, therefore, the people can gain greater control over foreign policy, they risk not only wars over issues they do not wish to die for, but loss of all that they have won by way of democratic government.

"The war referendum provides one form of control, for the right to vote on the final question of peace or war does more than give the people a last minute veto on war. It increases the attention which must be paid to the will of the people all along the line of foreign policy. The opposition to the referendum on the ground that it would hamper official action is an admission that the government might feel it wise to follow policies risking a war the people would not support. Until the war issue is brought within the control of the people we cannot claim to have a government of the people, for the people, and by the people."

On the other hand, this question is asked by

Mrs. Wm. Corwith

National President of the American Legion Auxiliary

"Has our Congress ever declared war unless the American public wanted war by an overwhelming majority? Our representative system of government has functioned perfectly in this respect. In this day of governments in which one man's word will start armies marching, a government which did not have the power to declare war would be tremendously handicapped in the peaceful settlement of disputes. Knowledge that

America must vote before it could act might encourage aggressive nations into violations of our rights which could grow into the cause of war. At a time of crisis, when unity of opinion and purpose is vitally essential, the referendum would open our country to the disruption and conflict of an election campaign. The delay of a referendum might bring a war, which otherwise could have been fought overseas, into our own country with destruction of our cities and homes, and the killing and maiming of women and children.

"The American Legion Auxiliary believes that this proposed constitutional change would give this nation nothing but a false sense of security from war, and might visit upon America the very things which we seek most to avoid."

Two members of Congress from the Far West take their stand for the amendment. One is

Jerry Voorhis

Congressman from California

"My reason for favoring such an amendment is very simple. I think it is a matter of the most simple, elemental and basic justice. It is the people who fight and pay the price for war who should have the right to say whether or not they will go across the seas to fight one. Throughout all history wars have been made by one small group of officials and have been fought by another and much larger group of people. I think if the time could ever come when the people themselves could decide the issue of war or peace that wars would be rare indeed. I believe the American nation alone of all the great nations of the world is preeminently in a position to begin that practice."

The second Far Western Representative is

Knute Hill

Congressman from the State of Washington

"Are we in Washington better fitted than the people throughout the country to decide this grave issue? Our quick means of communication and transportation, the radio, and the press keep the rank and file as well informed as we in Washington.

"Invasion of our Western Hemisphere would be an emergency necessitating prompt action by the Congress. Entrance into foreign entanglements could well await the decision of the voters expressed through our swift modern facilities. With Lincoln I would say: 'I have an abiding faith in the good sense of the common people.'"

The Indiana newspaper editors, from all we hear, are rather positively against the proposed amendment. As witness the following statements from

H. B. Snyder

Editor of The Gary Post-Tribune

"We have gone much too far along the road to 'impure' democracy. If we are to save our skins our officials must be given the power to make honest decisions. The war, in some of its aspects, is a direct result of the centrifugal dispersion of democracy. Instead of growing more efficient the machinery of democracy is becoming less so. The suggested revision of the Constitution would be another monkey wrench. If democracy loses the ability to make decisions, then we are lost."

George D. Lindsay

Editor of The Marion Chronicle

"The American commonwealth is a republic, not a democracy. The aim of the framers of the Constitution was to put the government in the hands of intelligent, capable and patriotic representatives. Emotionalism is not a safe basis on which to operate a national government. Many factors enter into national decisions. They should require both sober thought and judicious decision. While the representatives of the people naturally are and should be responsive to public sentiment, their decision could be determined by mature judgment founded on facts. Demagoguery must never be allowed to become a substitute for statesmanship."

James R. Benham

Editor of The Terre Haute Star

"I believe the elements of time and method are against such referendum and would stand continuously as a potential source of national embarrassment. In the background also stands the apathy of a large percentage of citizens toward voting on any question and the temporary influence of demagogues capable of swaying mass reaction. I doubt seriously that, under the stresses which would be present in the body politic, the result of such a referendum would represent the intelligent verdict of public opinion."

W. H. Toner

Editor of The Anderson Herald

"It is ridiculous to slow the wheels of international affairs by a national referendum of this kind. In the first place, the President and his State Department are entirely responsible for our foreign policy, like it or not. Before the people—yes, even before Congress can act—they have committed this nation either to peace or to war. In every case Congress backs up the President in his stand, because Congress has to. When a nation becomes involved in war through the action of the State Department and the President, the only thing that Congress and the people can do is to get right behind the leaders.

"Much more important than a referendum is public opinion expressed in any number of ways before a referendum would ever have to be taken or before Congress would decide to go to war. If the people of this nation would more articulately deplore the actions of its President, its State Department and even Congress when these actions point toward war, they would be stopped in time. When it comes time for the people to decide whether or not to go to war, it is too late."

(Continued on page 60)

EACH week (Thursdays), over N.B.C.'s Blue Network, you hear Mr. Denny and celebrated national figures on America's Town Meeting of the Air, the country's most popular radio forum. In this department in CURRENT HISTORY, Mr. Denny assembles each month a cross-section of opinion on controversial questions by outstanding authorities, as well as a special section of opinion by readers.

We will be glad to have our readers send in their opinions now on this month's question, "Should the People Vote on War?" Letters should not exceed three hundred words and should be mailed before November 12. They should be addressed to:

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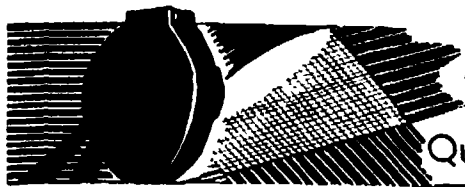

Taxes and War Profits

—*Condensed from* The United States News

Steep new war-time income taxes just accepted by the British people are showing Congress what can be done to take the profits out of war.

A large bloc of American lawmakers, long since interested in taxing war profits, now look on the new British tax law as an example and a guide for a renewed campaign against war profits in this country.

Comparing the new British income levies with typical American incomes, this is what legislators find:

A married American taxpayer with no dependents and a net income of $1,000 would have to pay a tax of $28.76 under the present British law, at current rates of exchange. At present a married American with a net income of $1,000 pays no personal income tax at all.

British war-time taxes imposed on Americans would take 21.8 per cent away from a net income of $4,000.

Rates climb steeply from there until the earner of a net income of $200,000, for instance, would pay a tax of $153,071.25—or 76.5 per cent of his income.

Basic personal income tax would leap from its present 4 per cent to 37.5 per cent starting next April. Surtaxes on incomes over $8,000 would rocket until a millionaire with an income of $600,000 would have to give $593,000 to the Government.

What intrigues many Congressmen in this new British law is that a somewhat similar, but even more severe, American proposal has been waiting in the legislative wings for several years.

Introduced with a fanfare of 50 Senatorial signatures last year, a war tax bill authored by Senator Bone (Dem.), of Washington, is the closest parallel that Congress has to the British war tax schedule.

The spectacle of a Conservative government in Great Britain selling a severe war tax law successfully to an acquiescent British public has started some American legislators thinking that a similar law might be passed in this country, prior to the outbreak of war but for use in war time.

Senator Bone and 49 colleagues back a wartime tax bill that is more lenient on lower income groups than the British schedule, but much more severe on those in the highest income brackets.

Under the Bone plan there would be a normal personal income tax of 6 per cent, contrasting with the basic British war tax of 37.5 per cent.

Steeply graduated surtaxes in the Bone bill would lag behind the British taxes until an income level of about $20,000 a year is reached. Senator Bone proposes to tax a net income of $20,000 a year 51 per cent, while Britons will pay only 41.1 per cent on an income of that size.

From this point the proposed taxes in the Bone bill run far ahead of the English levies until in the high bracket of $200,000 a year, Senator Bone's bill would take roughly $180,000 of this sum for the Government, while the British tax collector will take only about $153,000.

The corporation taxes proposed by Senator Bone and his followers would confiscate all profits above a six per cent return, while the new British law stops at a 60 per cent excess profits levy.

Another feature of Britain's financial program—the prospect of a capital levy when war is over—also has turned the spotlight again on a bill by Senator Lee (Dem.), of Oklahoma, to mobilize wealth in time of war.

While the possibility in Britain is that a slice of capital would be confiscated by the Government when hostilities are over, Senator Lee has proposed a milder plan for America requiring citizens to make loans to the Government in exchange for 50-year bonds bearing 1 per cent interest.

Forced loans would be exacted from Americans with wealth by the Lee bill, ranging from a loan of 2.5 per cent from persons with $2,000 net wealth to 43.31 per cent from persons with $10,000,000 net wealth.

Fitzpatrick—St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Taking the Glamour Out of War

Short Wave War

—*By W. L. White, reprinted from* The Emporia Gazette

If we ever get dragged into all this, and some kind of home grown version of the Gestapo starts out to confiscate our short wave radio sets to protect our impressionable ears against enemy lies, they had better strap their six-guns over their vests and go from house to house and farm to ranch in pairs, because most of the embattled yeomanry out here will not give up their short wave sets without at least an argument.

For some reason short wave reception from Europe is particularly good on the Great Plains. Daventry comes in almost as loud as Kansas City, the German short wave station is much easier to get than Los Angeles and Paris is infinitely less scrambled to us than WEAF in New York.

Furthermore it is more fun to get the separate English, German and French versions of events fresh off the bat than to listen to them after they have been condensed and edited by a commentator. Anyway, this end of the nation likes to listen to both sides direct and make up its mind for itself. Since a good short wave set can be had for about $30, plenty of them are doing it.

For instance, the Saar-Moselle front may have been quiet last night, but hell broke loose on the short wave dial just below 12, where the German and French stations are close together. The French started it with pre-

liminary artillery preparation in the shape of a couple of phonograph discs, and then a quick trench raid in which the French commentator kidded the Germans unmercifully for surrendering most of their Polish conquests—more than half the country—to the advancing Soviet army. Hitler, the French announcer pointed out, was getting the short end of everything. Because the Russians had blocked his path to Rumania, he had tried, through his assassins, to seize the Rumanian government. But even this desperate attempt to check-mate his supposed allies had failed.

The Germans took it for about half an hour. Then they counter-attacked a few millimeters lower down on the dial. The Rumanian premier, they blandly asserted, had been Germany's great and good pal. He had been assassinated by secret British agents disguised as Iron Guardsmen. The fact that it coincided with the Russian occupation of the Rumanian frontier was just one of those coincidences. In any case, Russia and Germany were brothers, Russia was not hogging more than her fair share of Poland, but was only occupying it up to a line which had been mutually agreed on long before the war started.

Now the French had the German counter attack in a little pocket, and they jerked the noose at the neck of the bag. So it had all been agreed on before the fighting began? Well what about German claims that they were only resisting Polish aggression? Why, if this war had been forced on Germany, had they agreed with Russia to split Poland down the middle many weeks before it began?

Instead of trying to silence these hot little pill-boxes, the Germans prudently retired into a fine program of folk songs and vocal selections, leaving the French in undisputed possession of their gains on that sector of the propaganda front for the rest of the night.

For a Peace Treaty Now

—Reprinted from Samuel Grafton's column "I'd Rather Be Right" in The New York Post

If the war in Europe is a just war and not merely one of history's bloodclots, then the terms of the peace should be outlined now. Several millions of brave young men on both sides are being asked to die. They should not be required to endorse a blank check with their blood. Each should be given a memorandum telling him what he is dying to bring about, or what he is dying to prevent.

The Allies have it in their power to clarify the issues before the world by announcing frankly at the outset what they propose to do with a conquered Germany.

"This is a war of liberation," they can say. "We will take no territorial gains from it. We will free Czecho-Slovakia and Austria. We will free the German people from their Nazi masters. We will not take one penny of indemnity from the German people. We will see to it that the German people have enough material resources to establish democracy on a basis as lasting as that of France and Britain."

That will be a memo fit for a soldier to read before he goes over the top. It will put something like a decent price on his life, if a decent price can be put on any human life.

If the intention is to make a revolution in Germany by dropping leaflets on the German people at night, this is a message that will make sense as it comes fluttering down out of the skies to the abused and exploited Germans.

The shopworn politicians who head the cabinets in London and Paris say their quarrel is with the German leaders, not with the German people. The German people wonder. They have heard that one before. The whole world has heard that one before. Our fine poet Alan Seeger, heard it. He went to Europe and gave away his life with a smile to make the world safe for democracy. He never knew of the secret treaty signed in London on April 26, 1915, in which Italy was promised the Trentino and the Southern Tyrol, inhabited by Austrians; the ports on the Eastern Adriatic, inhabited by Slovenes; the Dodecanese Islands, inhabited by Greeks, and a protectorate over Albania.

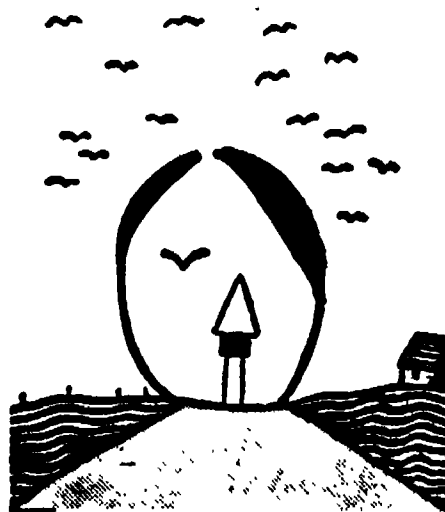
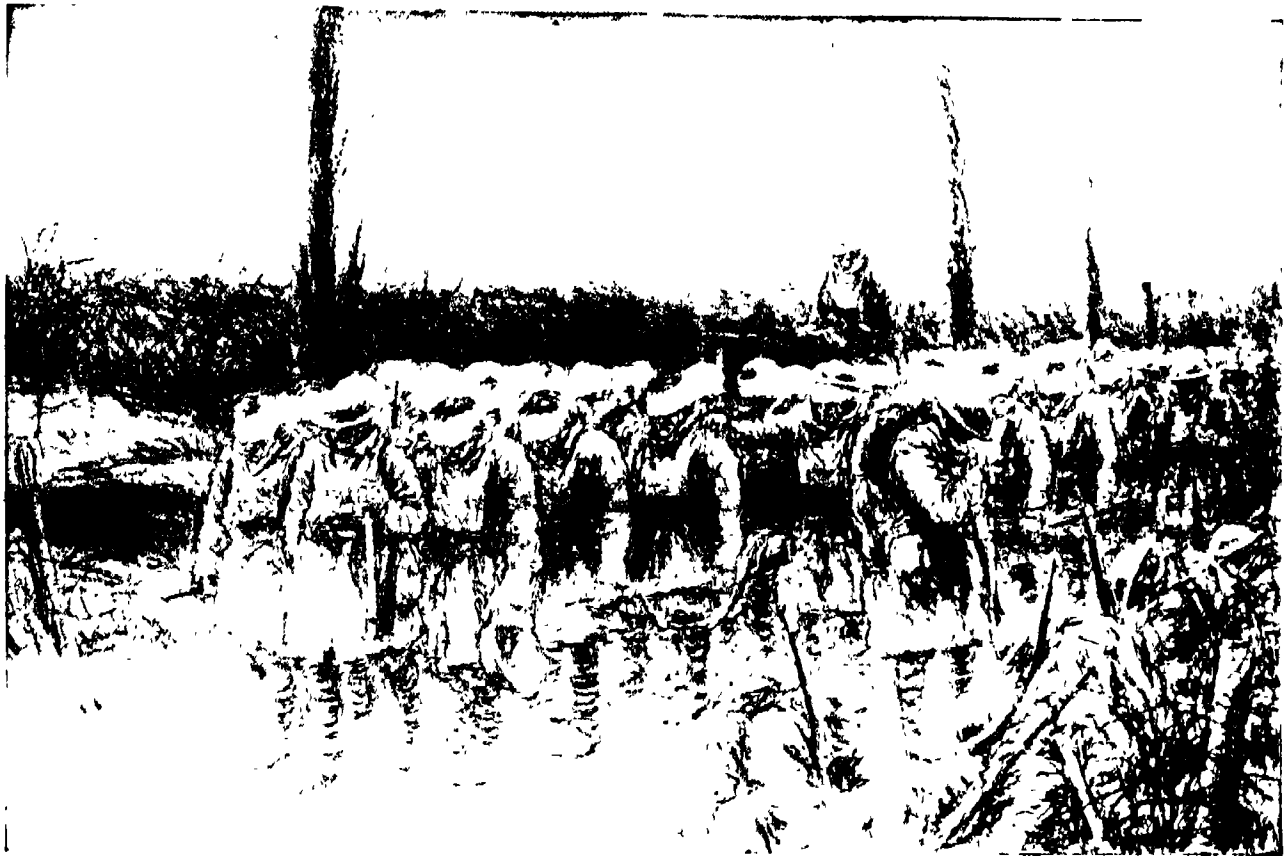
The New Horizon?

None of us knew of that other secret treaty (signed a bare fifty-one days before we entered the war to make the world safe for democracy) in which Japan was given the German colonies in the Pacific north of the Equator, while Britain reserved for herself all German possessions south of the Equator.

Let us remember that day, May 7, 1919, in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, when Georges Clemenceau stood up, thrust the draft treaty into the hands of the German representatives and ordered them, in a 100-second speech, to sign it within two weeks.

The Allies should have known from the immediate reaction that this treaty would settle nothing. For the German delegate, Count Brockdorff-Rantzau, keeping his seat while he spoke (a last pathetic affront by the broken German power) reminded the conferees that Germans were still starving, that the blockade was still on, six months after the armistice, that no fair treaty could be negotiated in this atmosphere.

The Allied response (over Wilson's objections) was to order the troops to march into Germany unless the Germans signed. They "signed". They signed away 8,000,000 people, all their colonies, their coal mines in the Saar. They signed away all their merchant ships above 1,600 tons. They signed a pledge to build 1,000,000 tons of ships for the Allies, free. They signed away all property owned by their citizens abroad. They signed a promise to pay all the military pensions of all the French and British soldiers, and a promise to give the French 140,000,000 tons of mined coal, free, during ten years. They signed away 75 per cent of their iron. They signed away the right to sell goods in the Allied countries. They signed a concession allowing the Allies to dump goods in Germany at will. They signed away the right to an army, the right to a navy, the right to defend the Rhineland.

Stupid as the Allied statesmen were, they realized that only a democracy in Germany could keep the peace. But they cunningly cut its throat, and by doing so, cut their own. If this is a different war, let the Allies signalize that fact in a different peace, written in justice at the start, not in avarice at the end.

Pencil Sellers
"Class of '17"

For Christ's Sake

—Condensed from The Churchman, *an independent journal of the Protestant Episcopal Church*

Already, with terrifying crescendo, the tom-toms of war are beating throughout America. Already the politicians, the munitions makers, the food profiteers, the arm-chair patriots, are shouting, "We can't possibly stay out: civilization itself is at stake." Already even the pulpits of the church of Christ are suggesting that we had better step in with all our reserves of power, that the world may be saved.

Have we so soon forgotten? It was all said twenty years ago; said with eloquence and disastrously alluring persuasion. How well some of us remember those purple twilights in New York as the smartly turned out troops of twenty year old boys we loved marched down Fifth Avenue to the rapid, stirring tempo of John Philip Sousa's band playing *The Stars and Stripes Forever*, colors whipping in the winter wind! How our hearts swelled with pride! We cheered ourselves hoarse. We would show the Kaiser and his "Huns" how to save the world for democracy!

We didn't know then what the oratory and the cheers and the music would do to those boys. We didn't know the flaming inferno into which we were sending them. We didn't know—or for the emotional moment didn't care—that thousands would never come back; that other thousands would return to a living, lifelong hell: faces blown away, minds unseated, nerves shattered, eyes blinded!

Have *you* so soon forgotten? If so, look at the drawing at the top of this page by Kerr Eby, "Pencil Sellers—Class of '17." Eby saw it—and didn't forget. "I am a very profane man," he wrote. "I am not being profane when I say, 'For Christ's sake, say or do what you can.'" It is one of the finest prayers that has been uttered.

"America cannot stay out of this war!" Bosh! America can do what it wills. Certainly it cannot stay out if we listen to the war-mongers when they begin again to cry "Slacker!" "Coward!" and all the rest. Certainly we cannot stay out if we give ear to the golden-mouthed politicians and parsons and columnists who love to stand on the side-lines and cheer as they send our boys and our future into oblivion.

Do you remember how in 1914 the Germans were going to be sitting on our doorsteps every morning, waiting to run us through with a bayonet as we opened the door to pick up our morning paper? Have you forgotten how the hordes of Huns were always about to overrun our towns and rape our women and slaughter our children? How it was to be arranged no one stopped to consider.

Already it is beginning over again. How can we be sure that the Germans won't be landing on our shores—or at least in Canada—with fleets of airplanes? What are we going to do then?

That kind of hysteria may sound amusing to some. It is not amusing to us. Before our emotions send our sons once more to the battlefields of Europe we had better do some thinking. If we are charged with being selfish while the caldrons of Europe boil we had better ask at least two questions: (1) Who makes the charge? (2) So what? If it is selfish to preserve the only powerful democracy now left in the world, we are all for selfishness. For let us make no mistake about it: if America goes into the war in Europe it leaves democracy behind, probably forever. Modern war does not function under democratic control.

Lexicon for War Days

—Reprinted from H. I. Phillips' "The Sun Dial," The New York Sun

Communique—A paragraph trying to do the work of two armies; a brief statement reluctantly issued to give the public an inadequate idea of something that probably didn't happen.

White Paper—A blue recital of red episode during black hours.

Pact—An agreement with "Good only until further notice" stamped on it in such small type as to be illegible.

Non-Aggression Pact—Same as the above, on a quantity production basis.

Plebiscite—A vote taken in a shooting gallery.

Border Incident—The thing that led up to the war.

Blue Book—Diplomatic term for a file full of old correspondence.

Neutrality—The process of carefully examining both sides of the bread to find out where the butter is, coupled with a careful analysis to make sure it is butter.

Ministry of Information—The place where news is placed for aging; the bureau where information is stored until it becomes vintage stock.

Protectorate—A straitjacket with a sport collar.

Propaganda—Æsop trying to look dignified; Hans Christian Andersen insisting "This is on the level."

* * *

Reconnaissances—Something you don't hear much about after both sides really start fighting.

Commentator—The dinner party bore who got on the radio.

Mechanized War—Hitler riding two motorcycles abreast, carrying his own broadcasting unit and trying to ignite a torch with an electric lighter.

Peace Overture—Mussolini without the chest expansion.

Liberation—Something always attained by Russia and Germany by exterminating somebody.

Atrocity—Counter-attack, with pursuit.

* * *

Minorities—The people who have bought the cards for years and were never able to yell "Bingo!"

Encirclement—What Goliath complained of the minute he saw David.

Guarantees—They are the same as those stubs given to you by the movie house ticket taker after he takes your ticket.

Safeguarding Independence—Handing to a little fellow in the street riot a letter assuring him he is among friends.

Act of Aggression—Usually something associated with a small and unprotected State, and generally the village idiot using a putty-blower as an enemy tank passes.

* * *

War—Obsolete. (See counter-attack, with pursuit.)

Restraint—A war lord magnanimously agreeing to cut the bombing flights over the hospital to two a day.

Chivalry—Agreeing to wear blinders while dropping bombs into a schoolyard.

Democracies Today

—Condensed from an article by Volney D. Hurd in The Christian Science Monitor

Let's look at the European mainland. There are 22 countries there comprising about 4,250,000 square miles. With the exception of France only seven of these states are democratic and they total some 500,000 square miles. Coming to population we find 439,000,000 people living under absolutist or semiabsolutist governments and 38,000,000 in democracies. That is roughly speaking an area ratio of 8 to 1 and a population ratio of 11 to 1.

Now let's go further afield and take in the world. Outside the United States, the British Commonwealth and the French Empire there are a billion and a quarter people in the world. Of these 90 per cent live under authoritarian or autocratic governments. Putting it another way only 10 per cent of the human beings outside the Anglo-Saxon countries and France enjoy democracy. And remember that in this 10 per cent are grouped the Latin American countries some of which are none too democratic. To bring this down to today and the war in Europe, if England and France should go under, the ideals of the United States would face a world of hostile ideals almost alone.

Question: That must make the small European democracies very small indeed. Just what are the democratic countries in Europe, outside of France, and how big are they?

Answer: Let's start with Switzerland with 4,180,000 inhabitants. Then comes Belgium with 8,320,000, Holland with 8,557,000, Denmark with 3,735,000, Norway with 2,895,000, Sweden with 6,267,000 and Finland with 3,810,000. Now the four smallest, put together, haven't many more inhabitants than New York State alone. Norway has a smaller population than Los Angeles County. Switzerland is as populous as Chicago.

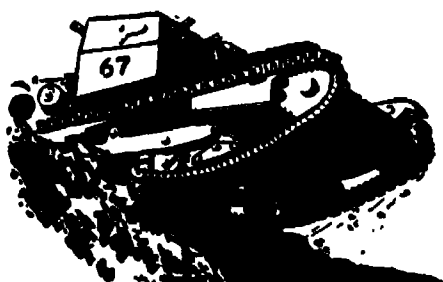
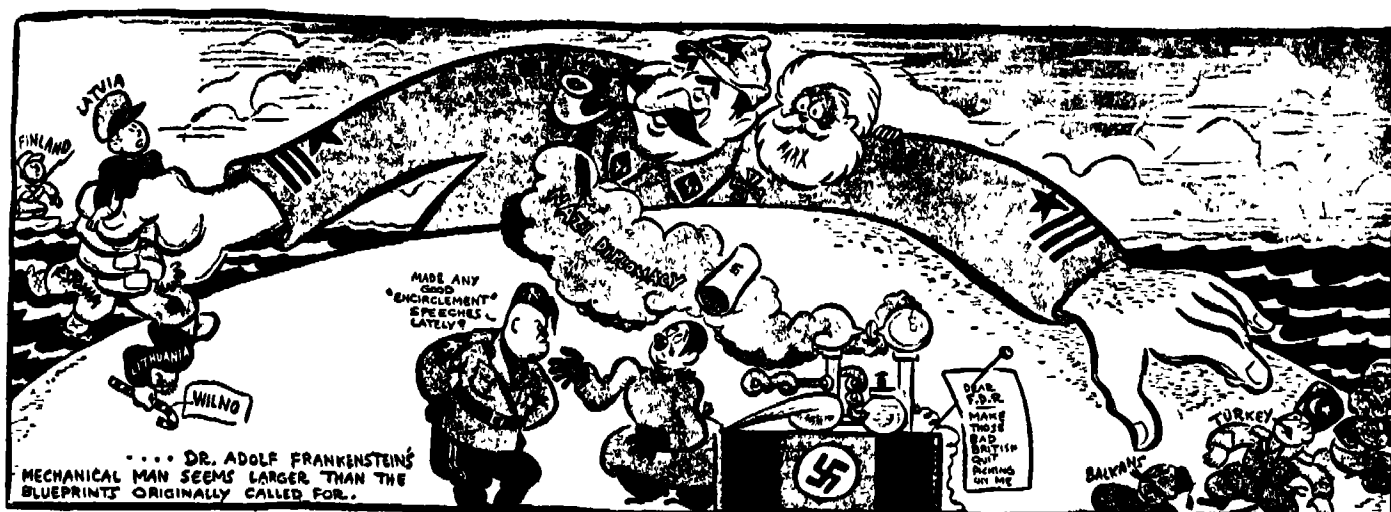
Question: There are apparently degrees of democracies. Just how good are these small states?

Answer: Morally and spiritually these little states are among the most valuable in the family of nations, but politically they don't count for much. Sweden, Denmark and Switzerland are outstanding examples of a fair society and balanced prosperity. Five of the seven democracies have created exemplary governments with practically complete freedom and order and the elimination of graft. But inspiring as that may be, in this world of real politics they play a tiny role. Why, they are unable really to defend themselves. For decades Britain has been the chief defense of Holland and Belgium while France has been back of Switzerland.

Now this question of defense is important in view of the present heavy odds being fought by Britain and France. What it comes down to is this—that without the support of the Allies there is not a single democratic state on the principal part of the continent that could defend itself a month against a major aggressor.

Question: Isn't that a theoretical point of view? Even against the present odds could England and France actually fail?

Answer: No one can answer that question absolutely. But the best military and political observers feel that England and France could fail—from a material estimate of power.

Your political realists go on to point out that many empires have lost their power even in modern times. It is not so long ago that Holland was a peer of England, that Portugal was a leading power, that Spain dominated two worlds, and even Venice and Genoa were mighty factors in world affairs. Whole continents once trembled before Istanbul. Today where are they?

International Review — *Yardley—Baltimore Sun*

Camouflage and Calm

—Condensed from an A.P. *despatch by Louis P. Lochner*

Camouflaging has become a fine art in the Saar sector of Germany's powerful West wall.

You approach a bridge, for instance, and see a gasoline filling station with all normal equipments just before you.

But before you go onto the bridge you see it isn't a filling station at all. If you look closely enough, you see machine-guns pointing ominously at you from behind a façade that hides a pillbox.

You see a group of trim little houses built in native Saarland style near an industrial plant.

You take it for granted they are intended for company employes. Then you come closer and see that windows and curtains have been painted on armor plate.

Your eye travels up the beautiful slope of a valley and you see a green and white peasant's home.

But strong field glasses show guns of various caliber protruding from the windows.

You notice a neat little tavern with a blackboard outside advertising your favorite wine. On closer investigation, it isn't a tavern at all—it's a miniature fort.

You go into the beautiful forests in which the Saar region abounds. Logs on a slope seem to lie ready for hauling.

As a matter of fact, they are connected by barbed wire entanglements and make a formidable construction.

You penetrate further into the interior of the forest and see heaps of dried twigs and branches piled up by a forester.

Beneath them, you discover huge boxes of ammunition.

To the layman, the word of Hitler that "the West wall is unconquerable" assumes a new meaning as he inspects the defenses against possible French attack.

They are infinitely more numerous than those against Belgium and Luxembourg. One finds them everywhere, even on the square opposite the village church. The banks of the Saar River are profusely studded with them. Building and strengthening of fortifications continues all the time.

Pioneers (engineer corps) and the labor service work together and openly, even though they are within sight of the French, for nothing seems to happen to disturb them.

They have ceased to worry about the French. They say they are convinced that no enemy can penetrate their wall.

With similar unconcern, families go back to abandoned towns and villages to fetch their belongings while factories and plants send big trucks every day to cart away stocks and machinery.

Saarbruecken, an industrial city of 69,000 inhabitants, with valuable steel and iron works, is dead. The population has moved out completely. Signs on many shops read "Evacuation of this business has been completed."

Yet the French, so far as I could observe today, make no effort either to seize it, which might cost considerable loss of life because of strong German fortifications surrounding it, or shell it directly.

With our military escorts, I entered the dead city with two other American reporters in full view of the French. It appeared that had they desired, the French easily could have picked us for easy marks. The German officers accompanying us made no effort to conceal their uniforms indicating their rank.

Nothing happened.

The Saarbruecken industrial plants have carted away their valuable machinery as well as steel and ore reserves. Our German guide told us 200 freight cars were moving daily from Saarbruecken with materials and machinery of all sorts without the slightest interference by the French. We also saw big trucks loaded to the top leaving across a bridge which the French easily might have destroyed.

Similarly Zweibruecken was a dead city. Its industrial plants lay idle. Soldiers here and there and families calling for their belongings were the only evidences of life. Outside the city on heights commanding a good view of French positions five miles away, German artillery in a desultory way was firing back when the French began shooting about 6 p. m.

"We must let them know we are still here," was the dry comment of one officer with us.

England Looks Skyward

—Condensed from an article by Captain L. L. Maclean in The Fortnightly, *London*

If a surprise attack were made on London it is likely that the first blow, struck suddenly and without warning, would reach its objective without opposition. Falling as a bolt from the blue, it might find London teeming with jostling crowds on normal business or pleasure bent, quite unconscious of any danger. Stricken thus, the death roll would be tre-

mendous but subsequent attacks on London would be met and the issue fought out, with perhaps such losses to the enemy as would compel him to draw off.

But there would still be nothing to prevent the enemy from directing his subsequent efforts against the ports of the country, exposed on our coasts and difficult to defend. If he could shatter the storage and distributive organization and prevent the ingress and egress of ships, he would, in fact, establish a condition of blockade and food shortage which must in time sap the morale of the whole populace.

Except in co-operation with submarines the use of aircraft in large numbers for independent action against shipping is unlikely, because it would involve considerable dispersion of effort. Germany, pressed for fuel, is unlikely to waste an ounce of it in unproductive work, especially as the same ships could be destroyed with less effort and more success by direct attacks on those comparatively few ports, which must harbor them.

In order to attack such ports as Aberdeen, Dundee, Leith, Newcastle, Hull and other large towns on the East Coast, enemy raiders travelling at 300 miles an hour and attacking from a height of fifteen to twenty thousand feet, could release their bombs on to their coastal targets from a distance of three miles out to sea, while their aeroplanes would barely brush the fringe of the defence system.

It may be argued that bombing in these circumstances would make no pretence at accuracy, but what has to be realized is that accuracy would not be attempted. The objective for attack would be the docks and the adjacent area, and methods suitable for area bombing would be employed.

Three bombers, each carrying one ton in the form of eight 250 lb. bombs, flying at 300 miles an hour in line abreast at 200 yards apart and each releasing one bomb a second by time release gear, would create a stricken area 1,100 yards long by 450 yards broad, or 102 acres.

On this basis it would require some 400 aeroplanes completely to cover Hull, 300 for Newcastle and 120 for the Port of London dock area. Two hundred and thirty modern bombers, each carrying one ton of bombs and using automatic distribution, to ensure that their bombs fell at exactly spaced intervals, could destroy a built-up area of about 7,800 acres. The German striking force, to-day, probably exceeds ten times that number of aircraft. Its potential for damage is therefore easily calculable.

There can then be no illusion about the extreme necessity of preventing bombing aircraft reaching our vital ports. Prevention or the deflection of raids can only be achieved if the raiding bombers are struck before they reach our shores, whereas the mere infliction of casualties may be attempted after the enemy is over our territory. It seems obvious that we cannot prevent raids which are coming in at a speed perhaps in excess of five miles a minute from reaching their objectives, if we only attempt interception in the vicinity of the targets.

In the first place the raiders have got to be found, they may be anywhere from twenty to twenty thousand feet, and unless the fighter is in approximately the same strata of air as the bomber he will never catch sight of it. Once found the raiders can be attacked. It would be absurd, however, to assume that the climbing fighters will invariably have picked a line which would bring them on to the most advantageous position to begin an attack straight away, or that the first attack will invariably be successful. If it fails, manœuvre for fresh position will ensue, requiring both time and space. Climb, search, pursuit and attack may well absorb some thirty minutes, during which the raiding aircraft may have travelled 150 miles. The necessity for meeting the incoming raider at least 150 miles out, if our ports and coastal towns are to be protected, is clear.

London News Chronicle

"I think you'd better prepare the guest room, Johannes . . ."

$10,000 a Hit

—Condensed from The Daily Express

Fire! The gun lunged back violently on its recoil cylinders. After a brief moment a puff of smoke flecked the blue bowl of the sky, on which a plane seemed to hang as though painted

Now puffs of smoke multiplied round the tiny machine. It flew on rocking violently in the disturbed air. The smoke-balls clustered more closely round it as the aim was corrected. The gunners, sweating at their task below, couldn't hear the crunch of wood and metal as a shell sheared through a wing-root, but they saw the plane bow sideways like a tired débutante and begin to slide headlong into the sea. . . .

Whenever one hears that an R.A. battery has destroyed one of these fascinating toys so that only a few smashed spars floating on the sea remained, one wonders if this is not rather an expensive pleasure. Here is the answer. A.A. batteries almost always fire with practice shells; these contain no explosive, just crack open in a little puff of smoke so you can see how you're shooting. Consequently only a direct hit on a vital part will bring the machine down. Often a Queen Bee will land safely with a dozen holes drilled through wings and fuselage. With live shells any of these hits would have destroyed the plane.

Cost of Queen Bees is often exaggerated: they are made from Tiger Moths costing about £700—there is only the fairly complex radio control on top of that. A couple of thousand should cover it handsomely. Queen Wasps are dearer; they are made by Airspeeds (no cost published; at a guess, £4,000), but they fly twice as high, twice as fast.

Yellow wing-surfaces warn other pilots to keep clear. Queen Bees are fitted with floats or wheels, can be launched from catapults aboard ship as easily as from land. The aircraft carrier *Argus* has been fitted as a tender and accommodates two flights. They are controlled from a small panel a couple of feet wide, standing waist high. On it are seven white buttons, marked: Dive, Climb, and Level; Right, Left, and Straight; and Glide. Simply press the button, sir!

Queen Bees were evolved at Farnborough Airfield, after fifteen years' research. A big order was placed the following year. Next year the Queen Wasp appeared. Now they are in steady production.

Before the Russian Pact

-Reprinted from The Daily Herald, *London*

Here are recent statements on aggression made by Soviet leaders or printed in the official Russian press.

JULY 30, 1939, *Izvestia*, organ of the Soviet Government, says, "The Bolsheviks in 1914 to 1918 were not pacifists and all the more are not today. They stand for the creation of a general Peace Front capable of halting the further development of Fascist aggression — a Peace Front founded on full reciprocity, full equality of rights, and an honest sincerity and resolute repudiation of the disastrous policy of 'non-intervention.'

"The second imperialist war has already begun. The whole world knows Germany to be the aggressor."

MAY 11, 1939, *Izvestia* says: "If Britain and France really wish to set up a barrier to aggression in Europe, they must form a united pact of mutual assistance, if possible between the four principal Powers in Europe —Britain, France, the U.S.S.R., and Poland—or at least the first three.

"An arrangement should be made by which these three should guarantee other Powers in Central Europe which are under menace of aggression."

APRIL 9, 1939. *Izvestia* says, "Only a system of collective security, based on the thesis of the indivisibility of world peace, can put the aggressors in bonds."

APRIL 2, 1939. *Izvestia* says, 'All efforts to appease Germany through negotiation should be abandoned. The democracies should again adopt a policy of resisting aggression and of collective security. In this case they can count on the full support of the only country which bears no responsibility for Munich."

FEBRUARY 24, 1939. *Izvestia* says, A Soviet war for the defence of the Socialist regime against the Fascist aggressors for their complete destruction is going to be the most just and most holy of wars."

JULY 31, 1939, *Pravda*, organ of the Russian Communist Party, says: The Soviet nation hates imperialist war.

"The Soviet people know that the onslaught of the Fascist aggressors can only be stopped by an effective front of the peace-loving States, and are ready to take part in the organization of a genuine Peace Front.

A German View — Frankfurter Volksblatt

"Now you hear the frightful roar of the British lion, the waves made by the invincible British fleet, the thunder of the Wellington bombers and the roar of the tanks."

"Only resolute and unyielding force can halt the march of the aggressors."

AUGUST 15, 1939, *Pravda* says: "The war of the Soviet Union against Fascism will be the most just and lawful of all the wars of humanity. The best means of defence is a violent offensive for the complete annihilation of the adversary in his own territory.

"To annihilate the adversary means to annihilate Fascism, raise the workers against it, and help them in their war against Fascism."

MARCH 10, 1939. Stalin in his speech to the Eighteenth Communist Party Congress said, "The policy of non-intervention is equal to connivance at aggression.

"We stand for rendering support to nations which have fallen prey to aggression and are fighting for their independence."

MAY 31, 1939. Molotov, Russian Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, says in the Soviet Parliament, "Our task is to check the further development of aggression and to this end to establish a reliable and effective defensive front of the non-aggressive Powers."

AUGUST 29, 1938. *Izvestia* says, "Britain is to be blamed for sacrificing Czech interests to her own schemes for reaching an agreement with Germany, instead of giving an unconditional guarantee to defend the Czech State if attacked."

Defeatism Rumored in Warring Germany

--Condensed from The Haagsche Post, *The Hague*

Certain things which happened during the German mobilization have come to the knowledge of nations abroad. Of course, tall tales have been told. Nevertheless, executions owing to refusal to go to war have taken place. At several railway stations, police had to make an end to heart-rending farewell scenes. Such scenes were never witnessed during the years of 1914-1917.

Although no mass disobedience has taken place, that which has really happened is in itself serious enough. In several West German towns the Hitler Youth was ordered to call at night at the houses of World War veterans who were due for mobilization. During these "calls" windows and doors have been demolished. Many veterans, however, refused to obey the Hitler Youth and were not even afraid of brandished revolvers. Police and S.S. had to call on the veterans the following day.

The spirit of the younger soldiers also is bad. They do not possess the enthusiasm which German youth showed in 1914. Some Germans are longing for liberation from—as they now call it—German Bolshevism. Germany's non-aggression pact with Russia has intensified these sentiments.

War Notes and Documents

Blue Book

Great Britain's Blue Book, containing diplomatic correspondence on the Polish crisis, was published in London on September 21. In the week preceding the outbreak of war on September 1, Sir Nevile Henderson, British Ambassador at Berlin, sent seven communications regarding attempts made at negotiating a settlement of the crisis to Viscount Halifax, British Foreign Secretary. Excerpts, as published in the Blue Book, follow:

Talks With Hitler

HENDERSON TO HALIFAX
Berlin, Aug. 25, 1939.

Herr Hitler began by saying he had always and still desired good relations with Great Britain and his conscience compelled him to make this final attempt to secure them. It was his last attempt. He suggested that I should fly to England myself in order to put the case to His Majesty's Government.

The conversation lasted an hour, my attitude being that the Russian pact [the Russian-German non-aggression pact] in no way altered the standpoint of His Majesty's Government and that I must tell him quite honestly that Britain could not go back on her word to Poland and that I knew his offer would not be considered unless it meant a negotiated settlement of the Polish question.

The only signs of excitement on Herr Hitler's part were when he referred to Polish persecutions.

Among the points mentioned by Herr Hitler were: That the only winner of another European war would be Japan; that he was by nature an artist, not a politician, and once the Polish question had been settled he would end his life as an artist not as a warmonger; he did not want to turn Germany into nothing but a military barracks and he would only do so if forced to do so; that once the Polish question was settled, he himself would settle down; that he had no interest in making Britain break her word to Poland; that he had no wish to be small-minded in any settlement with Poland and that all he required for an agreement with her was a gesture from Britain to indicate that she would not be unreasonable.

HENDERSON TO HALIFAX
Berlin, Aug. 28, 1939.

Herr Hitler continued to argue that Poland could never be reasonable. She had England and France behind her and imagined that even if she was beaten she would later recover, thanks to their help, more than she might lose. He spoke of annihilating Poland. I said that reminded me of a similar talk last year of the annihilation of the Czechs. He retorted that we were incapable of inducing Poland to be reasonable. I said it was just because we remembered the experience in Czecho-Slovakia last year that we hesitated to press Poland too far today.

Generally speaking, Herr Hitler kept harping on Poland and I kept on just as consistently telling Herr Hitler he had to choose between friendship with England which we offered him and excessive demands on Poland which would put an end to all hope of British friendship.

I finally repeated to him very solemnly the main note of the whole conversation so far as I was concerned, namely, that it lay with him as to whether he preferred a unilateral solution which would mean war as regards Poland, or British friendship. If he were prepared to pay the price of the latter by a generous gesture as regards Poland he could, at one stroke, change in his favor the whole of public opinion, not only in England but in the world. I left no doubt in his mind as to what the alternative would be, nor did he dispute that point.

Baron von Ribbentrop asked me whether I could guarantee that the Prime Minister could carry the country with him in a policy of friendship with Germany. I said there was no possible doubt whatever that he could and would, provided Germany cooperated with him.

Herr Hitler asked whether England would be willing to accept an alliance with Germany. I said, speaking personally, that I did not exclude such a possibility, provided the developments of events justified it.

The conversations were conducted in quite a friendly atmosphere in spite of the absolute firmness on both sides. Herr Hitler's general attitude was that he could give me no real reply until he carefully studied the answer of His Majesty's Government.

Amplification of Previous Message

HENDERSON TO HALIFAX
Berlin, Aug. 29, 1939.

Herr Hitler insisted that he was not bluffing and that my people would make a great mistake if they believed he was. I replied that I was fully aware of the fact and that we were not bluffing either.

Herr Hitler stated that he fully realized that that was the case. In answer to a suggestion by him that Great Britain might offer something at once in the way of colonies as evidence of her good intentions, I retorted that concessions were easier of realization in a good rather than a bad atmosphere.

HENDERSON TO HALIFAX
Berlin, Aug. 29, 1939.

The interview this evening was of a stormy character and Hitler was far less reasonable than yesterday.

He kept saying he wanted British friendship more than anything in the world, but could not sacrifice Germany's vital interests for it, and for His Majesty's Government to make a bargain over such a matter was an unendurable proposition. All my attempts to correct this complete misrepresentation of the case did not seem to impress him.

In reply to his reiterated statement that direct negotiations with Poland, though accepted by him, would be bound to fail, I told His Excellency that their success or failure depended on his goodwill or the reverse and that the choice lay with him. It was, however, my bounden duty to leave him in no doubt that an attempt to impose his will on Poland by force would inevitably bring him into direct conflict with us.

Talks With Ribbentrop

HENDERSON TO HALIFAX
Berlin, Aug. 30, 1939.

I told Herr von Ribbentrop [German Foreign Minister] this evening that His Majesty's Government found it difficult to advise the Polish Government to accept the procedure adumbrated in the German reply and suggested that when the German proposals were ready to invite the Polish Ambassador to call and hand him the proposals for transmission to his government, with a view to immediate opening of negotiations.

Herr von Ribbentrop's reply was to produce a lengthy document which he read out in German aloud at top speed. Imagining that he would eventually hand it to me, I did not attempt to follow too closely the sixteen or more articles which it contained.

When I asked Herr von Ribbentrop for the text of these proposals, he asserted that it was now too late, as a Polish representative had not arrived in Berlin by midnight.

In the most violent terms Herr von Ribbentrop said he would never ask the Ambassador to visit him. He hinted that if the Polish Ambassador asked him for an interview it might be different.

I must tell you Herr von Ribbentrop's whole demeanor during our unpleasant interview was aping Herr Hitler at his worst. He inveighed, incidentally, against the Polish mobilization, but I retorted that it was hardly surprising, since Germany also had mobilized, as Herr Hitler himself admitted to me yesterday.

On September 1, Germany launched military operations against Poland. Sir Nevile Henderson was instructed to deliver Great Britain's ultimatum demanding withdrawal of German troops from Polish soil.

HENDERSON TO HALIFAX
Berlin, September 1, 1939.

I was received by Herr von Ribbentrop at 9:30 this evening and handed him the communication of His Majesty's government. After reading it he said he wished to state that it was not Germany who had aggressed against Poland, that on the contrary it was Poland who had provoked Germany for a long time past; that it was the Poles who had first mobilized and that yesterday it was Poland that invaded German territory with troops of her regular army.

I said I was instructed to ask for an immediate answer. The Minister replied that he would submit the British communication to the head of State.

As I was leaving Herr von Ribbentrop gave me a long explanation of why he had been unable to give me the text of the German proposals two nights ago. I told him his attitude on that occasion had been most unhelpful and had effectively prevented me from making a last effort for peace and I greatly deplored it.

He was courteous and polite this evening. I am inclined to believe Herr Hitler's answer will be an attempt to avoid war with Great Britain and France, but is not likely to be one which we can accept.

U. S. Neutrality Act

President Roosevelt

Partial text of an address by President Roosevelt before Congress on September 21:

I have asked the Congress to reassemble in extraordinary session in order that it may consider and act on the amendment of certain legislation, which, in my best judgment, so alters the historic foreign policy of the United States that it impairs the peaceful relations of the United States with foreign nations.

It was because of what I foresaw last January from watching the trend of foreign affairs and their probable effect upon us that I recommended to the Congress in July of this year that changes be enacted in our Neutrality Law.

I now ask again that such action be taken in respect to that part of the act which is wholly inconsistent with ancient precepts of the law of nations—the embargo provisions. I ask it because they are, in my opinion, most vitally dangerous to American neutrality, American security and American peace.

These embargo provisions, as they exist today, prevent the sale to a belligerent by an American factory of any completed implements of war but they allow the sale of many types of uncompleted implements of war, as well as all kinds of general material and supplies. They, furthermore, allow such products of industry and agriculture to be taken in American-flag ships to belligerent nations. There in itself—under the present law—lies definite danger to our neutrality and our peace.

From a purely material point of view, what is the advantage to us in sending all manner of articles across the ocean for final processing there, when we could give employment to thousands by doing it here? Incidentally, and again from the material point of view, by such employment we automatically aid our own national defense. And if abnormal profits appear in our midst even in time of peace, as a result of this increase of industry, I feel certain that the subject will be adequately dealt with at the coming regular session of the Congress.

Let us be factual and recognize that a belligerent nation often needs wheat and lard and cotton for the survival of its population just as much as it needs anti-aircraft guns and anti-submarine depth-charges. Let those who seek to retain the present embargo position be wholly consistent and seek new legislation to cut off cloth and copper and meat and wheat and a thousand other articles from all of the nations at war.

I seek a greater consistency through the repeal of the embargo provisions, and a return to international law.

I give to you my deep and unalterable conviction, based on years of experience as a worker in the field of international peace, that by the repeal of the embargo the United States will more probably remain at peace than if the law remains as it stands today. I say this because with the repeal of the embargo this government clearly and definitely will insist that American citizens and American ships keep away from the immediate perils of the actual zones of conflict.

When and if repeal of the embargo is accomplished, certain other phases of policy reinforcing American safety should be considered.

I believe that American merchant vessels should, so far as possible, be restricted from entering danger zones.

The second objective is to prevent American citizens from traveling on belligerent vessels, or in danger areas.

The third objective, requiring the foreign buyer to take transfer of title in this country to commodities purchased by belligerents, is also a result which can be attained by legislation or substantially achieved through due notice by proclamation.

The fourth objective is the preventing of war credits to belligerents. The result of these last two will be to require all purchases to be made in cash and cargoes to be carried in the purchasers' own ships, at the purchasers' own risk.

To those who say that this program would involve a step toward war on our part, I reply that it offers far greater safeguards than we now possess or have ever possessed to protect American lives and property from danger.

The position of the executive branch of the government is that the age-old and time-honored doctrine of international law, coupled with these positive

safeguards, is better calculated than any other means to keep us out of this war.

These perilous days demand cooperation between us without trace of partisanship. Our acts must be guided by one single hardheaded thought—keeping America out of this war. In that spirit, I am asking the leaders of the two major parties in the Senate and in the House of Representatives to remain in Washington between the close of this extraordinary session and the beginning of the regular session on January 3. They have assured me that they will do so, and I expect to consult with them at frequent intervals on the course of events in foreign affairs and on the need for future action in this field, whether it be executive or legislative action.

I should like to be able to offer the hope that the shadow over the world might swiftly pass. I cannot. The facts compel my stating, with candor, that darker periods may lie ahead. The disaster is not of our making; no act of ours engendered the forces which assault the foundations of civilization. Yet we find ourselves affected to the core; our currents of commerce are changing, our minds are filled with new problems, our position in world affairs has already been altered.

In such circumstances our policy must be to appreciate in the deepest sense the true American interest. The peace, the integrity and the safety of the Americas—these must be kept firm and serene.

Senator Borah

In leading the opposition, determined to retain the arms embargo, Senator Borah of Idaho on October 2 spoke in part as follows:

When this nation solemnly resolved and wrote into its laws that it would never again furnish arms, munitions and implements of war to any nation engaged in war, it was almost unanimously believed that, not only here but abroad, we had marked an epoch in the cause of peace.

The only question was: Could we hold our ground?

When we, as a nation, took this position and declared our policy, there was great unanimity among all our people. The Congress and the Executive and

the people were practically in accord to the effect that we would close our market to all who sought arms.

Our task was upon the Western continent, to maintain liberty, freedom and free institutions here. By doing so, we could render a greater service to humanity everywhere than by joining in their wars and taking part in their everlasting imperial contests. We felt that a step in this direction was to embargo arms, to give neither encouragement nor help nor moral approval.

Arms are the source of conflict. They are the symbol of war, the cause of fear and hatred. We were not to place ourselves in a position where bitterness and retaliation might be engendered or where millions might be slaughtered by means of instruments furnished by a nation professing peace.

There was another moving cause. It was that deep humanitarian sentiment against manufacturing and selling arms to warring nations for profit.

We passed this law in the name of peace. Does the sale of arms, munitions, and the implements of war contribute to peace? Does the refusal to sell them contribute to war?

What is the purpose of repealing the law? What is the intent? Whom do we hope to aid, to benefit?

Arthur Krock, the well-known editorial writer of *The New York Times*, declared, back at the beginning of September, that the object of repeal was to help the Allies; that the technical ground on which the arms embargo is opposed by the Administration was so and so. But the "actual reason why the Administration wants the embargo removed" is because of the aid and benefit it gives to the Allies.

For myself, and for myself only, I look upon the present war in Europe as nothing more than another chapter in the bloody volume of European power politics.

Whatever may be the philosophy of Nazism, however abhorrent we may write it down, it is not an issue in this conflict and its cure is not war. It is not an issue which will be settled by this conflict, and I venture to say that the treaty of peace, if it ever comes, will have nothing in it about the ending of Nazism or its teachings or of communism or its teachings It will devote itself, as did the Versailles treaty, to the unquenchable imperialistic appetites of those who sit around the table. And if the American boys take part they will sacrifice their health and their lives that this or that nation may gratify its desires for territory and for power.

But that, I am fully aware, is not the view of many, if any of those who support repeal. That is not the basis upon which they are sending arms to Europe for the benefit and aid of the Allies. Our law is being changed and our policy modified and our arms and munitions and implements of war are being sent to the Allies because it is claimed, and no doubt by many believed, that the democracies of Europe are in peril and must be saved, because civilization in Europe is being threatened and must be maintained.

These arms are being sent because it is claimed that powerful forces which foster and feed upon racial hatred and religious persecution must be checked. Well, let us accept this thesis. And suppose the war goes on a year, or years; suppose it goes on even for six months, and the tide runs heavily against the Allies, what then?

Suppose they say to us, as they said once before: We need your young men. What will be our answer? Suppose they say to us, as has been said by men already near Downing Street, that arms without men is but trifling with an awful subject. What will we say? What will we do?

Will we say: We realize that democracy is on the verge of destruction, that the very foundations of society are breaking up?

Winston Churchill

No, you will do no such thing. You are Americans. If you believe what is now being preached throughout this country and indirectly supported by this measure you will send munitions without pay and you will send your boys back to the slaughter pens of Europe.

Speeches By Foreign Statesmen

Premier Mussolini

Excerpts from an address by Premier Mussolini, of Italy, before leaders of the Fascist Party on September 23:

With Poland liquidated, Europe is not yet actually at war. The masses of the armies have not yet clashed. The clash can be avoided by recognizing that it is a vain illusion to try to maintain, or worse still to reconstitute, positions which history and the natural dynamism of peoples have condemned.

It has been with wise intention not to enlarge the conflict that the governments of London and Paris have not done more to face the Russian fait accompli, but the consequence is that these governments have compromised their moral justification in taking action against the German fait accompli.

In this present moment of uncertainties the ruling voice which spontaneously has arisen from the Italian masses says, "Strengthen our army in preparation for any eventualities and support every possible peace effort while working in silence."

Winston Churchill

Partial text of a world-wide radio speech October 1 by Winston Churchill, First Lord of the British Admiralty:

The British Empire and the French Republic have been at war with Nazi Germany for a month. We have not yet come at all to the severity of fighting which is to be expected; but three important things have happened.

First, Poland has been again overrun by two of the great powers which held her in bondage for 150 years but were unable to quench the spirit of the Polish nation.

What is the second event of this first month? It is, of course, the assertion of the power of Russia. Russia has pursued a cold policy of self-interest. We could have wished that the Russian armies should be standing on their present line as the friends and allies of Poland, instead of as invaders. But that the Russian armies should stand on this line was clearly necessary for the safety of Russia against the Nazi menace.

I cannot forecast to you the action of Russia. It is a riddle wrapped in mystery inside an enigma; but perhaps there is a key. That key is Russian national interest. It cannot be in accordance with the interest or safety of Russia that Germany should plant itself upon the shores of the Black Sea, or that it should overrun the Balkan states and subjugate the Slavonic peoples of Southeastern Europe. That would be contrary to the historic life interests of Russia.

But here these interests of Russia fall into the same channel as the interests of Britain and France. None of these three powers can afford to see Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and above all Turkey, put under the German heel.

What is the third event? Here I speak as First Lord of the Admiralty and with special caution. It would seem that the U-boat attack upon the life of the British Isles has not so far proved successful.

It is true that when they sprang out upon us and we were going about our ordinary business, with 2,000 ships in constant movement every day upon the seas, they managed to do some serious damage.

But the Royal Navy has immediately attacked the U-boats, and is hunting them night and day. I will not say without mercy—because God forbid we should ever part company with that—but at any rate with zeal and not altogether without relish. During the first month of the war we have captured by

our efficient contraband control 150,000 tons more German merchandise—food, oil, minerals and other commodities—for our own benefit than we have lost by all the U-boat sinkings put together.

Therefore, to sum up the results of the first month, let us say that Poland has been overrun, but will rise again; that Russia has warned Hitler off his Eastern dreams; and that the U-boats may be safely left to the care and constant attention of the British Navy.

Directions have been given by the government to prepare for a war of at least three years. That does not mean that victory may not be gained in a shorter time. How soon it will be gained depends upon how long Herr Hitler and his group of wicked men, whose hands are soiled with blood and corruption, can keep their grip upon the docile, unhappy German people.

It was for Hitler to say when the war would begin, but it is not for him nor his successors to say when it will end. It began when he wanted it, and it will end only when we are convinced that he has had enough.

Chancellor Hitler

Partial text of an address by Chancellor Hitler, of Germany, before the Reichstag on October 6:

The aims and tasks which emerge from the collapse of the Polish State are, in so far as the German sphere of interest is concerned, roughly as follows:

1. Demarcation of the boundary for the Reich, which will do justice to historical, ethnographical and economic facts.

2. Pacification of the whole territory by restoring a tolerable measure of peace and order.

3. Absolute guaranties of security not only as far as Reich territory is concerned but for the entire sphere of interest.

4. Re-establishment and reorganization of economic life and of trade and transport, involving development of culture and civilization.

5. As the most important task, however, to establish a new order of ethnographic conditions, that is to say, resettlement of nationalities in such a manner that the process ultimately results in the obtention of better dividing lines than is the case at present. In this sense, however, it is not a case of the problem being restricted to this particular sphere, but of a task with far wider implications, for the east and south of Europe is to a large extent filled with splinters of the German nationality, whose existence they cannot maintain.

The aim of the German foreign policy as pursued by me has never been other than to guarantee the existence, that is to say the life, of the German people, to remove the injustice and nonsense contained in a treaty which not only destroyed Germany economically, but has drawn the victor nations into disaster as well.

As I have already mentioned, it was one of the aims of the Government of the Reich to clear up the relation between ourselves and our neighbors. Allow me to point out some facts that cannot be refuted by the scribblings of international press liars.

1. Germany has concluded non-aggression pacts with the Baltic States. Her interests there are of an exclusively economic nature.

2. In former times Germany never had any conflict of interests or indeed litigation points with the northern States and she has none today either.

3. Germany has taken no steps in regard to the German territory handed over to Denmark under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles; she has, on the contrary, established local and friendly relations with Denmark. We have claimed no revision, but we have concluded a non-aggression pact with Denmark. Our relations with that country are thus directed toward unswervingly loyal and friendly cooperation

4. Holland: The new Reich has endeavored to continue the traditional friendship with Holland.

5. Belgium: Immediately after I had taken over the Government I tried to establish friendly relations with Belgium. I renounced any revision as well as any desire for revision. The Reich has put forward no claim which might in any way have been regarded as a threat to Belgium.

6. Switzerland: Germany adopted the same attitude toward Switzerland. The Reich Government has never given the slightest cause for doubt regarding their desires to establish friendly relations with the country.

7. Immediately after Anschluss (with Austria) became an accomplished fact I informed Yugoslavia that the frontier in common with that country would henceforth be regarded as unalterable by Germany and that we wished only to live in peace and friendship with that country.

8. The bond which binds us to Hungary is old and traditional, one of close and sincere friendship In this instance too our frontiers are unalterable.

9. Slovakia appealed to Germany of her own accord for assistance in connection with her establishment as a State. Her independence is recognized and not infringed upon by the Reich.

10. However, it is not only with these States but also with the great Powers that Germany has improved and settled those relations which to a certain extent had been adversely affected by the Treaty of Versailles.

Finally, I now also attempted to bring the relations between the Reich and Soviet Russia to a normal and, in the end, to a friendly basis. Thanks to a similar trend of thought on the part of Mr. Stalin these endeavors have now been realized. Now with that State lasting and friendly relations have been established. The effect will be a blessing to both nations.

Why should this war in the West be fought? For restoration of Poland? Poland of the Versailles Treaty will never rise again. This is guaranteed by two of the largest states in the world. Final reorganization of this territory and the question of re-establishment of the Polish State are problems which will not be solved by a war in the West but exclusively by Russia on the one hand and Germany on the other. Furthermore, the elimination of the influence of these two Powers within the territories concerned would not produce a new State but utter chaos.

One also realizes that it would be senseless to annihilate millions of men and destroy property worth millions in order to reconstruct a State which at its very birth was termed an abortion by all those not of Polish extraction. What other reason exists? Has Germany made any demands of England which might threaten the British Empire or endanger its existence? On the contrary, Germany has made no such demands of either France or England.

But if this war is really to be waged only in order to give Germany a new regime, that is to say, in order to destroy the present Reich once more and thus to create a new Treaty of Versailles, then millions of human lives will be sacrificed in vain, for neither will the German Reich go to pieces nor will a second Treaty of Versailles be made. And even should this come to pass after three, four or even eight years of war, then this second Versailles would once more become the source of fresh conflict in the future.

No, this war in the West cannot settle any problems except perhaps the ruined finances of certain armament manufacturers, newspaper owners or other international war profiteers.

Two problems are ripe for discussion today

First, the settlement of the problems arising from the disintegration of Poland and, secondly, the problem of eliminating those international difficulties which endanger the political and economical existence of the nations.

What then are the aims of the Reich Government as regards the adjustment of conditions within the territory to the west of the German-Soviet line of demarcation which has been recognized as Germany's sphere of influence.

First, the creation of a Reich frontier which, as has already been emphasized, shall be in accordance with existing historical, ethnographical and economic conditions.

Second, the disposition of the entire living space according to the various nationalities; that is to say, the solution of the problems affecting the minorities which concern not only this area but nearly all the States in the southeast of Europe.

Third, in this connection: an attempt to reach a solution and settlement of the Jewish problem.

Fourth, reconstruction of transport facilities and economic life in the interest of all those living in this area.

Fifth, a guaranty for the security of this entire territory, and, sixth, formation of a Polish State so constituted and governed as to prevent its becoming once again either a hotbed of anti-German activity or a center of intrigue against Germany and Russia.

If Europe is really sincere in her desire for peace, then the States in Europe ought to be grateful that Russia and Germany are prepared to transform this hotbed into a zone of peaceful development and that these two countries will assume the responsibility and bear the burdens inevitably involved.

For the Reich this project, since it cannot be undertaken in an imperialistic spirit, is a task which will take fifty to one hundred years to perform.

As far as Germany is concerned the Reich Government is ready to give a thorough and exhaustive exposition of the aims of its foreign policy.

In so doing, they begin by stating that the Treaty of Versailles is now regarded by them as obsolete; in other words, that the Government of the German Reich, and with them the whole German people, no longer see cause or reason for any further revision of the treaty, apart from the demand for adequate colonial possessions justly due to the Reich, namely, in the first instance, for the return of German colonies.

This demand for colonies is based not only on Germany's historical claim to German colonies, but above all on her elementary right to a share of the world's resources of raw materials. This demand does not take the form of an ultimatum nor is it a demand backed by force, but a demand based on political justice and sane economic principles.

Secondly, the demand for a real revival of international economic life, coupled with an extension of trade and commerce, presupposes a reorganization of the international economic system, in other words, of production in the individual states. In order to facilitate the exchange of goods thus produced, however, markets must be organized and a final currency regulation arrived at so that the obstacles in the way of unrestricted trade can be gradually removed.

Thirdly, the most important condition, however, for a real revival of economic life in and outside of Europe is the establishment of an unconditionally guaranteed peace and of a sense of security on the part of the individual nations.

I do not believe that there is any responsible statesman in Europe who does not in his heart desire prosperity for his people. But such a desire can only be realized if all the nations inhabiting this continent decide to go to work together.

To achieve this great end, the leading nations of this continent will one day have to come together in order to draw up, accept and guarantee a statute on a comprehensive basis which will insure for them all a sense of security, of calm, in short, of peace.

Mr. Churchill and his companions may interpret these opinions of mine as weakness or cowardice if they like. I need not occupy myself with what they think; I make these statements simply because it goes without saying that I wish to spare my own people this suffering.

If, however, the opinions of Messrs. Churchill and followers should prevail, this statement will have been my last.

Then we shall fight. Neither force of arms nor lapse of time will conquer Germany. There never will be another November, 1918, in German history. It is infantile to hope for the disintegration of our people.

Mr. Churchill may be convinced that Great Britain will win. I do not doubt for a single moment that Germany will be victorious.

Destiny will decide who is right.

One thing only is certain. In the course of world history, there have never been two victors, but very often only losers. This seems to me to have been the case in the last war.

May those peoples and their leaders who are of the same mind now make their reply. And let those who consider war to be the better solution reject my outstretched hand.

Prime Minister Chamberlain

Answer to speech of Chancellor Hitler by Prime Minister Chamberlain before House of Commons October 13.

The final shaping of this territory and the question of the restoration of a Polish State are, in Herr Hitler's view, problems which cannot be settled by war in the west, but exclusively by Russia on the one side and Germany on the other.

We must take it, then, that the proposals which the German Chancellor puts forward for the establishment of what he calls "the certainty of European security" are to be based on recognition of his conquests and his right to do what he pleases with the conquered.

It would be impossible for Great Britain to accept any such basis without forfeiting her honor and abandoning her claim that international disputes should be settled by discussion and not by force.

It would be easy to quote sentences from his speeches in 1935, 1936 and 1938, stating in the most definite terms his determination not to annex Austria or conclude an Anschluss with her, not to fall upon Czecho-Slovakia and not to make any further territorial claims in Europe after the Sudetenland question had been settled in September, 1938.

This repeated disregard of his word and these sudden reversals of policy bring me to the fundamental difficulty in dealing with the wider proposals in

the German Chancellor's speech. The plain truth is that, after our past experience, it is no longer possible to rely upon the unsupported word of the present German Government.

It is no part of our policy to exclude from her rightful place in Europe a Germany which will live in amity and confidence with other nations. On the contrary, we believe that no effective remedy can be found for the world's ills that does not take account of the just claims and needs of all countries, and whenever the time may come to draw the lines of a new peace settlement.

Looking to the future, we can see that deep changes will inevitably leave their mark on every field of men's thought and action, and if humanity is to guide aright the new forces that will be in operation, all nations will have their part to play.

We seek no material advantage for ourselves; we desire nothing from the German people which should offend their self-respect. We are not aiming only at victory but rather looking beyond it to the laying of a foundation of a better international system which will mean that war is not to be the inevitable lot of every succeeding generation.

I am certain that all the peoples of Europe, including the people of Germany, long for peace. A peace which will enable them to live their lives without fear and to devote their energies and their gifts to the development of their culture, the pursuit of their ideals and the improvement of their material prosperity. The peace which we are determined to secure, however, must be a real and settled peace, not an uneasy truce interrupted by constant alarms and repeated threats.

What stands in the way of such a peace? It is the German Government, and the German Government alone, for it is they who by repeated acts of aggression have robbed all Europe of tranquillity and implanted in the hearts of all their neighbors an ever-present sense of insecurity and fear.

I am glad to think that there is complete agreement between the views of His Majesty's Government and those of the French Government. The honorable members will have read the speech which was broadcast by M. Daladier last Tuesday.

"We have," he said, "taken up arms against aggression; we shall not lay them down until we have sure guarantees of security—a security which cannot be called in question every six months."

Even if Herr Hitler's proposals were more closely defined and contained suggestions to right these wrongs, it would still be necessary to ask by what practical means the German Government intend to convince the world that aggression will cease and that pledges will be kept. Past experience has shown that no reliance can be placed upon the promises of the present German Government. Accordingly, acts — not words alone—must be forthcoming before we, the British peoples, and France, our gallant and trusted ally, would be justified in ceasing to wage war to the utmost of our strength.

Treaties and Agreements

Russo-German Agreements

Partial text of the "frontier and friendship" agreement concluded in Moscow September 29 between Germany and Russia:

The German Reich Government and the Government of Soviet Russia, after the disintegration of the former Polish State, consider it their task to restore in this region law and order and to insure nationals living there an existence corresponding to their national character.

Article I

The German Reich Government and the Government of the Soviet Republics lay down as the frontier of their respective spheres of interests in the region of the former Polish State the line which is drawn on the attached map.

Article II

Both parties recognize the frontier laid down in Article I of the interest spheres of both States as definite and will decline interference of any kind by a third power with this settlement.

Article III

The necessary new political regulation is undertaken by the German Reich Government in districts west of the line laid down in Article I and by the Government of the Soviet Republic in districts east of this line.

Article IV

The German Reich Government and the Government of the Soviet Republic regard the before-mentioned settlement as a foundation for progressing development of friendly relations between their peoples.

Supplementary agreement concluded between Germany and Russia September 28:

After the German Reich Government and the Government of the Soviet Russian Republic have definitely settled by the treaty signed today the question resulting from disintegration of the Polish State, thus creating a safe foundation for lasting peace in Eastern Europe, they unanimously express the opinion that it would correspond to the true interests of all peoples to make an end to the war existing between Germany on the one hand and England and France on the other hand. Therefore, both governments, if necessary in conjunction with one of the befriended nations, will direct their joint efforts toward searching this aim as soon as possible. But should the efforts of both governments fail, then the fact would be established that England and France are responsible for continuation of the war, and in case of continuation of the war the Governments of Germany and Soviet Russia will consult each other regarding the necessary measures.

Letter sent by Vyacheslav Molotov, Soviet Foreign Commissar, to Joachim von Ribbentrop, German Foreign Minister.

The Soviet Russian Government, based on the general political understanding reached and in this spirit, is ready to develop with all means economic relations and exchange of goods between Germany and Soviet Russia.

With this aim in view, an economic program will be drafted according to which the Soviet Union supplies Germany with materials for which Germany will compensate her by industrial supplies stretched over a long time. Both partners will see that this economic program is carried out in such a manner that the German-Soviet Russian exchange of goods, as regards volume, again reaches the maximum level of the past.

Russian-Estonian Pact

Text of the Russian-Estonian Mutual Assistance Pact, concluded September 28:

Article I

The two contracting parties undertake to render each other every assistance, including military, in the event of direct aggression or menace of aggression arising on the part of any great European power against the sea frontiers of the contacting parties in the Baltic Sea or their land frontiers across the territory of the Latvian Republic, as well as against bases indicated in Article III.

Article II

The U.S.S.R. undertakes to render the Estonian Army assistance in armaments and other military equipment on favorable terms.

Article III

The Estonian Republic assures the Soviet Union the right to maintain naval bases and several airdromes for aviation on lease terms at a reasonable price on the Estonian islands of Saarema (Oesel), Hiiumaa (Dagoe) and in the town of Paldiski (Baltic Port).

For the protection of the naval bases and airdromes the U.S.S.R. has the right to maintain at its own expense on the sites allotted for bases and airdromes Soviet land and air armed forces of strictly limited strength, their maximum numbers to be determined by special agreement.

Article IV

The two contracting parties undertake not to conclude any alliances nor participate in any coalitions directed against one of the contracting parties.

Article V

Realization of this pact should not affect in any extent the sovereign rights of the contracting parties, in particular their economic systems and State organization. The sites allotted for bases and airdromes (Article III) remain the territory of the Estonian Republic.

Chronology of the Second World War

SEPTEMBER 20—Germany announces operations against Poland are completed and transfers troops from the Eastern to the Western Front with Colonel General Walther von Brauchitsch in command. A German military mission arrives in Moscow to arrange for the partition of Poland. Estonia is blockaded by the Red navy, and the other Baltic states show apprehension over Russia's maneuvers.

SEPTEMBER 21—President Roosevelt, at an emergency session of Congress, calls for immediate repeal of the arms embargo of the Neutrality Act.

—Armand Calinescu, Rumanian Prime Minister, is assassinated by six Iron Guards (Fascists) who ambush his auto on a busy street intersection in Bucharest.

—London publishes a Blue Book describing the events leading to the war, including reports from Sir Nevile Henderson, British Ambassador to Germany, which depict Hitler as long planning the German-Russian alliance.

SEPTEMBER 22—Belgium and the Netherlands, alarmed by reports that a German attempt may be made to get around the left flank of the French forces, open dikes and inundate land near the German border.

—The Rumanian government executes from one hundred to two hundred Iron Guard members to ward off what is described as a plan to revolt.

—Secretary Hull, on the eve of the Inter-American Conference in Panama, declares that the twenty-one American republics are ready to defend themselves against threats from any part of the world.

—President Roosevelt discloses that two submarines of "unknown nationality" have been sighted off the Atlantic Coast and in Alaskan waters.

SEPTEMBER 23—Colonel General von Fritsch, former Commander in Chief of the German Army, is killed during "an offensive reconnaissance patrol before Warsaw."

—Premier Mussolini reaffirms Italy's intention to remain neutral, and suggests that the war be halted. He calls the conflict "useless."

SEPTEMBER 24—Moscow reports triumphant progress of the Red army through Eastern Poland, with estates turned over to the peasants and nobles and land-owners "liquidated."

—Delegates to the Inter-American Conference at Panama discuss a plan to set up a three hundred mile wide "area of primary defense" around the Western

Hemisphere and to prohibit belligerent activity within that zone.

SEPTEMBER 25—The war on the Western Front spreads as the French and Germans unlimber big guns.
—Shukru Saracoglu, Turkish Foreign Minister, arrives in Moscow to discuss Turkey's role in the war.
—The entire central section of Warsaw is reported in flames while its defenders battle the German invaders in hand to hand fights in the suburbs.

SEPTEMBER 26—German Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop prepares to revisit Moscow, which he had visited August 24 to sign the sensational non-aggression pact between Communist Russia and Nazi Germany.
—Russia moves in the Baltic region by demanding that Estonia explain the disappearance of an interned Polish submarine.
—Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, tells Commons that Britain is still mistress of the seas, declaring that two million tons of German shipping have been swept to cover and that German U-boats are on the run.

SEPTEMBER 27—With the arrival of Foreign Minister Selter of Estonia in Moscow, Russia announces that the steamer *Metalist* has been sunk off the coast of Estonia.
—Warsaw, after twenty days of resistance, surrenders. The city is a shambles.
—Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Chung-hui suggests that the United States act as a mediator to bring the undeclared Sino-Japanese War to an early end.
—German planes raid the British fleet in the North Sea, and Berlin announces that a second British aircraft carrier (H. M. S. *Courageous* had been sunk on September 18) has been destroyed. Winston Churchill denies the report, declaring no British ships were hit.
—France issues a decree dissolving the Communist Party.

SEPTEMBER 28—Russia and Germany sign a pact dividing up Poland, fixing the German-Russian frontier and revealing that no Polish state will be formed as a buffer between them. They also plan further "consultation" between Berlin and Moscow if peace moves fail.
—By signing "mutual assistance" and "trade agreement" treaties with Russia, the little Baltic Republic of Estonia falls under Soviet domination, yielding to Russia's demands for naval bases and airdromes and the right to maintain military forces in Estonian territory.
—The Administration in Washington wins the first round in the neutrality fight when the Senate Foreign Relations Committee votes sixteen to seven to report out the Pittman resolution repealing the arms embargo and substitutes a cash and carry system.

SEPTEMBER 29—Britain and France refuse to recognize the conquest of Poland and reject the suggestion that they "cease fighting a useless war."

SEPTEMBER 30—Italian Foreign Minister Ciano rushes to Berlin in response to a sudden invitation from Adolf Hitler, who is said to be urging Mussolini to act as intermediary in a "final" peace offer to Britain and France.
—David Lloyd George, Prime Minister of Britain during the World War, declares that the allies must weigh any German peace offer seriously.
—Dispatches from Balkan capitals indicate that Russia is moving swiftly to extend her diplomatic influence to Southeast Europe

OCTOBER 1—Winston Churchill, in a radio address, rejects any peace proposals being planned by Hitler. As a second "No" to Germany, King George VI issues a proclamation calling 250,000 more men to the colors.
—Moscow, bearing down harder on the Baltic countries, "invites" Latvia to send a delegation to Russia, to receive a demand for the use of two Latvian ports as naval bases.
—Berlin announces that U-boats will sink armed merchant ships on sight.
—Former Governor Alfred E. Smith calls upon the American people to support President Roosevelt in his fight to amend the neutrality law.

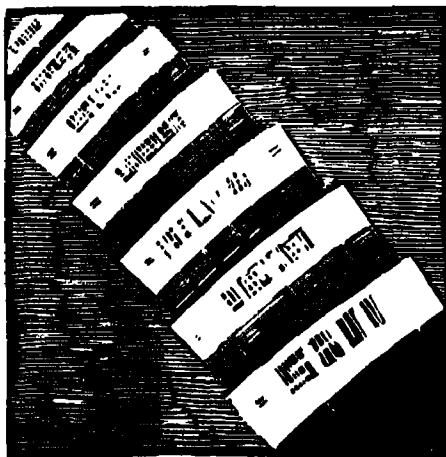
OCTOBER 2—William E. Borah, opening the Senate fight over the Neutrality Bill, charges that the Administration's program is sponsored by the "war hounds of Europe" and by profit-seeking American munitions manufacturers.
—A Foreign Office spokesman in Tokyo says Japan regards the new German-Soviet consultation treaty as "inconsistent with the anti-Comintern agreement."
—It is reported that a pending Turkish mutual assistance treaty with Britain and France will contain a clause safeguarding Turkey against having to fight its old friend, the Soviet Union.

OCTOBER 3—The French Communist Party Parliamentary group, reorganized under the new name of the "French Workers' and Peasants' Group," writes to President Edouard Herriot of the Chamber of Deputies demanding a debate over the Soviet Union's peace proposals.

—Prime Minister Chamberlain offers to examine any peace offer from Berlin, but warns that "no mere assurances from the present German government could be accepted."
—The Inter-American conference at Panama closes on a note of unanimous determination to keep the Western Hemisphere free from "the horrors of war."
—Senator Norris of Nebraska denounces the present embargo law and asks for American support of the Allies.

OCTOBER 4—Turkey shows uneasiness over the delay in discussions at Moscow between Turkish Foreign Minister Saracoglu and Russian Commissar for Foreign Affairs Molotov.
—A battle of tanks is staged on the Western Front and the French drive the Germans out of the Borg Forest.
—Premier Daladier indicates France's attitude toward a German peace proposal by declaring that "France does not want a truce between two aggressions."
—Secretary of State Hull, while refusing to recognize the legality of unrestricted submarine attacks, warns American ships to shun waters of the belligerents.

OCTOBER 5—The White House makes the startling announcement that Grand Admiral Erich Raeder, head of the German Navy, says that the American steamer *Iroquois*, bringing home 566 passengers from Europe, will be sunk near the American coast. Admiral Raeder was said to have warned Washington that the sinking would take place in circumstances similar to those that marked the loss of the *Athenia*, British liner sunk on September 3. The implication was that one of the Allies might sink the ship and place the blame on Germany.
—Adolf Hitler visits the ruined city of Warsaw and points to it as an object lesson to "certain statesmen."
—Soviet Russia signs a mutual assistance treaty with Latvia under which Moscow gets naval and air bases.
—Turkey and Britain initial a long-term agreement to support each other in the event of aggression leading to war in the Mediterranean. Terms of the agreement are not disclosed.

OCTOBER 6—Hitler makes an obvious bid for peace when he tells the Reichstag that Germany is ready to participate in a conference to draft a new statute for Europe "before millions of lives are lost." At the same time, he warns that Germany will neither be conquered nor collapse.
—In Paris, Premier Daladier declares that "we must go on with the war that has been imposed upon us."
—The Moscow press stresses a new mutual assistance pact with Lithuania under which Moscow will receive the right to build a "Maginot Line" along the Lith-German frontier.
—President Roosevelt, at whom the Berlin press implies Hitler's armistice proposals were aimed, is said to be unwilling to propose a European truce unless assured Britain and France will accept his mediation. Twice before, Hitler had spurned Roosevelt's services.

OCTOBER 7—Berlin, hopeful that a neutral mediator will step forward, anxiously watches the inscrutable role the Soviet is playing in the war, and opens negotiations with Latvia to repatriate Germans there.
—The Soviet, moving quickly to seize all possible political control in the Baltic, invites Finland—placed on nervous edge by the conclusion of a Soviet-Lithuania pact—to send a delegation to Moscow to "discuss political and economic conditions."
—President Roosevelt shows coolness toward Hitler's peace proposals. The main obstacle, apparently, is Germany's requirement that Polish partition be accepted as a prerequisite to an armistice, while Washington refuses to recognize that Nazi-Soviet armed domination affects Poland's legal position.
The Italian press urges the Allies to accept Hitler's peace terms. Fear grows that, once Russia is dominant in the Baltic, it will attempt to dominate the Balkans.
—Tokyo demands to be told why British warships are halting Japanese vessels outside Japan's main ports. The English reply is that German ships, disguised as Japanese, are being sought.

OCTOBER 8—The Soviet agrees to supply Germany with goods "at a rapid pace on a large scale."
—Finland fears "excessive" demands from Soviet Russia as it sees Lithuania, bowing to Moscow's demands, become a virtual protectorate of the Soviets.
—Prime Minister Robert Gordon Menizes of Australia calls Hitler's peace offer "a blustery attempt to justify the war."
—A flotilla of U. S. destroyers and a Coast Guard boat meet the American liner *Iroquois* at sea.
—Thirty-five former Communist deputies, who organized the Workers and Peasants group after the Communist party had been outlawed by Premier Daladier, are arrested in France.

OCTOBER 9—Soviet Russia runs into its first stumbling block in its march around the Baltic when Finland calls reservists and masses troops along the border. As Sweden orders 100,000 reserves to remain in service, the Red army places hundreds of thousands of troops at the Finnish frontier to back up demands Moscow will make of Dr. Juhu Paasiviki, who is en route to the Soviet capital by train.
—The Italian press, particularly the newspaper founded by Air Marshal Balbo, *Corriere Padano* of Ferrara, excoriates the Bolsheviks, indicating Italian dismay over Germany's apparent abdication to Russia in the Baltic.
—Through the government newspaper *Izvestia*, Moscow champions Hitler's peace proposals, warning the Allies that continuance of the war means the return of Europe to the Dark Ages.
—A move is launched in the U.S. Senate to suspend debate on the neutrality issue as belief grows that substantial peace moves are soon to be made in Europe.

OCTOBER 10—A jubilant celebration is staged in Berlin as the rumor spreads that the Chamberlain Cabinet has re-signed and France and Britain have agreed to an eighteen-day armistice. The German government angrily blames British agents for circulating the report.
—Opening the "War Winter Relief Fund," Hitler, in words that show scant hope of his peace offer being accepted, warns that "the enemy will never live to see us capitulate again."
—Following Hitler's address by a few hours, Premier Daladier declares that Hitler's armistice appeal is a ruse to gain time and that the Allies have no choice but to fight until a "guaranteed peace" has been assured.
—Threats of war oppress the Baltic as the first blackout in the history of Helsingfors and large-scale evacuation of other Finnish cities vulnerable from the air take place. The Red fleet mobilizes in the Gulf of Finland.

OCTOBER 11—Enigmatic Russia again startles the world by concluding an agreement with Britain to exchange Russian timber for British rubber and tin. Lumber, on the German contraband list, would be moved from Russian northern ports before the ice sets in.
—Forgetting for the moment that her new pact with Russia permits Soviet troops on her soil, Lithuania celebrates the "return" of Vilna, her ancient capital, taken from her by the Poles and from the Poles by the Russians.
—The liner *Iroquois* sails safely into New York harbor, escorted by warships.

OCTOBER 12—The United States government, in a step designed to save the independence of the Finns, asks Soviet Russia to refrain from any action which may disturb peaceful relations between Finland and Moscow. Finland's prompt payment of her war debts has built up tremendous good-will in this country.
—Prime Minister Chamberlain of Britain bluntly rejects the peace proposed by Hitler "based on recognition of his conquests and the right to do what he pleases with the conquered."
—Hitler summons his key advisers to study Chamberlain's speech, word by word.
—Lithuania is reported asking Soviet aid in reopening the recent treaty that gave Memel to Germany.
—Russia announces that Red army troops have been reinforced in the Caucasus Mountains, on the southern frontier facing Iran (Persia) and Turkey. Britain augments her Near East divisions to protect the vital oil lines that supply the British navy. London also hears that Russia has mobilized a huge army in Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan), sovietized province of China, which skirts northern India and Tibet.
—The flagship of the German merchant marine, the $20,000,000 liner *Bremen*, mysteriously missing since she sailed from New York three days before the outbreak of the war, is described as safe in Murmansk, north Russian port.

OCTOBER 13—Declaring he has received no official offer from Berlin to mediate, President Roosevelt rejects unofficial bids.
—As a result of the rejection by the Allies of the Nazi peace offer, Berlin declares that Russia, Italy and Germany will consult on "common defense measures."
—London is jubilant as the Admiralty announces that three U-boats have been destroyed.
—Britain discloses details of the Anglo-French treaty with Turkey, now in the signature stage.
—Col. Lindbergh, in a nationwide radio address, favors embargo of "offensive" weapons, and no limitations by the United States on sale of "defensive" armaments to Europe.

OCTOBER 14—German U-boat strikes a heavy blow at the British navy by sinking the 29,150-ton dreadnought *Royal Oak*, with the loss of perhaps two-thirds of the crew of 1,200.
—Russia's demands upon Finland appear to be abating.
—Negotiations between Russia and Turkey continue, but no agreement has been signed.
—Col. Lindbergh's radio address stirs a storm in Congress, where he is attacked by Administration leaders. Senator Lundeen, Farmer-Laborite, creates a furor when he proposes that the United States seize British possessions in the Caribbean as payment for war debts, saying we need them for air and naval bases.

OCTOBER 15—Four-hundred survivors report the night-time sinking of three merchant vessels, two French and one British.
—Negotiations between Russia and Turkey are deadlocked and Turkey takes precautionary military measures following reports that Russia has massed troops on the Turko-Persian frontier.
—Premier Abe of Japan announces that a new Central Chinese government will be organized next month under Wang Ching-wei, following "suggestions" last week from Paris and London that Chiang Kai-shek seek a peace with Japan.

OCTOBER 16—Germans bomb British naval vessels lying in the Firth of Forth, near Rosyth, Scotland; London admits that the cruiser *Southampton* is damaged, while Berlin claims that two warships have been seriously crippled.
—Nazi troops occupy the French village of Apach, but are compelled to withdraw. This minor operation is seen as the prelude to important developments, as Germans complete disposition of 800,000 men in the area between the Moselle and the Rhine.
—Turko-Soviet talks in Moscow hit a snag over Angora's fear that a pact with Russia will impair the status quo in the Balkans and conflict with the Anglo-French agreements.
—Finland's reply to secret Soviet demands await the outcome of discussion sponsored by the three Scandinavian Kings at Stockholm.
—Budapest police balk a Nazi putsch of Hungarian "Death Legion" with the arrest of one hundred and forty.

OCTOBER 17—German planes make three raids on Britain's great naval base at Scapa Flow, and damage the demilitarized battleship *Iron Duke*, flagship of Admiral Jellico in the Battle of Jutland.

—Britons amazed that the battleship *Royal Oak* was torpedoed in the heart of Scapa Flow by a U-boat, the admission being made in Commons by Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty.
—More than 100,000 German troops advance along a twenty-mile front, pushing French forces from German soil.
—Turkey rejects the demands of Soviet Russia.
—President Mikhail Kalinin, of Russia, indicates to President Roosevelt that the Soviet has no designs against the independence of Finland.

OCTOBER 18--President Roosevelt issues a proclamation closing United States ports and territorial waters to belligerent submarines in a step to help keep America out of war.
—Three Scandinavian Kings and President Kallio of Finland confer in Stockholm over ways and means to block Moscow's reported demands for control of the Aland Islands. President Roosevelt sends a message to King Gustaf of Sweden placing his moral support behind the conference.
—A new massing of German troops on the Western Front indicates a renewal of the drive which was checked by France three days before.
—Nazi planes battle British craft over Scapa Flow, and twelve planes attack six warships off Holland. Results of the latter battle are not announced.
—Two Red army generals, accompanied by experts, arrive in Chungking for what Tokyo hears is a move to conclude a Russian-Chinese military alliance. Some observers see the step as aimed to force Japan into line with Germany and Russia.

OCTOBER 19—Great Britain, France, and Turkey sign tripartite treaty of mutual assistance against aggression in the Mediterranean or the Balkans. An "escape clause" in the Protocol attached to the treaty stipulates that Turkey will not be obliged to come to the defense of the Allies if such a move might draw her into war against Russia.
—Germany announces recapture of French positions on German soil; declares "first phase" of war is over.

Stalin In Europe: *The Baltic*

(Continued from page 22)

advanced naval base on the middle Baltic. That Latvia and Estonia, under these circumstances, can long maintain their present economic, political and social systems seems extremely doubtful.

Lithuania appears to have fared a little better than her Baltic neighbors. She has been promised her ancient capital of Vilna. But she has been compelled to give up far more than she has gained. With Soviet military establishments inside her borders, she, too, become a dependency of imperial Bolshevism. Her frontier with Germany promises to be the Soviet's military outpost facing the Reich. How long Lithuania can maintain even her present semblance of freedom remains to be seen.

"Mutual-assistance treaties" is the name given to the Soviet's pacts with Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. But that term deceives no one. Stalin is carrying on the imperial policies of his Tsarist predecessors. In a few days he has gained more ground, without firing a shot, than some of the Tsars won in many bloody campaigns. The Soviet leaders have demonstrated what men can do who have the patience and the political acumen to wait their chance. The northern Baltic, until lately almost a German lake, is fast becoming a Russian lake.

It is not only the Reich, the Soviet and these little Baltic republics that are concerned in this situation. All Scandinavia is directly threatened by the Russian bear's new push westward Already, Sweden's position is far less secure than it was two months ago. Denmark, too, finds herself menaced. And Germany is perhaps the largest loser of all. Where lately her neighbors were small nations, or even somewhat larger countries like Poland and Czechoslovakia, she is now flank to flank with the Russian bear. Bolshevism is at last approaching the heart of Central Europe. And Adolf Hitler, the self-appointed defender of Europe against the Soviet monster, has actually led the beast into lands which for two decades had stood firmly against it.

And what now? The progressive little Baltic countries are in Comrade Stalin's pocket. He can now do with them as he pleases. Does the Soviet dictator intend to use these Baltic provinces as bases for an attack on Germany? Possibly that is the Kremlin's intention. But it seems just as logical to believe that Stalin is using Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia as advanced bases to protect the "Socialist Fatherland" against all foes. He may even be thinking of a time when the French and British attempt to restore Poland by taking Polish lands now held by the Reich and the Soviet. Again, he may intend to use these lands as stepping stones for a march into Western Europe to take over the continent after a long war has exhausted the Nazis and their foes. This time, too, Stalin can afford to wait.

Our American Defences

(Continued from page 29)

light gun in the world than our new 75 mm. howitzer, but the piece is still unmade in quantities sufficient to equip our field artillery regiments, and the factory equipment to reproduce it rapidly in numbers is lacking. As for heavy guns, we have few and little ability to make them.

In fact, if war came tomorrow or the day after, our army would not be able to make even so good a record as in the World War when, thirteen months after the declaration, we had only one division in battle and only four in line.

Partly, this is attributable to lack of mechanical equipment, partly to the increasingly machine character of modern war, which demands from the individual soldier a degree of training and mechanical skill to which his predecessor of two decades ago was an utter stranger. But finally, it is attributable to the greatest weakness of the modern American army, the one which little or nothing has been done to remedy—the dismal shortage of officers.

During the World War there was the same shortage for the hastily raised armies that marched to France. It was found possible to train subalterns in the ninety-day camps and obtain from them a reasonable amount of efficiency. The ranks from captain up were filled partly from the same camps, but mainly by promotion of junior regular officers. Even so, there was a weakness; with rare exception the "ninety-day wonders" did not prove good officers.

Now the mechanization of modern war has placed particular emphasis on the importance of good regimental and battalion officers, just those ranks in which we were weakest. In fact, the failure of the Loyalist cause in Spain has been attributed by many critics to defects in exactly these regions of command. And we are by no means in as good a position as we were during the World War. Then it was possible to make majors and colonels out of many West Point captains and lieutenants. But the demands of the flying services have drawn many of our younger officers into the air force. If they are given regimental rank, it means crippling the flying service. There seems no other source for officer personnel.

What Business Thinks

(Continued from page 30)

course and that we inevitably must be drawn in.

And propaganda will have its impact, for a propaganda offensive is a major part of all modern combat plans. Propaganda knows no flag and oceans are no barrier to it. We cannot avoid it, but we can and must identify and analyze it continuously.—*from a radio address by William B. Warner, executive chairman of the National Association of Manufacturers.*

WARS are invariably followed by business depressions. . . . War disrupts peacetime progress, substitutes temporary profits and long term taxes for the long term real profits of planned research and development. . . . The industry's most important raw material—new chemical brains—is wasted as students leave colleges and universities to enlist. . . . War necessitates government control of industry, with the possibility that peacetime regimentation may follow, and peace profits are greater than war profits.—*from an article by Charles Belnap, vice-president of Monsanto Chemical Co., in* The Monsanto Magazine.

OUR export and import businesses are already feeling the effects of conflicting influences of stimulation and restraint resulting from the advent of war. Probably the volumes of our exports will be increased, and our foreign trade with neutral nations will be expanded. These effects will be partly offset by the fact that large areas of our foreign trade have already been eliminated by the war, and that even those combatants which continue to purchase goods from us will limit their takings to wartime necessities.

Clearly the nature and importance of the effects which the European war may have on our economy will depend on such unforeseeable factors as the duration of the conflict, and on the nature of the consequences to the participants. We have in this country huge volumes of nearly idle bank deposits and vast excess reserves. These monetary resources might easily be used in ways that would produce unduly rapid price advances, and foster undesirable forms of speculative activity. The tragic outbreak of another great war marks the beginning of a period in which the granting of new credits and the expansion of existing ones should be conducted with special prudence and thoughtful care.—*from a report by the Economic Policy Commission of the American Bankers' Association.*

OUR exports to Europe in 1938 reached the total sum of $1,326,000,000. Incidentally in the same year our exports to Latin America totaled some $565,000,000, less than half the value of our exports to Europe.

Let it be assumed that the belligerents in Europe—the United Kingdom, France and Germany—are so occupied with the war that they must abandon entirely their exports to Latin America, leaving the United States alone in that field. Here are the figures on their export trade to South America, Central America, Mexico and the West Indies:

Germany (1938)	$250,331,832
United Kingdom (1937)	212,436,000
France (1938)	50,488,000
Total	$513,255,832

Thus it may be seen that if all three belligerents were eliminated from the picture and if Latin America were forced to receive all of her imports from the United States, the imports which Latin America would absorb would be little more than a third of what Europe absorbs from the United States. Under the most ideal circumstances, then, Latin America could not take the place of Europe in our trade.

So far as the United States is concerned it is likely that she will get her share of the Latin American trade previously belonging to Germany and some of that of the other belligerents that will necessarily be curtailed. But that such trade could replace our trade with Europe is obviously too much to expect. Nor is there at present ground for belief that our expanded trade to the south will result in a boom. That, at least, is the opinion of Government economists who are in close touch with Latin American trade.—*from an article by Francis F. Beirne in* The Evening Sun, *Baltimore.*

What's YOUR Opinion?

(Continued from page 42)

And then the issue is turned back to the fundamental query, Who had better be trusted with this decision, Congress or the people? On that basic question, here is the clearly and decisively expressed opinion of

Mrs. Henry M. Robert, Jr.

President General, National Society Daughters of the American Revolution

"All achievement of this nation has been attained not within a pure democracy, but in a representative one. With peoples widely scattered and of different origins, our national hopes will crumble unless faith in representative government can be maintained. To question the sincerity of judgment of the Congress in one respect is to question it in all respects. The Congress of the United States has again and again shown itself responsive to the expressed will of the American people. I have faith that it will continue to do so. I am, therefore, not in favor of the proposed amendment."

But here too is the opinion of

Frank Olmstead

National Chairman of the War Resisters League

"People are more trustworthy. They do not want war. They have less personally at stake. In spite of propaganda, in spite of temporary deviations, they can be trusted to feel higher values and follow them. Our restlessness while Europe fights is in part due to our sense of oneness with other peoples.

"War can be stopped. The people of the world can stop war. They can stop Hitler and the narrow greed of nations that breeds Hitlers. People will do this as they are trusted.

"We will trust our people with the war decision. We will set for the world a new standard of trusting people, write a new page in the book of democracy. This will work toward our protection better than a million airplanes. This will be a cornerstone in the new world order from which the statesmen are kept by their chains, to which the people will turn as their hands are freed."

So it is by no means clear which answer is in the best interest of America. Honest men and women who have worked valiantly in the cause of peace and humanity come to different conclusions with the same set of facts before them. What's YOUR opinion —NOW?

FROM READERS OF *What's YOUR Opinion?*

To the Editor: The ramparts we watch are those that guard our American Way of Life—and those, for good or ill, lie today along the Rhine. Subconsciously we Americans believe, with a prescience that seems like definite knowledge, that the frontiers of our own lives are found between the West Wall and the Maginot Line.

Let England and France, whom we recognize as spiritual kin, come to the verge of complete disaster in defending that line; and most Americans will feel that something sacred to us is being beaten into the mire.

An added reason for sensitiveness, on our part, to the significance for us, if resistless force incarnate becomes dominant in international life, lies in the influence of millions of Jews living on our shores. Their own response to American sympathies is intensified by each new measure of oppression imposed on their kindred. Themselves burning to join in battle against the Germans, their ardor will add stimulation to our own reactions—should we see our bulwarks crumbling in Eastern France.

Can we, then, stay out of this war? Yes—if England and France are strong enough to win alone. No—if they are beaten down. Our hearts tell us that the days of Genghis Khan can never again be tolerated in a civilized world. Nor is there room for the American way of life in a world dominated by pitiless power.

If this be true, then why refuse war materials under the shivering sham of "neutrality"? Why not grant at once all the privileges allowed under International Law? Planes, guns, munitions —let them go in steady stream across the sea! Every needed gun and plane we refuse or fail to provide will almost certainly be paid for, ultimately, in the blood and lives of our own boys.

JOSEPH E. GOODBAR,
President, Society for Stability in Money and Banking, Inc.

To the Editor: My mother was a Quaker. I am a pacifist by nature. I have believed if a nation initiates a vast armament program, that that nation manifests a use for those armaments.

I have believed we have no real cause for unrest in this country; that if we all worked together to administer our affairs justly and equitably, in forbearance and peace, there would be virtually no limit to the contribution we could make toward raising the level of the race consciousness. And that we could maintain our standards aloof from the rest of the world, if need be.

I now think differently. In spite of all that is said about neutrality and peace, I perceive no lasting peace in the world's present state of mind. I believe, reluctantly, that nationalism must give way.

It was not by accident that this nation came into being but that the principles of justice, freedom and truth might flourish; that the development of science and the arts might find free expression; and finally, that these might contribute to the spiritual growth and attainment of man, not here alone, but everywhere.

True, all this cannot be accomplished in a day, or our day. I should prefer, a beginning around an international peace table. But if required of us, and it takes arms and the bearing of arms, then they are a means to that end.

Let us bravely put aside childish things and be about our business. Let us assume our responsibility as a commissioned people for we shall lead a haunted life until we do something about it.

SYBIL MADARIS

To the Editor: I think the United States should and can stay out of this war. Sure, war would bring more employment, better prosperity and better times. But did you ever stop to think what would happen after this war has ended?

I believe that the neutrality act should not be revised. We should be isolated. Let these hungry land grabbers fight their wars. Let's try to solve some of our own present day problems.

To-day we will be forced to test our system of representation in government. We must fight the propaganda that is being spread throughout the United States. The main object is to arouse and create a feeling for war so that we Americans will stand on the sides of the Allies as we did before.

X. Y. Z.

To the Editor:

We should stay out of war, and we can stay out of war—if we use the common sense of the small neutral European countries—unless the war is brought to our own shores. In that case, of course, every American man, woman and child should be willing to fight "till the last armed foe expires."

MRS. TODD C. CLAUBES
MRS. GENEVIEVE PAINE

To the Editor:

If the word "can" is meant literally, the United States, or any other nation, can stay out of any war. A nation can always refuse to fight. Which, of course, does not mean a nation always should refuse to fight. Though, strictly speaking, a nation can never be forced to fight it may be well justified at times to fight. The question is what alternative has it.

A nation may have the alternative of fighting or losing its life as a nation. In such an event we may well say, even though not quite accurately, the nation is forced to fight. Or a nation may fight, when its life is not directly or immediately threatened, to protect interests vital to the well-being of the entire

nation. We may say such a war is justified.

Now I have no way of knowing, nor have the majority of others here, what, if anything, threatens the United States. That is a matter to be determined and acted upon by the government. If it finds the life or vital interest of the nation to be in danger it should act accordingly.

Neither personal sympathy nor any notion of ideals should have any part in the government's policy. Let there be no talk of a "holy" war. A war may be completely justified, for all that we can know of justice, without fighting for God, Humanity, or Civilization. God is well able to care for Himself, humanity goes on though nations come and go, civilization is not pinned down to any particular culture, and is going to change anyway. JOSEPH PHILLIPS

To the Editor:

America can and should stay out of war. The concerted opinion of American youth must be heard. The crime and tragedy of the short-sighted foreign statesmen in framing the Treaty of Versailles is not to be adjusted by the young men of our nation. The principles of America were unheeded and our sanctions were cast aside when this document was written. Our obligation to rectify that which we did not sanction can never be justified.

Peace organizations of national reputation have carried their messages to the colleges and schools of our land. The graduates have carried into every type of vocational pursuit a mission which today cannot be over-looked or disregarded. American youth should stand triumphant upon the basis of peace. America, through this beacon may contribute to the world in a greater capacity than in entering any European War.

GILBERT H. REYNOLDS

To the Editor: Yes, Democracy can put many men back to work. Here are four helpful methods—none of them are complete cure-alls.

1. Reduce the costs of distribution of goods by simplifying the methods of distribution of a product. The adjustment would force some people to become producers. When these costs are reduced, retail prices are lower, which allows people to buy more goods and necessitates more labor to produce. It is indeed an American tragedy that the producer of wheat for a loaf of bread only gets 1c out of a 10c loaf.

2. Formation of co-operatives will make available goods at somewhat lower prices, which allows people to buy more goods, and necessitates more labor to produce.

3. Increase of wages by large corporations instead of putting the money into more buildings and equipment. Higher wages means that the masses of people buy more goods and necessitates more labor to produce.

4. International free trade would make possible lower retail prices, consumption of more goods, which needs more labor to be produced.

The object is to increase labor by means of first increasing consumption of goods. EARL F. WILSON

$1,000.00 IN CASH PRIZES

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FOR THE BEST ANSWERS TO THIS QUESTION:

"What Does American Democracy Mean to Me?"

FIRST PRIZE	**$500.00—plus***
SECOND PRIZE	**200.00**
THIRD PRIZE	**100.00**
Twenty Additional Prizes	**10.00 each**

*In addition to the $500.00 cash award, the First Prize winner will be brought to New York, with all expenses paid, to speak on the Town Meeting program at an appropriate meeting later in the season.

OUR way of life—the way of American democracy—is being challenged throughout the world. Democracy has failed in other countries largely because the people of those countries could not make democracy work.

It is for this reason that the Town Hall has chosen this subject, "What Does American Democracy Mean to Me?" as the topic of our essay contest this season. In the words of one of our Town Hall speakers, Edward Howard Griggs: "In a democracy we can have as bad government as we will stand for or we may have as good government as we are willing to work for."

Merely advocating and eulogizing liberty and freedom are not enough. If we are to make democracy work in America, every individual citizen must do his part.

Through the generosity of Mrs. Henry Morgenthau, Sr., wife of the former Ambassador to Turkey, Town Hall is able to offer $1,000.00 in cash prizes in order to encourage you to express your thoughts on this important topic.

This subject will be discussed on "America's Town Meeting of the Air" Thursday evening, November 23rd, from 9:30 to 10:30 Eastern Standard Time, and may be heard over station WJZ and the nation-wide Blue Network of the National Broadcasting Company. It is not necessary to wait until this program has been heard to send in your essay, but by listening to the Town Meeting programs between now and the closing day of the contest, you may be able to clarify some of your own ideas.

RULES OF THIS CONTEST

Please read the rules carefully.

1. Everyone is eligible to participate in this Contest except persons connected with the Town Hall, the National Broadcasting Company or the magazine CURRENT HISTORY and their immediate families.
2. Essays are not to exceed 1,000 words in length.
3. Subject matter of your essay is to be *your* answer to "What Does American Democracy Mean to Me?"
4. Essays should be written on *one* side of the paper only—and typed, *if possible.*
5. Envelopes containing your essay must be postmarked *not later than* December 4, 1939.
6. The essays will be judged by a Committee of prominent Americans, on the basis of aptness, originality, sincerity and clarity. Their decision will be final.
7. Winners will be announced as soon as possible after the closing date (December 4, 1939).
8. *The winning essay will be printed first in the magazine CURRENT HISTORY* and later in *Town Meeting,* bulletin of "America's Town Meeting of the Air." All essays submitted become and remain the property of Town Hall.

MAIL ESSAYS TO:

ESSAY CONTEST EDITOR

Town Hall

123 West 43rd St., New York City

II. A Chain of Broken Promises

(Continued from page 14)

had included, by implication, that America would join. That promise the American Senate, for good or ill, would not let Wilson keep.

The League of Nations was an attempt at world peace by mutual promises entered into by 55 of the world's 63 nations. These promises the world presently saw broken—conspicuously by Japan, when she seized Manchukuo; by Italy when she seized Abyssinia. These and other breaches reduced the League toward impotence.

Further destroying the world's faith in promises by nations to nations, the Nine-Power Pact was broken by Japan in China; the Kellogg-Briand pact of 56 nations was broken by nations that seized territory by arms—waging war without declaring war, to avoid technical breach of treaty.

By 1939, every kind of promise made to assure peace was in ruins.

Faithlessness has actually become a cult. Great nations baldly teach their youth that any lie, any false promise, is blameless if uttered to advance the interests of the State. Nor is this mere doctrine; it is practiced. One pledge after another has been contemptuously broken — no need even to recite the examples, so recent and so notorious are they. So low has sunk the credit of the pledged word that it has led to spectacles perhaps unparalleled in history. Germany recently repeatedly and solemnly assured the world that it had no intention of violating the neutrality of Holland or of Belgium. The only effect of these reiterated pledges was to make Holland and Belgium increasingly apprehensive.

Out of the Great War arose another group of promises, solemnly made, confidently relied upon, briefly lived up to—but today broken, every one.

America had loaned money to the Allied nations. After the war there was a parade of distinguished foreign officials who came here and made agreements to pay these debts in annual instalments over a series of years. Thirteen nations made the promises. But nation after nation defaulted until today only Finland, the smallest country, with the smallest debt, continues to pay.

Last to default was Britain, in 1933. The greatest commercial power in the world, the nation that had largely built up the fabric of business and commerce which depends upon faith in promises, announced that it was unable to honor its contract.

Further links in the deadly chain were the broken promises of nations to their own people. When men wished to express the uttermost superlative of security, they used to say, "As safe as the Bank of England." But in 1931, the shocked world heard Britain say it must suspend its promise to pay gold to holders of British currency.

America remained a solitary rock in a world-wide sea of broken promises for a time. But a year and a half after Britain, our government announced it would no longer pay in gold. Millions of holders of government bonds and of paper dollars who had been promised, formally and legally, that they would be paid in gold dollars of a certain weight and fineness were now told that they would not be paid in gold dollars at all, but paper. And that their dollars were now worth a less weight of the gold they could no longer get.

Upon the average American, the succession of broken promises fell in a series of impacts, each more disquieting than the last. Breaches of the promises of nations to nations were deplorable, but they were distant. The breaking of promises made by governments to their peoples came closer to individuals. Still it was only a rare person who personally experienced the effect of his government "going off gold."

Presently, however, came breaches that touched individuals intimately. In the early 1930's, employes of states, cities and towns, who considered the receipt of their pay-checks on a specified day as certain as the

sunrise—teachers, firemen, polic men—had "payless paydays." Pre ently private institutions failed live up to sacred and intimate oblig tions. Men saw life insurance con panies suspend for a time their co tract to give to all policy-holders upo demand the loan value which they ha promised to give. The compani could not help themselves, but t damage to men's faith was none t less for that. Men saw banks fail live up to their promises to repa money which depositors had entrus ed to them; indeed the time cam when every bank in the United Stat failed to keep this elementary pledg The closing of all the banks by tl government was amply justified—b again, the faith of men in promis was no less impaired.

By early 1933, hardly anywhe in the world was there any promi having public importance that r mained intact, or that men felt su about.

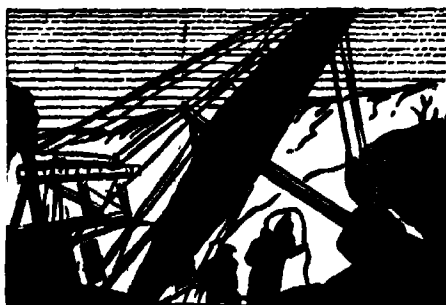
This chain of broken promises ha a cumulative quality, a quality of au tomatic self-expansion. It is like tl spread of weeds which send out ru ners, each runner rooting where touches the ground and becoming new center of baneful growth.

This relation of cause and effe between one broken promise and tl next does exist, but even if it did no even if this long succession of di appointments and disillusionmen had been merely a series of isolate incidents, the effect would be equal devastating to man's faith, to h sense of security.

It is not too much to say, as Harr Scherman does in the title of his re cent book, that promises are wha men live by. Honored promises ar the static basis of civilization an they are also its dynamic motor. Civ lization can not move forward with out this sense of confidence.

How may faith be restored? Ho may the world get back on the track

It is not enough that new prom ises be made. It is not even enoug that new promises be kept for a tim They must be kept for a long tim Before men can again live serenel with a sense of confidence in tl promises made by governments an nations, those pledges must be live up to for decades.

The sense of security we had b fore 1914 was generations in tl making. Before we can create again, we shall need to travel a lo road and, I fear, a rough one.

Travel

Flight Over The Andes

LAWRENCE ADLER

For those who are air-minded, there are today many opportunities of marvellous adventure, and of these, the flight from Buenos Aires to Santiago de Chile offers perhaps the most dramatic and spectacular experience. Linking the two coasts of a continent, and connecting the two long coasts of South America, this route represents today one of the supreme triumphs of aerial achievement. Nowhere in the world have greater natural barriers and obstacles been more successfully overcome; and nowhere else is there an airway which reaches an altitude of something more than 17,000 feet above the sea.

In addition, Pan American-Grace Airways, or "Panagra," as it is popularly called, has put into service the superb Douglas fourteen-passenger planes which make this difficult journey over the Andes with the greatest ease and comfort.

Formerly in taking this trip one ran far greater risks, but at present radio stations in the high mountains send out frequent weather reports; and if conditions are unfavorable, the planes are halted at Mendoza at the brink of the Andes.

If the weather is propitious, however, one leaves the hangar at Buenos Aires a little after eight in the morning and, seemingly miraculous, after flying the width of the continent and surmounting the stupendous Andes in six hours, one alights at the Santiago flying field at two-thirty in the afternoon. For this same journey the Trans-Andean railway, toiling painfully among the mountain passes and tunnels, requires thirty-eight hours. The planes carry every comfort and aid for the convenience of the passengers, including oxygen for those who may be temporarily indisposed by tremendous altitudes.

After the take-off at Buenos Aires, we fly all morning over the level, illimitable Argentine pampa, divided like a great checker-board into an endless number of squares which represent the estancias of the great cattle owners of the Argentine. Now and then the brown pattern is broken by a blue lake or an isolated bit of woodland, but as far as the eye can see there is no limit to the unending prairie. The plane flies with hardly any vibration from its twin motors, and with the greatest ease of motion.

By noon the crests of the Andes are in sight and we alight on the field at Mendoza and lunch in the midst of gaucho boys and other picturesque figures of the pampa, not unlike our Western cowboys in appearance. Our pilot points out the way over the mountains, and by one o'clock we are taking off once more, ready to soar aloft into the highest ether. The plane mounts with great assurance and apparently without effort. The low foothills are now past and the body of the main cordillera comes into sight, uplifting itself in shaggy masses and brown volcanic folds to tremendous battlements and rocky fastnesses. Now the second range appears, snow-crested; and, rising with great speed, we leave behind yawning chasms and breathtaking precipices. Can we ever actually attain these unbelievable heights above us, we ask ourselves, glancing skyward, and looking down on the wilderness of mountains already below, one cannot help wondering what would happen should our magnificent Douglas develop some unpredictable engine trouble. But the pilot assured us that emergency landing fields were available, always within reach. The weather continues superb, the sky cloudless, and even the air currents, which sometimes cause sudden drops and rises, are today all in our favor.

At this moment the backbone of a continent looms in snowy grandeur above us, tier upon tier, range upon range, glacier upon glacier, with Aconcagua, lord of the Americas, over-topping all, piercing the sky itself. Around and about us the scene becomes stupendous, and the vistas from the plane windows appear in-

credible—something that our imagination could never conjure forth, and something also that will leave unforgettable, vivid images in our memory.

Was man ever meant to ascend into these regions of the empyrean, one asks oneself, as colossal peaks loom high one minute and become sharp points below, the next. And yet undoubtedly he who has not experienced this high adventure has not realized the thrill of the age we live in. Man here has triumphed over mountains, and the machine age reaches its apotheosis.

As *the 17,000 foot pinnacle of our* flight is reached we are in a lost world of titanic mountains, of terrific and unfathomable abysses in an atmosphere where glory and terror are one. Far below are the heights of La Cumbre where Chile and the Argentine meet, the statue of the Christ of the Andes, and finally Upsallata, most dangerous of all the passes. But the plane continues undaunted in this realm of the upper air, a fragile but valiant machine, never pausing in its flight. Now we are facing the terrible slope of Aconcagua, bristling with glaciers, its massive summit 5,000 feet above even our dizzying altitude.

The plane passes beyond all this. Suddenly we begin the descent. The green fields of Chile, framed with long lines of eucalyptus, and the white city of Santiago are at our feet, and far in the blue distance, merely a hazy mirage, the boundary of a continent, El Pacifico.

Hollywood Sets the Style

(Continued from page 37)

prises, for instance, has reported that 147 concerns or individuals were licensed to manufacture 2,183 different novelty products based on the *Snow White* characters. Sixteen and a half million "Snow White" drinking glasses were sold; two million dolls; four million cakes of Dwarf soap. There were pencil sets and hats and underwear and even hundred-dollar bracelets with dwarf charms. *Snow White* practically saved the toy business in the usually slack months after Christmas. The picture was responsible for two million dollars' worth of toy sales. One factory making rubber dwarfs had to work twenty-four hours a day to fill orders.

By this tangible as well as visual influence the movies, together with radio and the comic strip, are building up a whole New American folklore. It is their creatures that our children want to hear stories about, to keep little models of on their desks, to have printed on their sweaters, to take to bed with them. The only real characters for whom they have anything like the same kind of affection are the heroes of the Western serials who share a good many of the cartoon characters' traits.

The educators have not yet put on record their opinion of the work of the movies in destroying folklore, although Teachers College, of New York, gave academic sanction to a Mickey Mouse primer. A curious phenomenon of the 1938 Christmas was the substitution of the Lone Ranger for Santa Claus. This was observable particularly in the toy departments of stores in New York, Brooklyn, and Chicago where the lure to the young customer was not the opportunity to see a live Santa Claus and whisper your Christmas wishes in his ear but to "See the Lone Ranger's helper at work at his forge, casting his silver bullets. See 'Hi-yo, Silver! Away!'—our hero riding off in a cloud of dust." The relation of all this to Christmas, except as Christmas is a good time to get someone to give you a Lone Ranger cowboy outfit, was not very clear but it is a development that will bear careful watching.

The things movies teach the young, and their elders too, may be cause for amusement or alarm but some educators contend that the thing to worry about is not what the movies teach but what they leave out. Only by extreme regimentation, they say, can you be certain of fostering any idea in the youthful mind. The great service the movies can render is not to keep children away from sex and crime but to introduce them to truth. What is wrong with the movie universe is not its immorality but its narrowness. They believe that while the cinema in a totalitarian state is occupied in demonstrating and dramatizing the ideas the government thinks its people ought to hold, in showing them the way of life they ought to follow, it is the province of the cinema in a democratic country to open windows on a wider world. The American movie, they say, considering its opportunities, uses an absurdly limited number of windows. They like to tell the story of the affable potentate in Malay who greeted his first American visitor with the pleasant assurance: "We know all about the United States from your movies. Now which class of Americans do you belong to? Are you a gangster, a cowboy, or a crooner?"

Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc., required by the Acts of Congress of August 24, 1912, and March 3, 1933.

of Current History, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1939.

State of New York }
County of New York } ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared I. Harvey Williams who having been duly sworn according to law deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of Current History and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit: 1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are, Publisher C-H Publishing Corporation, 420 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.; Editors, John T. Hackett, E. Trevor Hill, 420 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.; Managing Editor, None; Business Manager, I. Harvey Williams, 420 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.) C-H Publishing Corporation, 420 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. (Stockholders) Madison Publishing Co., Inc., 420 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.; J. H. Sewell Publishing Co., Inc., 420 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None. 4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him. Signed, I. Harvey Williams, Business Manager. Sworn to and subscribed before me this 17th day of October, 1939. (Seal) Edith M. Hemilla, Notary Public. (My commission expires March 30, 1940.)

He is always saying apologetically:

"I just can't find any time to read books!"

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Christmas Books for 1939

NORMAN COUSINS

CURRENT HISTORY's Christmas book list for 1939 is not limited to public or world affairs. In line with the aim of the editors to present a rounded, balanced group of titles, the list includes not only books on history—made and in the making—but books in the fields of biography, autobiography, philosophy, and religion. Of the thirty titles on the list, a dozen belong to the current affairs grouping, seven are in the field of biography or auto-biography, eight are histories, two deal with political philosophies, and one is a religious anthology.

The list reflects a publishing trend n the non-fiction field which becomes ncreasingly apparent. Until this 'ear, books on history-in-the-making have dominated this trend. But em-phasis in non-fiction in 1939 has hifted to biography. Not in many 'ears has there been such a mine of irst-rate biographical material; in-leed, at least four titles are strong andidates for the Pulitzer Prize: *'he Life and Times of William How-rd Taft*, by Henry F. Pringle; *'horeau*, by Henry Seidel Canby; *Abraham Lincoln, The War Years*, by Carl Sandburg, and *Daniel Boone*, by ohn Bakeless. All four biographies re on CURRENT HISTORY's list.

It is significant, too, perhaps, that utobiography has a prominent place mong the selections. Three titles are ncluded: *Autobiography with Let-ers*, by William Lyon Phelps; *Wind, and and Stars*, by Antoine de Saint xupéry; and *The Letters of Ralph 'aldo Emerson*, edited by Ralph L. usk.

Also worthy of Pulitzer Prize con-deration are three historical works the list—*America in Midpassage*, ' Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *ie New England Mind*, by Perry iller, and *The Awakening of Amer-i*, by V. F. Calverton. Two of the maining histories on the list are ncerned with the theme of propa-nda and the world war. These books e H. C. Peterson's *Propaganda for ir* and John C. Smith's *Words that m the War*. Another history is the story of a river, Emil Lengyel's *The Danube*, while the historical grouping is completed with Philip Guedalla's *The Hundredth Year*, and *The Heritage of America*, edited by H. S. Commager and Allan Nevins.

Though no book on the list has grown directly out of the European war, six titles provide abundant background reading for an understanding of World War II. Three of them, Hermann Rauschning's *The Revolution of Nihilism*, Duff Cooper's *The Second World War*, and Liddell Hart's *The Defence of Britain*, were originally published abroad but scored an immediate success in this country. Published earlier this year, Pierre Van Paassen's *Days of Our Years* has strong pertinency to the present situation. Vincent Sheean's *Not Peace But a Sword* was widely discussed and Fletcher Pratt's *Sea Power and Today's War*, published a few weeks ago, is one of the timeliest books of the season.

Increasing interest in South America has found expression in two excellent new books about that continent: John Whitaker's *Americas to the South* and T. R. Ybarra's *America Faces South*. The Far East, too, has its duo of books with John Gunther's *Inside Asia* and Hallett Abend's *Chaos in Asia*.

The "we or they" idea dramatized so effectively by Hamilton Fish Armstrong several years ago is represented on the list by three works of political philosophy: *The March of Fascism*, by Stephen Raushenbush, *Dictatorship in The Modern World*, edited by Stanton Ford, and *Freedom and Culture*, by John Dewey.

In a category by itself, perhaps, is William Allen White's short, stimulating essay, *The Changing West*.

Brief descriptions of each of the books on the list follow according to grouping:

History-in-the-Making

Probably the most important non-fiction of the year, Hermann Rauschning's *The Revolution of Nihilism*

CURRENT HISTORY

December 1939

THE WAR IN EUROPE: 1939

GENERAL ARTICLES

COVER PHOTOGRAPH BY FREE-LANCE PHOTOGRAPHERS GUILD

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(Alliance) describes the evolution of National Socialism and probes into its inner nature. National Socialism, says Rauschning, has become a movement without a doctrine or a soul—a movement for movement's sake. It has no program save that dictated by the need of the retention and extension of power. In short, Nazism has become "nihilistic." Rauschning correctly anticipated the cancelling out of supposed grievances between Germany and Russia, predicting many months ago that a Nazi-Communist alliance was "Hitler's great coming stroke."

Captain Liddell Hart's *The Defence of Britain* (Random House) does more than merely describe and analyze England's fighting machine. It is a comprehensive, intelligent examination not only of Europe's fighting forces but of the real issues in today's war. Captain Hart's internationally famous theories of defense are outlined in full. This is easily the best explanation for the prolonged stalemate in the West.

In *The Second World War* (Scribner's), Duff Cooper, former First Lord of the British Admiralty, publishes his papers and speeches of the twelve-month period immediately preceding the outbreak of war. Its value is enhanced and its timeliness pointed up by an introduction and running commentary based on recent developments.

Vincent Sheean's *Not Peace But a Sword* (Doubleday, Doran) lost something of its razor-sharp edge with the outbreak of the present war, but it is still a remarkable first-hand account of what has been happening in Europe during the last few years. Both as a history of the Spanish war and as a commentary on political and psychological England, Sheean's book is well worth reading.

Though published at the beginning of the year, *Days of Our Years*, by Pierre Van Paassen (Hillman, Curl) is still enjoying a wide popularity because of its broad, colorful range and its stimulating comments on the background of world affairs.

In *Sea Power and Today's War* (Harrison Hilton), Fletcher Pratt, who has become a one-man informa-

tion bureau since the outbreak of the war, provides an illuminating study and discussion of comparative naval strength and modern theories of naval warfare. The book bears special pertinence to a war which thus far has found its main activity not on land or in the air but on the sea.

Americas to the South (Macmillan) by John Whitaker, European correspondent of *The Chicago Daily News,* is the result of first-hand observations made on a tour of the South American continent. Mr. Whitaker interviewed important statesmen, investigated local situations, spoke to laymen. Out of this wealth of material has come a comprehensive, authoritative book on the "good neighbors."

Like Mr. Whitaker's book, T. R. Ybarra's *America Faces South* (Dodd, Mead) grew out of material obtained at first hand. Mr. Ybarra is a roving foreign correspondent who can speak with equal authority on any phase of international affairs. This is a much-needed ability at a time when it is as impossible to isolate continents from a consideration of world affairs as it is to isolate countries from a consideration of continents. If anyone doubts that South America has a stake in the war --or conversely, that the war has a stake in South America —the suggestion is made that he read *America Faces South.*

John Gunther's *Inside Asia* (Harpers), like its famed predecessor, *Inside Europe,* has dramatized a continent and its leading personalities. Mr. Gunther describes Asia as a prisoner—chained down by separate and often conflicting imperialisms. Gunther ranges the continent, finding drama and color, examining its leading personalities, piecing together threads of events, reporting, analyzing, interpreting. The net result is a compact, useful, dramatic guide to Asia's politics and personalities.

Following up on his success with *Can China Survive,* Hallett Abend, Far East correspondent for *The New York Times,* has written *Chaos in Asia* (Ives Washburn) an up-to-the-minute picture of events in the Orient. Japan's aims in China, he says, are vague, but the realization has finally been brought home to a number of Japanese leaders that Japan must have a prosperous neighbor in China or be bitterly poor herself.

William Allen White, genial journalist-philosopher, has written about

Christmas Gift Book List

BOOK	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	PRICE
The Revolution of Nihilism	Hermann Rauschning	Alliance	$3.00
The Danube	Emil Lengyel	Random House	3.75
Inside Asia	John Gunther	Harpers	3.50
Chaos in Asia	Hallett Abend	Ives Washburn	3.00
The Hundredth Year	Philip Guedalla	Doubleday, Doran	3.00
Days of Our Years	Pierre Van Paassen	Hillman, Curl	3.50
Not Peace But a Sword	Vincent Sheean	Doubleday, Doran	2.75
Wind, Sand and Stars	Antoine de St. Exupery	Reynal & Hitchcock	2.75
Sea Power and To'ty's War	Fletcher Pr tt	Harrison, Hilton	3.00
Propaganda for W r	H. C. Peter on	University of Oklahoma	3.00
Words That Won the War	J. R. Mock and C. Larson	Princeton University Press	3.75
America in Midpassage	Charles A. and Mary R. Beard	Macmillan	3.50
The Heritage of America	Henry Steele Commager and Allan Nevins	Little, Brown	4.00
The New England Mind	P. G. Miller	Macmillan	3.75
The Awakening of America	V. F. Calverton	John Day	3.75
Freedom and Culture	John Dewey	Putnam	2.00
Dictatorship in the Modern World	Guy Stanton Ford	University of Minnesota Press	3.00
Americas to the South	John T. Whitaker	Macmillan	2.50
America Faces South	T. R. Ybarra	Dodd Mead	3.00
The Second World War	Duff Cooper	Scribner's	2.50
Defence of Britain	Captain Liddell Hart	Random House	3.50
The Changing West	William Allen White	Macmillan	1.50
The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson	Ralph L. Rusk	Columbia University Press	30.00
The Life and Times of William Howard Taft	Henry F. Pringle	Farrar & Rinehart	7.50
Thoreau	Henry Seidel Canby	Houghton Mifflin	3.75
Abraham Lincoln: The War Years	Carl Sandburg	Harcourt, Brace	2.00
Autobiography with Letters	William Lyon Phelps	Oxford	3.75
Daniel Boone	John Bakeless	Morrow	3.50
The Bible of the World	Robert O. Ballou	Viking Press	5.00

the West and the people he knows so well in *The Changing West*. Original, thoughtful, his book discusses the relation of the people to the land on which they live, and their economic and political concepts.

Especially timely and valuable now that Europe is at war are two University Press books concerned with a similar theme: war and propaganda. H. C. Peterson's *Propaganda for War* (Oklahoma) is an illuminating study and analysis of propaganda tricks and tactics which brought us into the war once before and which may do so again. J. R. Mock and C. Larson have collaborated in writing *Words that Won the War* (Princeton) which is based largely on America's own propaganda experiences during the World War.

Histories

America in Midpassage (Macmillan), by Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, integrates the five main strands of our recent history into a single, coherent, meaningful pattern. Developments in American politics, economics, culture, science, and social progress during the last ten years are woven into a single story. The Beards conclude that we have been in "mid-

passage"—a period in which we have had occasion to re-examine our heritage and in which we have become conscious of the positive values of our democratic institutions.

Emil Lengyel's *The Danube* (Random House) is not a history in the strict sense. Actually, it is the story —perhaps even the biography—of a great river. Lenygel looks at the Danube and sees a river steeped in history. He sees a fertile, rich valley despoiled by centuries of conflict. The only solution for the millions of people along the Danube's shores, he feels, is a Federation based on unity rather than dissolution of racial and linguistic ties. In format *The Danube* is one of the most beautiful books of the year.

A new approach to early American history is furnished by V. F. Calverton in *The Awakening of America* (John Day), an ambitious, impressive study of revolts and class struggles before the Revolution. Calverton views the beginnings of America largely through the stories of the governed, rather than the governors, the common people rather than the aristocracy. Calverton finds that early America was a frontier nation influenced more by the restlessness of the people, by their tempers and their appetites, than by any foreign monarch.

In *The Hundredth Year* Philip Guedalla effectively states the interesting thesis that the year 1936, like the years 1815, 1830, 1848, etc., is a turning point in the history of the world. A book of clarity and conviction.

The *Heritage of America*, edited by Henry Steele Commager and Allan Nevins (Little, Brown), is a compilation of essays based on source material on significant highlights in American history. Attractively illustrated, the book is a new and vigorous approach to the making of America.

Autobiography

The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson (Columbia University Press) arranged and edited by R. L. Rusk, is one of the literary highlights of the year. Mr. Rusk has collected hundreds of hitherto unpublished letters which form a rich new basis for a fuller appraisal of Emerson than was hitherto possible. The letters cover a wide range, revealing a more human, more colorful Emerson.

William Lyon Phelps' *Autobiography with Letters* (Oxford) is full

of literary flavor and reflects a rich and varied life. Even though the emphasis is not as strong as it might be on autobiography *per se.*—almost half the book is devoted to personality sketches of other people—his book is one of the brighter lights in a bright publishing year.

Wind, Sand and Stars, by Antoine de Saint Exupéry (Reynal and Hitchcock) has been honored on two continents. In Europe it won the *Grand Prix* of the Academie Français; in America it has become a best seller and something of a literary sensation. The book is an amalgam of personal philosophy, adventure, and essay writing. Exupéry, an aviator, has found his philosophy in the sky.

Biographies

In *The Life and Times of William Howard Taft* Henry F. Pringle, winner of the Pulitzer Prize in 1931 for his biography of Theodore Roosevelt, continues his important study of the United States during the "growing years." It is an absorbing and well-written story of the only man in the history of this country ever to hold both its two highest offices: President, and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

All those who read and enjoyed Van Wyck Brooks' now classic *Flowering of New England* will want to read Henry Seidel Canby's *Thoreau* (Houghton, Mifflin). An outstanding candidate for the Pulitzer award in biography, *Thoreau* is more than the story of a great American; it is first-rate literary craftsmanship.

John Bakeless, journalist and teacher of journalism, has written a much-needed, full-length biography of the hero of the American frontier in *Daniel Boone* (Morrow).

The remarkable thing about Carl Sandburg's *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years* (Harcourt, Brace) is not that Mr. Sandburg has attempted a biography of Lincoln in a field already so crowded, but that it should stand so high above the rest. Sandburg continues his monumental work, *Abraham Lincoln, The Prairie Years,* with this deep, sympathetic study of the War President.

Political Philosophy

John Dewey, dean of American Philosophers, probes into the fundamentals of the problems of Democracy in *Freedom and Culture* (Putnam). This is a personal testimonial to a truly democratic way of life.

Third Term Question

Franklin D. Roosevelt has apparently enjoyed being President of the United States. He has also felt, or made people believe he felt, that his New Deal was safest in his own hands. He has been a breaker of tradition. No other member of his party equals him in stature or- as public opinion polls all indicate- in national popularity. Given these factors, is it not possible that he will seek a third term?

Many men think so, and the President has never definitely squelched the belief. At times he has hinted that he wanted to retire to the rural quiet of Hyde Park in January, 1941, but, despite pleading from Democrats and Republicans alike, he has kept his real plans to himself. For one thing, disavowal of third-term plans would weaken White House control of Congress. For another, perhaps the Roosevelt mind is not yet made up. Moreover, should third-term plans be announced too early, opposition might quickly jell, with disastrous effect to Roosevelt and his party.

A few weeks ago, the President startled his friends and foes alike by saying, when laying the cornerstone for the new Jefferson Memorial in Washington, that he hoped he would attend the Memorial's dedication in January, 1941. Since his term expires on January 20, 1941, the statement left room for wide interpretation. The President told reporters afterward that his remark had been a joke—he just wanted to start the interpretations rolling, then sit back and enjoy them. Again at the dedication of the library for his state papers in Hyde Park, New York, he jested with the press, calling upon it to interpret his wish for a fine day when the library is finally opened to the general public in July, 1941.

For prospective 1940 candidates, however, the Roosevelt mysteries were no joke. They and their managers read the political entrails as best they might and pushed ahead.

The Candidates — Garner

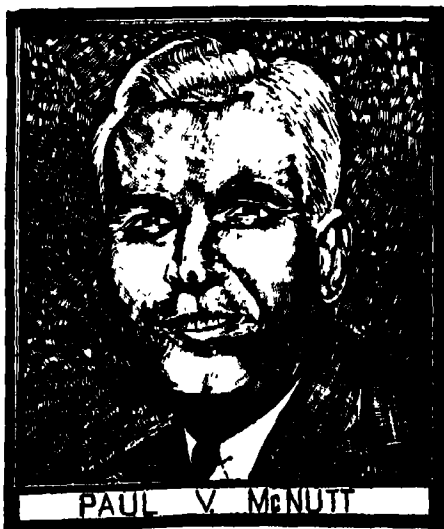
John Nance Garner, 71-year-old Texan, twice running-mate of President Roosevelt, went deer-hunting a few weeks ago, apparently oblivious of the fact that he is the center of a boom for the Democratic Presidential nomination. However, Garner offices were opened in New York, in the Middle West, on the Pacific Coast, and from the central office in Dallas, Texas, came a stream of Garner literature.

Though the Garner boom was at first regarded as a movement to head off President Roosevelt and to dictate the nomination of a Democratic conservative whose political philosophy would resemble that of the Vice-President, observers in late November began to take the "Garner for President" talk more seriously. They pointed to the campaign biography written by Pulitzer-Prize-winner Marquis James (author of a life of another famous Texan, Sam Houston) and to the Jack Foy-Rex Lampman song, "Cactus Jack," with the final verse:

We'll tell you this about Cactus Jack:
He's hit the trail and he won't turn back;
He's riding high and he's riding straight,
And he's headed for the White House gate!
From Amarillo to San Antone
They'll tell you Jack has never been thrown—
Ki, yi, yippee! Cactus Jack!
He'll hang his hat on the White House rack.

McNutt, and Others

Paul Vories McNutt, the handsome white-haired Social Security Administrator, would also like to live in the White House. He has never made any bones about it, and there is a story that he has planned, ever since he was a school boy, to reach the Presidency. His present job has given him a chance to become a national figure. He can travel around the country, talk on social security (the subject apparently closest to most Americans in 1939), watch the building of his political organization. Political wise men say that organization, based on the State machine built when Administrator McNutt was Indiana's Governor, is one of the best oiled and most efficient in the country.

Washingtonians have suspected that President Roosevelt was not wholly opposed to the McNutt ambitions, else why should the President have given the Indianan such political plums as the job of High Commissioner to the Philippines and then the Social Security Administration? It has also been noted in the capital that New Dealers like Justice Black and Thomas Corcoran ("Tommy the Cork") were present at a recent Mc-

Nutt dinner whose purpose was not one hundred per cent convivial.

There are other, but less active, Democratic hopefuls: BURTON K. WHEELER, since 1923 a Democratic Senator from Montana; BENNETT CHAMP CLARK, Missouri Senator, son of the Champ Clark whom Woodrow Wilson defeated for the Presidential nomination in 1912; WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS, Supreme Court justice, former SEC head, 41, and a liberal.

Bridges and Dewey

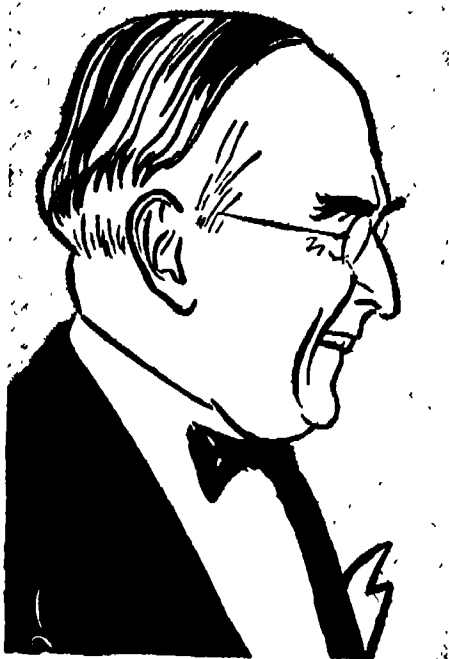
Republicans, no less disturbed than Democrats by the Roosevelt enigma, have at least four prominent contenders for the nomination. Taken alphabetically they are:

Styles Bridges (he has recently dropped his first name, Henry), 41-year-old New Hampshire Senator and former Governor, TVA foe and constant New Deal critic, threw his hat into the ring some weeks ago. Except in New England, his candidacy has not been taken very seriously, possibly because New Hampshire has not sent a native son to the White House since Franklin Pierce was elected in 1852, but Mr. Bridges has recently been swinging around the circle, speaking from coast to coast. Some suspected he had little hope of the nomination for President but much hope of the nomination for Vice President.

Thomas Edmund Dewey, 37-year-old District Attorney of New York and 1938 Republican candidate for New York's Governorship, has been a leader in the Republican nomination race. His war on crime has given him national prominence. He has had the aid of influential New Yorkers, and for several months has been surrounded by a group of experts—the Dewey group shuns the term "brain trust"—which admittedly is coaching the "D.A." for the job of being President. Dewey supporters refuse to concede that their man is inexperienced in national affairs or to find any weakness in the fact that, if nominated and elected in 1940, he would be the youngest man ever to be President of the United States.

Except for a Middle Western visit last Summer, Dewey has made no political appearances, but in the closing days of November he was working over speeches in preparation for an invasion of the Middle West and the opening of his campaign. Headquarters were to be opened almost simultaneously here and there and the Dewey banner unfurled to the political breeze.

Taft and Vandenburg

Robert Alphonso Taft, 50-year-old son of the late President and Chief Justice, a conservative son of Ohio, and a senator, has been making speeches that are nomination-seeking in nature. He has an organization that is working for him, rounding

New York Times
Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg

up delegates—particularly among Southern Negro Republicans, according to report—and his headquarters has been thought to be the most active among all that are trying to win the Republican nomination.

Arthur H. Vandenberg, Michigan Senator and newspaperman, has been talked of as a presidential possibility for years. He was mentioned in 1936, and might have had the nomination had he sought it seriously. His fellow Michiganders have been working for him, in an informal way, for some time, but to all appearances he is a man who is willin' only if the nomination seeks him. An isolationist, a supporter of the arms embargo which Congress repealed on November 4, he has seemed out of step so far as prevailing American opinion on foreign policy is concerned, and yet, a few weeks ago, a poll of persons listed in "Who's Who" gave Senator Vanderberg the leading place among all contenders for the Republican nomination for President.

Idle Ships, Idle Men

At the tip of Manhattan Island rises the brown-brick tower of the Seamen's Church Institute where idle sailors seek food and shelter and recreation while awaiting jobs aboard the liners and freighters that use New York's many docks and piers. Last month the Institute was busy. The Neutrality Act had thrown "on the beach" thousands of American sailors—10,000 some estimates had it —and their immediate prospect of work was bad.

Not all the thousands were concentrated in New York, for the ninety-two ships that passage of the Neutrality Act in early November had suddenly tied at their docks berthed at many ports, but in all American ports the problem was the same. What were the sailors to do? The Federal Government had two solutions: (1) WPA projects along the waterfront; (2) special training schools such as those already established in several ports as a means of improving the skills of officers, stewards, engineers and all the rest that man a ship at sea. The sailors and their union spokesmen were not sure they liked the plans.

What was to be done with the ships idling in port was a crucial question for the operating companies. Proposals to transfer their registry to another government—Panama had been the one most generally mentioned—brought a cry of protest. American seamen would not be employed, it was argued, and the ships, still owned by Americans, might get the country in trouble if torpedoed or mined. Outright sale of ships was suggested, but that again offered small consolation to the companies. Nor did it contribute to the maritime prestige of the United States, built so slowly and painfully since the World War.

Ships and sailormen thus promised to be the principal casualties of the new Neutrality Act, passed in answer to national demand that the United States keep out of war. Public memory is traditionally short, but not short enough to forget that one of the things that drew the country into the World War was the loss of American ships and men by mines and torpedoes. That was not to happen again if law could prevent.

It was that insistence which, early in November, wrote into law the ban on American shipping to the combat

zones of Western Europe and to Canada's Atlantic ports. It was this insistence that also barred Americans, except under special circumstances, from traveling on belligerent vessels. Fundamental to the whole problem, of course, was the belief that economic interest had drawn the United States to the Allies in 1917. To prevent that the "cash-and-carry" provision had been placed in the law.

That provision, in company with the lifting of the arms embargo embodied in the old Neutrality Act, opened American markets to all who could come and get it—and pay. The country was protected against immediate involvement in the European conflict. The Allies—since they alone could reach American markets—were aided, and this was presumed to be in line with State Department policy, and yet, however selfish it all might seem, the United States was not shut off from the profits almost certain to result sooner or later from Allied buying.

Business on the Mind

Fall business has been good in America. Lines on the economists' graphs have moved steadily upward since the end of August, and indices have stood as much as seventeen points above the level a year ago. Just why the pleasing upturn has occurred has been cause for disagreement.

New Dealers have pointed to pump-priming, to spending for American rearmament, and have argued simultaneously that planned recovery was setting in. Opponents have found other reasons, such as tax reforms and the curtailed WPA insisted upon by Congress at its last regular session. They have looked further.

"Fear buyers" is a term that has crept into discussion of the business outlook, the phrase being used to describe the numerous purchasers, industrial and individual, who have rushed to give orders for fear that the war would loose an inflation of the price structure and create a shortage of many items. World War experience taught a lesson that has not been forgotten.

Still another factor is found. Factories are speeding production against the day European war orders start flooding the American market, stirring an industrial war boom. Actually, however, Britain and France have placed fewer orders in the United States than had been expected, nor did these orders swell to any considerable extent after the passage of the revised Neutrality Act. Airplane factories did obtain considerable new business. So, apparently, did some munitions and machine plants, but the scene at American ports, where lighters were carrying dismantled planes to loading freighters, was at best a pale imitation of the scene in the World War years when American munitions were pouring out of the country for the combatants abroad.

That war orders were likely to expand once the Allies had used up the mass of accumulated materiel most observers conceded. They pointed, moreover, to estimates, too, that the Allies could amass the huge sum of $8,000,000,000 for American spending should the need arise.

Only dribbles of that Croesus-like fortune, however, were reaching the United States. Hence wonder grew regarding reasons for the upturn. Perhaps anyone's guess had basis. To the average man the important thing was that jobs were available, that people were spending. He did not have to consult the charts to know that business was good. Happier days are here again—though the Stock Market remains stubbornly dull.

Christian Science Monitor

The shaded area shows where U. S. ships can't go.

Finland Faces Russia

In a pinch, little Finland (population 4,000,000) might muster an army of 800,000 men. In a pinch, mighty Russia (population 183,000,000) might muster an army of 18,000,000.

A wry smile went round the world, therefore, when in mid-November the Communist press, in and outside the Soviet Union, announced in screaming headlines that Finland was threatening war on Russia. The picture these headlines drew was about as probable as that of a Singer midget threatening to maul Heavyweight Champion Joe Louis.

The explanation for the headlines lay in the fact that, a day or two before, negotiations between Finland and Russia over Soviet demands on the little Baltic country had collapsed—whether temporarily or per-

Rollin Kirby—N.Y. Evening Post

Isn't it about time for a peace offensive here?

manently no one knew. Day after day Finnish delegates in Moscow had heard Russia's demands voiced by Dictator Josef Stalin and Premier-Foreign Minister Molotov, and day after day the Finns had declined to accede. According to Premier Molotov, Russia asked disarmament of fortified zones on the Soviet-Finnish border, exchanging of certain islands in the Gulf of Finland, shifting part of the border "several dozen kilometers further to the north of Leningrad," and lease by Finland to Russia of "a small section of her territory near the entrance to the Gulf of Finland where we might establish a naval base."

When the Finnish delegates finally said "No" and went home, the Communist headlines thundered. *Pravda*, Communist party newspaper in Moscow, hinted that Finland might meet the fate of Poland. The Soviet navy organ, *Red Fleet*, stormed: "The Soviet government will find a means of guaranteeing the frontiers of our fatherland." Leningrad, it declared, was only about twenty miles from the Finnish border, was under constant threat from air and artillery attack, and must be protected by all means.

Soon there were reports of disturbances along the Soviet-Finnish frontier, of Soviet plane flights over Finnish territory. Europe was tense, waiting to see whether the Russian bear would reach out a paw to pull Finland under Soviet domination, as it had recently pulled Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

Tremors in Scandinavia

The subjects of Czar Alexander I, said Kipling, moved into Europe but could not forget their Oriental background and went around like Chinese with their shirt-tails hanging out. Memories of Alexander have come to many a student of history in recent weeks. It was by agreement between Alexander and Napoleon that Russia was permitted to take Finland away from Sweden, as she did in 1809, making Finland an "autonomous" duchy within the Russian Empire.

Today, again, Russia has moved into Western Europe. Today, again, Finland fears she may fall under Russian domination—the Russian practice of making subject states "autonomous" is still being followed. And today again the Russian threat may extend to Sweden—or so many of the Swedish people believe. Unhappily they note statements in the Soviet press that Finland is being prevented from accepting Russian proposals by "the British imperialists," and that this is "a threat to Finland's independence and the safety of the Scandinavian countries, especially Sweden." Nor do such statements make neighboring Norway breathe any easier.

In fact, of recent weeks the whole Baltic area has been uneasy with fear of a sudden thrust by Moscow. Too well, Finland, Sweden and Norway know that, when their military strength is compared to Russia's, they are so many gnats against a colossus. The population of these three Baltic countries combined hardly exceeds the number of men Soviet Russia could place under arms if necessary. Sweden with 6,250,000 inhabitants, Norway with less than 3,000,000, Finland with roughly 4,000,000, might among the three of them muster an army of 2,500,000. Russia could recruit an army that large solely in the territories she has taken from Poland in the past few months. Furthermore, the Russian soldier is well paid, well clothed and well equipped. A considerable proportion—perhaps half—of Russia's income goes to keep him that way.

Since the end of the World War, the dominant policies of the Scandinavian nations have been directed, not toward rearmament, but toward disarmament; not toward nationalistic belligerence but toward international peace. This peaceful past has left them ill-equipped for the field of battle.

Yet all three countries are profoundly determined to keep out of the Communist orbit if that is humanly possible. Although there are many socialistic elements in Sweden's national life—her way seems "the middle way" to American eyes—she is miles away from the Russian brand of socialism. Communism flourished briefly in Norway after the World War; in the general election of 1921 it won control of one-fifth of the seats in Parliament; but of recent years has drastically declined. Finland, finally, is prevailingly democratic, leaning as far from communism as from fascism. To all Scandinavia, the embrace of the Russian bear would be hateful.

The War at Sea

From September 3, the day Britain went to war with Germany and the British liner *Athenia* with 1,450 passengers and crew aboard was mysteriously sunk off the Irish coast, to November 15, a total of 110 vessels had been lost as a result of torpedoes,

shell fire or mines. This included 57 British ships with a gross tonnage of 258,188; seven French ships with a tonnage of 48,593; eight German ships with a tonnage of 38,880; and 38 neutral ships with a tonnage of 114,076. As in the last war, the neutrals were hard hit.

The 1939 edition of Jane's *Fighting Ships*—the acknowledged authority on the world's war craft—which appeared on November 16, indicated that Germany had a severe handicap to overcome if she is to repeat her World War success and carry out her avowed plan of relentless U-boat warfare. In the last war, Germany had 111 submarines, as compared with her 1939 program of 71 U-boats in service and 28 more building. Fifteen U-boats are said to have been sunk in the first 45 days of the present war and, since they were of the ocean-going type, this was a sharp blow to the Germans.

But there was still the possibility of a German-Soviet military agreement. If this move, which still seems unlikely, should take place, Germany could depend upon the largest submarine fleet in existence today. *Jane's* reports that Russia has approximately 150 U-boats built and at least 20 under construction. It may have even more; the Russians have always maintained the closest secrecy about their naval strength.

While Germany was reported to be constructing a 40,000 ton battleship, her surface fleet was small when the war began, and she was seriously disturbed when, on September 4, one of her three 10,000-ton pocket battleships was damaged by British air raiders who bombed Wilhelmshafen. The whereabouts of Germany's other two pocket battleships was a mystery. They were reported acting as raiders on the high seas.

By and large, considerable success attended the Germans' war at sea during the first three months. Their most startling feat was accomplished on October 14 when a U-boat slipped past a net and mine barriers and sank the battleship *Royal Oak* at Scapa Flow, British naval base in the North of Scotland. This exploit followed the destruction of the airplane carrier *Courageous* a month earlier. Moreover, Scapa Flow and Scotland's famous Firth of Forth were frequent targets for Nazi planes, though on November 15 Field Marshal Goering declared that Nazi bombing planes and U-boats had not yet begun to

Our War Map

"show the British what it means to be at war with Germany." The warning coincided with a German announcement that a single U-boat had sunk 26,000 tons of shipping and captured one prize ship "in the past few days." There was no British record of any such loss.

"It is to be anticipated," said a D.N.B. (Deutsches Nachrichten Bureau, official news agency) dispatch, "that German attacks will take place frequently at times and places not foreseen in England."

√The War on Land

Altogether unlike the grim and active war at sea was the deadlocked war on land. After three months, all was quiet on the Western Front; there was only minor patrol activity as heavy rains bogged down the German, French and British war machines. It was still a "war of words" and a "war of nerves." The Germans were still chary of hurling themselves against the formidable Maginot Line, the French and British just as reluctant to charge the Siegfried Line in Germany.

While Belgium and the Netherlands stubbornly sought to maintain their neutrality and both feared a Nazi thrust through the low countries, it was admitted in Germany that the bulk of the Nazi army was concentrated in the West. Troop concentrations, it was said, were so large that the area of the Westwall, between 20 and 30 miles deep and 375 miles long, was no longer able to hold all the fighting men and they therefore were stretched out fanshape in all directions. Presumably this meant that they were not only in the rear of the main defense line, but also north and south of it.

There were persistent reports that Germany would soon launch a major attack. The German war machine was described in Hitler's own newspaper, the *Voelkischer Beobachter*, as "ready to strike a decisive blow at any moment."

With the war well into its third month, Britain and France seized an occasion to state their war aims. King George VI, replying to the offer of Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands and King Leopold of the Belgians to intervene, asserted that the British, who had been reluctant to take up arms, were determined not to lay them down until satisfied that the bogey of recurrent German aggression had been banished and the peoples of Europe guaranteed independence and liberty. Supplementing this reply, President Lebrun of France bluntly declared that a durable peace could be established only

"by reparation of the injustices that force has imposed on Austria, Czecho-Slovakia and Poland."

As though to add force to these declarations, Winston Churchill, First Lord of the British Admiralty, taunted Hitler in a radio broadcast, dared him to fight, even referred to him as a "cornered maniac." The future of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Austria, he said, depends on the success of the Allies' arms. If the Allies win the Netherlands and Belgium also will be safe, he added, but if they lose "all will be enslaved and the United States will be left singlehanded to guard the rights of man."

"We are far stronger than we were ten weeks ago," said Churchill. "We are far better prepared to endure the worst malice of Hitler and his Huns than we were at the beginning of September." Replying to this speech the Nazis warned that they had not yet begun to fight.

Hitler's Escape

The most sensational and perhaps most significant news of recent weeks was Chancellor Hitler's escape from assassination on the night of November 8 when a time bomb exploded in historic Buergerbraeu Hall in Munich only eleven minutes after the Fuehrer left the building. He had visited Munich to celebrate the anniversary of his first abortive beer hall putsch, on November 8, 1923.

Outside Germany it was widely assumed that in the beer hall bombing the German underground movement had made an attempt on Hitler's life. But there were also rumors of strife within the Nazi party itself, and many who took glee in pointing out which high ranking Nazis were and which were not in the hall on the night of the explosion.

There was no lack of other theories regarding the bombing. One was that old-line Nazi fanatics were seeking some desperate way to check the trend of affairs which seemed to them to constitute a betrayal of early Nazi doctrine--a trend signified by Hitler's recent agreement with the Russian Communists, once arch foes of Nazism. Another theory, voiced in Paris, was that, by means of the bombing, the German government hoped to fan hatred against Britain, rekindle loyalty to Hitler among the German people, and prepare them for the difficult times which lay ahead.

Whoever was responsible for it, the Munich explosion was heard around the world. In Rome the press was full of sympathy for Hitler and viewed with "profound horror the whole odious plot." Premier Mussolini immediately cabled congratulations to the German Chancellor on his escape. Japan also congratulated Hitler and expressed sympathy for the victims, as did Soviet Russia. In Moscow, which has been most friendly toward Berlin since the conclusion of the recent Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact, the official German version of the Munich bombing was broadcast in full by radio. It emphasized the alleged guilt of the British.

Eyes on Asia

While the declared war in Europe continued, so did the undeclared war in Asia, with the Japanese occupying Pakhoi, close to the borders of French Indo-China. This move was made after a long lull in hostilities in South China and obviously was intended to cut the last remaining arms supply route to Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalist forces.

The announcement that a Japanese-sponsored Central Chinese government would soon be formed, headed by Wang Ching-wei, was capped by a sensational report that Soviet Russia would be the first to recognize the new Chinese regime. This recognition, according to informed circles in Tokyo, would be granted in return for Japanese consent to the establishment of a Sovietized Northwest China. The newspaper *Hochi Shimbun* of Tokyo reported that the Soviet had already instructed the Chinese Communist party to establish its administrative regime in Kansu, with Mao Tse-tung as Chief Executive and General Chu Teh as Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese Red army. Analyzing the disposition of the Chinese troops of North China, the Japanese concluded that the Soviets were securing a firm foothold in the Northwest for a drive into Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan) and Yunnan, from which they could threaten Burma and India.

Marianne, Paris

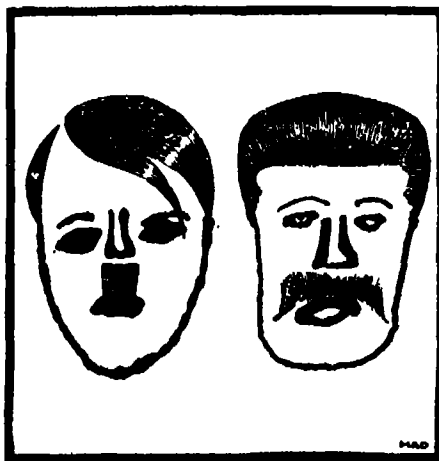
"Here's the whole difference."

Meanwhile, there were highly encouraging reports, from the Japanese standpoint, of closer American relations with the announcement that Tokyo had settled a number of cases with the United States involving damage to American properties in China. According to *The Japan Advertiser*, American-owned daily in the Japanese capital, the cases were "the kind that can be settled most easily."

"If enough progress is made in disposing cases of this kind," said *The Advertiser*, "an atmosphere will be created wherein it may be possible to approach the more difficult cases involving important principles."

The next day—November 16—a Japanese Foreign Office spokesman said in Shanghai that "the United States government, in official communications to Tokyo, has admitted that America is not blind to developments in the Far East," and that he believed Washington was reconciled to the establishment of a new order in East Asia as conceived by Japan.

While the Japanese were proceeding with plans to create a New China, both Great Britain and France removed their troops from the Tientsin area, explaining that the measure was due to the war in Europe. This was regarded as indicating that both London and Paris were willing to concede Japanese supremacy in North China, and the United States was left as the "last guardian of Western civilization in Asia," according to a declaration by the French Foreign Office.

Regarding the creation of a new order in East Asia, an interesting debate was raging in Tokyo concerning the feasibility and propriety of securing "amicable and permanent relations through intermarriage." The *Hochi Shimbun* declared that a broad section of opinion in Japan was convinced that only through intermarriage of Japanese and Chinese could East Asia be welded into a single entity. Those opposing the idea, however, asserted that such a policy would be disastrous and could only lead to "ultimate racial absorption of Japan by the Chinese giants."

The European War: 1939

Six commentators on history-in-the-making interpret trends and events in Europe, the Far East and the U. S.

I. Can Hitler Invade America?

BRIG. GEN. HUGH S. JOHNSON

Widely syndicated columnist, former head of the N.R.A.

I BELIEVE the most important question before the nation today is this: "If Adolf Hitler wins in Europe, will he become a military menace to the United States?" Upon the correct answer to that question depends our getting in, or staying out of, the new world war. And if we get in, it is doubtful whether either our free economic system or our democratic political system could survive the necessary war-dictatorship. That is why I call this question of a possible attack on us by Hitler, our most important problem.

Unquestionably, if it is necessary for us to stop Hitler now, in order to defend ourselves successfully in the future, we ought to declare war on him tomorrow. No military authority could conclude otherwise. But is it necessary? Could a victorious Hitler invade America?

The answer is a flat "No." Every important, independent military or naval expert in the country regards the claim that Hitler can ever successfully attack these shores as nothing more than a monstrous political make-weight. From the point of view of cold, hard military logic, the idea is preposterous. Let us see why.

In the first place, no enemy can seriously threaten our eastern coastline unless he commands the Atlantic Ocean. Can Hitler ever do that? He has four lightly-armed battleships, five heavy cruisers, six light cruisers, forty-five destroyers, fifty-nine submarines, and two plane-carriers. The American navy is more than four times as strong. Furthermore, we would be fighting—if we grant that actual combat is conceivable—close to our home base, while Hitler would be three thousand miles from his; this alone is considered to be a better than two-to-one advantage. Thus the naval odds are ten-to-one against the Nazis. And remember, it takes years and years to build a new navy — we wouldn't sit by idly if Germany ever started one.

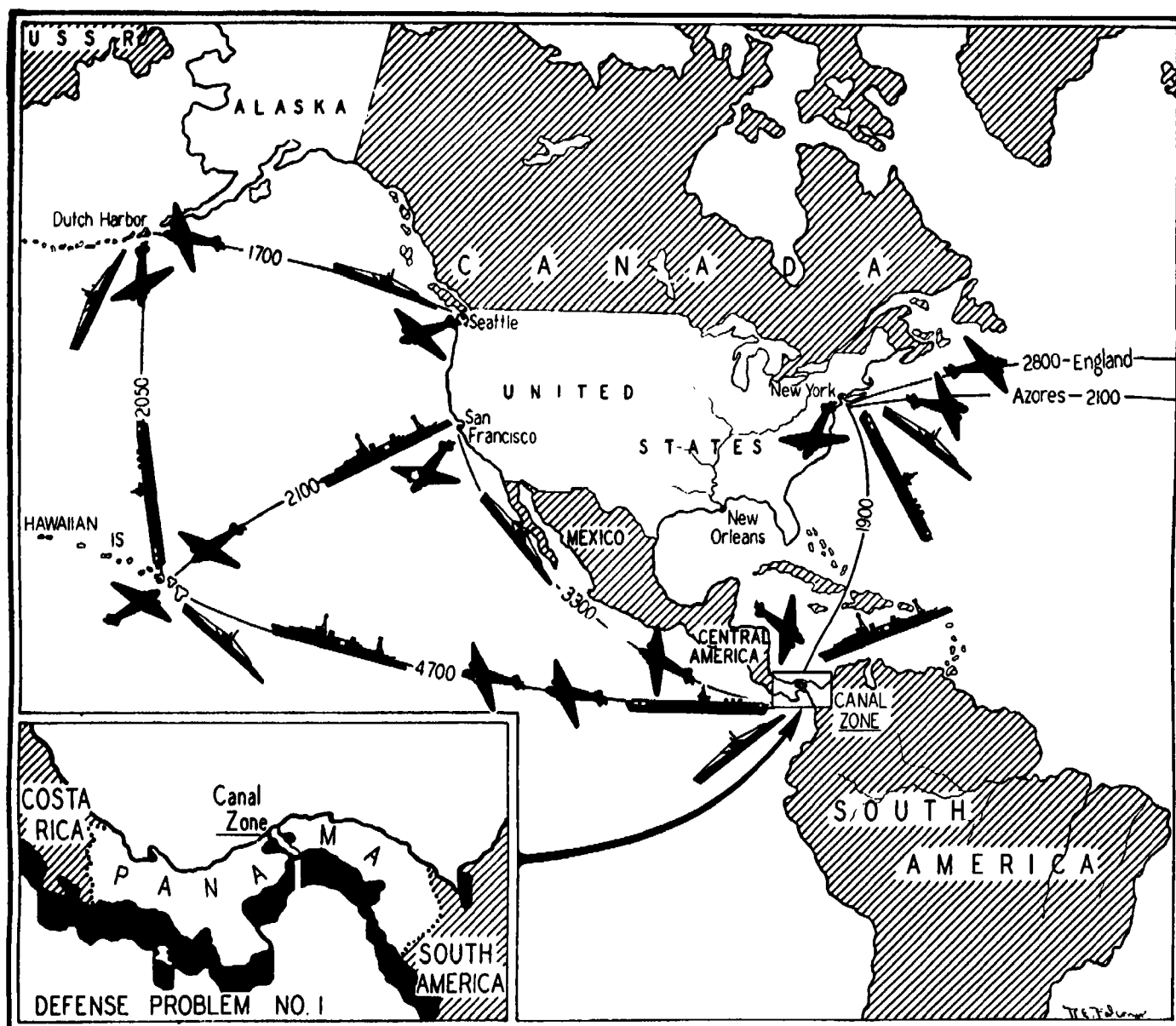
But wait a minute. Somebody says, suppose Hitler licks the Allies and takes over the British fleet—how could we stop him then? Well, I can speak from personal experience on that. I was sitting in on our General Staff in March 1918 when it seemed likely that the Allied forces in France would be cut off by German occupation of Channel ports. There arose then the serious possibility of a German invasion of England. But not one man, in that darkest of all hours, so much as suggested that the British fleet would surrender. That breed never surrenders. There were two alternatives, and only two: either the British would steam across the Atlantic to a new base in Canada; or, in any last desperate emergency, the fleet would sink itself, as the German navy later did at Scapa Flow.

With the British navy based on Canada, Hitler could never muster a sea force strong enough to threaten us, even if he built nothing but warships for fifty years. Even if the English fleet were sunk, there is eminent naval and military authority for this statement which I give you flatly: the combined fleets of no conceivable group of nations could successfully land an army on either North or South America against a well-prepared defense by us. Don't forget, it is armies, and armies alone—not navies, or navies plus air forces—that can ever conquer any nation. No respectable professional authority on earth will question that.

But let's pin this "invasion" myth down even further. Suppose—inconceivable as it may be—that Hitler did get an expeditionary force over here and succeeded in a surprise landing. What then? Well, in the World War we had to figure on forty pounds of supplies per day for every man in the A.E.F. We had all the world's free tonnage and absolute domination of the seas—*yet we couldn't supply those men.* Forty per cent of our supplies had to be bought abroad. Could Hitler do any better? And today the War Department figures it will take twelve tons of overseas shipping per man just to transport a modern mechanized expedition.

Let's figure on a German expeditionary force of a minimum of 200,000 men; anything less would be a joke, and even that number would be more of an annoyance than a threat. Well, it would take 2,400,000 tons of overseas mercantile shipping to land them here—and that is considerably more tonnage in usable vessels than Germany possesses. Such an expedition is a mathematical impossibility. And even if it weren't, that slow, lumbering and defenseless armada—what a dish for American air and naval ships! It would be like shooting fish in a barrel.

INVASION from the sky? Has the development of long-distance bombers caused a "shrinkage of the Atlantic"? Remember that the Atlantic is fifteen hundred miles across at its narrowest point. The accepted bombing radius—and only one way—is one thousand miles. Who can see a bombing possibility in those figures? And even if they did make sense, it would have to be pointed out that you can't conquer a continent with a couple of air raids.

But what about air-bases established by Hitler in South or Central America? Difficult to arrange; and we could blow them up faster than he could build them. Raids from plane-carriers cruising close to shore? If Hitler should risk them, he would have practically nothing to gain and

everything to lose. It would be like trying to subdue an elephant with a bean-shooter.

The efficacy of the air branch in the present war is not yet definitely known, but confidential reports that are seeping through already suggest that it has been over-rated. Air raids on navies, we learn, have been complete flops—and that goes for both sides. Bombing expeditions against fortified positions have been even more disastrous. It is the same old military axiom all over again—no matter what may be the new developments of the offensive, sooner or later sufficiently effective defensive inventions offset them. This was true of gas, tanks, and all other innovations of the World War. I am told by well-informed English authorities that it holds just as true today, especially as concerns the air defenses of London where the new high speed of enemy bombers has been equalized by the recent invention of a hearing device which detects them while they are still hundreds of miles away.

But perhaps most important of all is the fact that right now Hitler is embarked on a death struggle that may last a year—or a lifetime. Even if he wins, his nation is going to be too exhausted to pick a fresh fight with the mightiest power on earth. All we have to do is sit tight and stay out.

REMEMBER that we stayed clear of the Napoleonic wars successfully while the contestants of that battle-royal knocked themselves out. Our hard common sense on that occasion was the making of the United States. It gave our merchant marine of clipper ships the cream of the world's commerce. It enabled us to get Louisiana, Florida and the Western half of our continent, because we were strong and the rest of the world was too exhausted by war to interfere. It enabled us to say to Europe: "This is an American Hemisphere. Keep out." And they kept out.

If the all-conquering Holy Alliance didn't dare challenge the voice of this young nation after the Napoleonic struggle, could Hitler, after a devastating war, threaten us in our present power?

Can Hitler *ever* invade America? The final answer to that question comes to me from many sources. Most of the high-ranking officers of the army are my contemporaries and some of them are my confidants. I know much that can't be said here. But I can assure you that the men whose main job is planning our national defense declare that, if we make reasonable preparations, there isn't a power or combination of powers on earth that could threaten the Americans against our opposition.

II. France Makes Up Her Mind

ABBÉ ERNEST DIMNET

WHAT simple French people think, and not their politicians or editorial writers, I believe I know pretty well. For, this year as in many years past, I spent August and September in the small French town where I was born, and I saw and heard a vast number of civilians and soldiers whom I was trying to befriend.

The little town is close by the Belgian frontier—less than four miles —and as the possibility of another German invasion of Belgium is universally recognized that frontier has had to be guarded.

Much to my chagrin. During several summers our forest, once the undisturbed home of shy deer and wild boars, had to echo the outlandish songs of Kabil or Spanish workmen as they raised pill-boxes of monstrous shape and shiny blackness in nooks where I used to dream leisurely dreams. Now every farm on the edge of those woods is garrisoned with soldiers. Four thousand, to a population less than that figure, and although those soldiers often moved me to admiration by the simple remarks they made, they have entirely changed the psysiognomy of the sylvan countryside. But this has nothing to do with what I gathered about their state of mind or that of the civilians now living side by side with them.

To begin with the latter, nothing could be more striking than the contrast between what they uniformly felt a few weeks ago and what they expressed less than a year ago, in September, 1938. Then they were stunned by the lightning appearance of a danger which they were not sufficiently political-minded ever to have foreseen. Was it possible! War again! Less than twenty years since the men returned from another war supposed to have been a war to make an end of war! And what for? To prevent a modification of frontiers from which they were separated by impassable spaces, and which vaguely but repeatedly they had heard criticized by every man hostile to the Versailles treaty. No wonder if their whole souls were crying: Peace! peace! and if, after listening in, in terror, to the threatening yell of Hitler, they regarded the Munich negotiators and not the self-sacrificing Czechs as heroes.

This year they were unrecognizable. What you heard them endlessly repeating was: "It can't go on! It has to be stopped; you cannot live indefinitely between two mobilizations." They never rose much higher than that, but there they stood as firm as Gibraltar. Separation from husband or sons is hard; annoying it is not to be able to walk two kilometers without being challenged by soldiers to produce some official paper; annoying to be prevented from entering Belgium where many of them have business, and annoying to receive a note from the county-town, ten miles away, fully six days after it has been mailed!

You do not read either in your newspaper that sixty-seven billion francs have been appropriated for the first two months of this war without reflecting that somebody will have to finance that enormous appropriation and your taxes will be more frightening than ever. All that is true, but truer than it all is the necessity not to allow Hitler (personally known by his blood-curdling radio voice) to go on for ever. Add that the Poles have always been popular in France; four beloved Polish nuns take care of the local hospital in the town of my birth. To stop Hitler on account of those Poles is as it should be.

Abbé Dimnet, famed author of **The Art of Thinking** *and* **What We Live By,** *is a staunch friend of the United States.*

The one thing these humble countrymen of mine could not envisage coldly was the danger of being evacuated. No word in the language sounds so ominous to them as Evacuation. They remember 1914 and their sudden panic when Uhlans appeared in the forest-lanes, and resolves of running away from their *schrecklichkeit* had to be made quickly. Babies in perambulators, paralyzed old men or women in wheelbarrows, patient animals following in the grief-stricken crowds remain vividly in my memory, for that year too I was there, and I too had to remove two terrified women, leaving my door open to the tender mercies of the invader. To be told by the mayor that the day has come, and he has had to open the sealed instructions sent to him long ago from Paris, and the population is to emigrate bodily, at once, towards an unknown neighborhood in Brittany or Normandy is what they cannot bear. Yet, they do not say Peace! peace! as they did in 1938, they say: It cannot go on! That man has to be stopped.

How he is to be stopped, by blockade or in battle, they do not exactly know, and they do not much try to imagine. But they feel sure that the war will be short and victorious. It may be that minds unaccustomed to consider historical possibilities are compelled to be satisfied with what their recent experience has impressed upon their consciousness. The last war ended happily. So then will this one. The mobilization of 1938, which to them was a sort of war, only lasted four or five weeks. Well then, in a few weeks *les hommes reviendront*—an old phrase as frequently heard as *il n'est pas revenu* (he never came back) in the case of less lucky soldiers. Sometimes I would ask questions, trying to uncover what in their minds led them to an optimistic forecast. Often the answer was: "Oh! There will be a revolution in Germany; Hitler has many enemies—the Communists, the Jews, the Catholics, the orthodox Lutherans, the Czechs, and so on—those people will rise and

get rid of him. We only want to help them." The more religious would say: "The Lord has conquered greater men than Hitler." Others felt sure that his end must be tragic.

I never met any who wished America to be dragged into the war, but being aware of my American affiliations they would inquiringly tell me: "Surely the United States will do something." "What?" "Something." Many remembered President Roosevelt's intervention in 1938 and wondered could it not be repeated. There is no doubt that President Roosevelt appears to them as medieval Popes, sitting in power, must have seemed to their ancestors.

The contrast between the moral atmosphere of 1938 and that of the last few weeks was as startling in the soldiers as among civilians. The men mobilized in September, 1938, were vague about the Sudetens, but they were not vague about the insufficiency of French aviation which the press had denounced since 1936, and they knew that Great Britain was not bound to assist Czecho-Slovakia as were the French and the Russians. This background gave a drab color to the mobilization in 1938. On two occasions I saw men flocking to the *gendarmerie* when there was a rumor of some one of those sectional calls for men which are now the rule in most armies. The sergeant would break open the official envelope and call out: "Number 2! Number 6!" Most of the men did not even echo the whispered "Damn! It's me!" from two or three in the group. They just turned back and went home, and often in less than an hour they were seen trudging or pedalling towards their destination. I have no doubt that their resignation would have been less stubborn and more vocal if most of them had not been very intelligently mobilized within eight or ten miles for the defense of our local Maginot Line. This soil was doubly precious to them. But they showed no enthusiasm and they swore at a situation which was exasperatingly difficult to understand.

This time the whole picture was different. A radical transformation was visible in those simple minds, and it is no disparagement of Mr. Chamberlain's mentality to say that it was exactly similar to the personal change several times avowed by the British Prime Minister. Austria, the Sudetens and Prague were the landmarks of their political progress as of his. After Czecho-Slovakia, Poland. And after Poland, what? Hitler could not be trusted, of course, since every time he grabbed something he proclaimed himself satisfied. But the fact that he seems indifferent to truth was not the only cause of their not very articulate contempt. He is a grabber of lands, and that is unforgivable to the sons of a peasantry for which the possession of an acre is the supreme form of independence.

But there was something else. Hitler is a personal enemy of each individual French soldier because he interferes with his private life. Without him there would be none of those perennial mobilizations. Many of the steel shutters pulled down over the windows of closed shops in Paris bore inscriptions. One of these, chalked by a cynical barber, merely said: "Closed on account of annual mobilization." The amount of disgust crystallized in this terse formula could not be exaggerated for it expresses a national feeling. Every year a mobilization! Last year white, this year red! That fellow is just a little too much. He compels you to say good-bye to everything, including your job, in exchange for which you get ten sous or at best ten francs a day. He stops the national life in all its manifestations. He causes a rise in taxes and ruins everybody. Meanwhile he shouts over the radio that he is for peace and especially has no quarrel with the French people. Imagine if he had. All that cannot go on. Must be stopped. This one is a mobilization worth the trouble.

I never heard a single man express himself differently. People who imagine the French as "a gay nation fond of light wines and dancing," or as excitable "Latins," are bound to experience great astonishment when they are actually in contact with French people. My countrymen are rather cold and frequently cause me to think wistfully of American good

nature so easily galvanized into enthusiasm over an appealing idea. A Colonel in the United States army once told me that the contrast between French officers' searching eyes and their sealed lips at a military conference, sometimes in a tight situation, had been the surprise of his life. My soldiers were more often silent than expressive and hardly ever alluded to patriotism although many of them are actuated by it. (A New York friend of mine saw at the Consul's office a Frenchman, Porto-Rican by birth and language, who was applying to join. His wife and baby were there and he spoke to them in Spanish.) This war is a necessary, no doubt a great, job, and it has to be attended to now, is what the whole French army thinks and feels. Such a view creates no excitement but it creates unity.

This unity is constantly visible in the very beautiful relations between the officers and their men. They make us conscious that November 11, 1918, is not of the already long past but of yesterday. In October, 1918, I returned from Biarritz to Paris in a railway carriage crowded with troops. A major in my compartment remained standing all night that the men might be seated. The men protested first, then obeyed. I was never conscious of any militarism in what I saw lately except perhaps in the exaggerated amount of red tape. The men were respectful rather than obedient and visibly treated their officers as wiser elder brothers. A little incident will serve to make the nuance perceptible. Eighteen priests, officers or non-commissioned officers, were seen every morning saying mass in our church with their top-boots showing through the lace of the alb. One of them was a superb captain, a man of thirty-six or -seven with a magnificent physique and the most radiant good humor. Entirely unclerical in appearance. One of his men came up to him, saluting, and obviously a little uncertain if he should speak or not.

"Mon capitain, may I ask you a personal question?"

"Vas-y, vieux. (Go ahead)."

"Well, I made a bet with Dufour and it is about you."

"About me?"

"Yes, Dufour said you were a *curé*, and I bet a package of cigarettes that you were not."

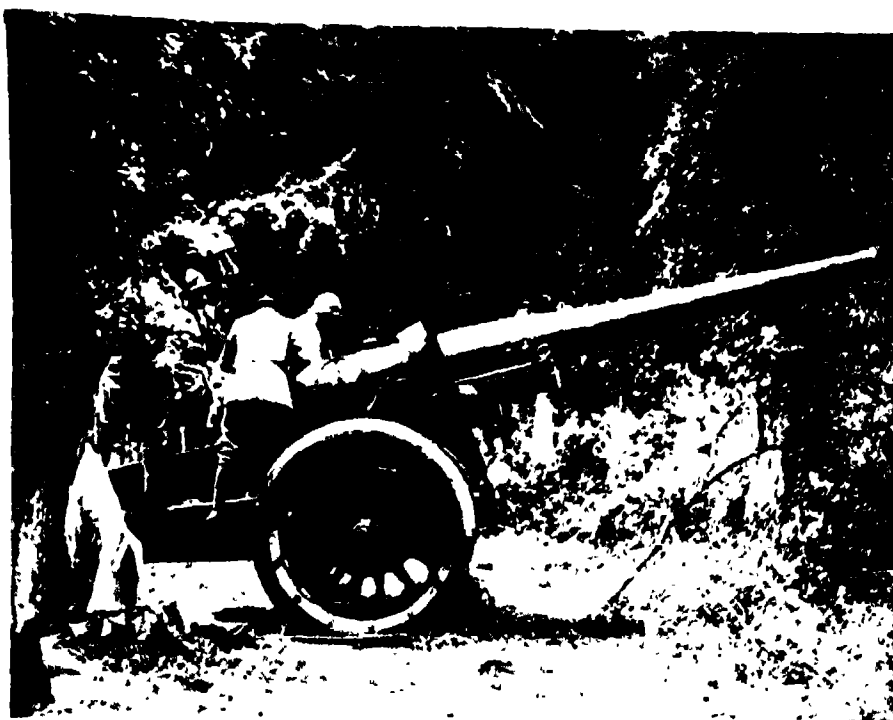
"Mon vieux, t'as perdu. (You lose, my boy.)"

I doubt if such a conversation could take place in many other armies.

One obvious ingredient in the morale of French soldiers is their belief in the strength of the army to which they belong. How peasants or factory hands have managed to keep track of improvements in the military equipment or of the purchase of American airplanes I do not know, but somehow a man in uniform knows more than a man in mufti and I have wondered more than once at the information of the soldiers with whom I talked. They show the same belief in General Gamelin that their seniors showed in Pétain or Joffre. But this belief remains within the limits of appreciation and never warms up to hero-worship. This general with his thoughtful, almost spiritual face, may be loved for his economy of human life, and in time he may be acclaimed for the military talents he displayed as Joffre's aide, in the preparation for the Marne victory, but the idea of transferring him from his own domain to that of politics will never occur to men in the French army. Their cool heads reject the illogic of it.

They, in the same way, respect Daladier and speak of him, of his capacity for sustained thought, his sobriety of expression, and his aversion from display, in terms which any statesman might envy. But they show no tendency to make of him more than what the Dictator used to be to ancient Rome, viz., a six-months liquidator of a tangled situation.

In fact, it is a fortunate circumstance that politics never have flourished in the French army, and that mobilization is positively mobilization away from that kind of interest Soldiers are like boys in their devotion to one object. Many of the younger school-teachers in France exhibit, very freely, reddish preferences, but the moment they get into a uniform again they are second lieutenants once more, and during the last war these theoretical pacifists were famous for bravery.

After the Russian volte-face (signified by the Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact) which the rank and file treated with undisguised contempt, they might have been inclined to adopt the view set forth in Communist newspapers that the Soviets were acting on a long-sighted policy ultimately destined to prove that logic must sometimes be sacrificed to peace. They did nothing of the kind.

Natural camouflage: a French gun near the border.

They only recognized that we all had been wrong in regarding Stalin as a mere ideologist instead of a hard-boiled realist, and they crystallized this important mental operation in a slight verbal change: they began to say Russia, which means an Empire, where they used to say the Soviets which has a doctrinal connotation. I was interested in noticing the same substitution in the vocabulary of the American press as soon as I landed from the *De Grasse* in mid-October That *Nomina sunt numina* is a fact.

I had already sailed when the Communist party—declared to be a foreign emanation from a none too friendly country—was suppressed in France, and some thirty Communist Deputies who tried to revive their party were imprisoned. So I have not been able to see what the reaction of the troops must have been. But it is more than likely that those honest fellows were satisfied with the equation: Communism equals Russia, and shrugged their shoulders as they marched on to fatigue-duty. They are a long way from the pink lady who on board the *De Grasse* explained to me what delightful gentlemen were those Communist Deputies. If anybody has a right to simplify questions it is the soldier.

You, no doubt, would wish to ask me what both soldiers and civilians think will bring about the end of the war, for I have often heard this inquiry since my return to America. The answer is easily given, for I have hardly known anybody to differ in their wording of it: the war will be short and it will end by a revolution in Germany. The notion underlying this certainty is simple like all the notions of these unsophisticated people: Hitler is another Attila, the scourge of God; he deceived his people by promising them peace and giving them war; sooner or later they will rise against him, and his punishment will be the scorn of his own nation. One does not like to stagger faith, but once or twice I pointed out that Hitler was perhaps not wrong in saying that a Fuehrer is a man so at one with his people that he unfailingly expresses their inmost feelings. The keen desire of the Danzig people —half a million of them—to be able to say *Mein Fuehrer* proved that Germans approve of their leader. My countrymen shook their heads and merely said: "Ah! But he has enemies enough to overthrow him as soon as opinion is free to express itself again. Persecution is a boomerang. Hitler is not Chancellor of Germany for life." The power of this conviction is no doubt the explanation of the fact, universally acknowledged, that the French soldier showed no hatred of the Germans long before Hitler began to speak of him as a comrade misled by the British and fighting the battles of London Jews.

If you ask me now: will this faith in ultimate victory persist if war is prolonged in an unexpected manner,

(Continued on page 60)

III. Does England Expect Us to Fight?

An interview by Norman Cousins with Alfred Duff Cooper former First Lord of the British Admiralty

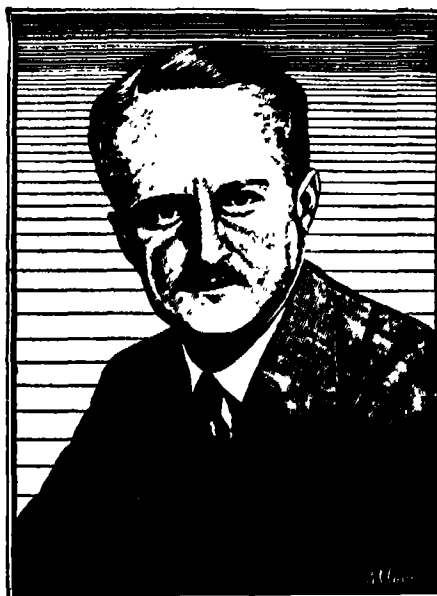
FIFTEEN months ago a plane came down in England out of a wet sky and an elderly man with a weary smile stepped out. He had come home with a message from Munich—come home to say that everything was all right, that people could go back to their homes and their jobs and feel light in their hearts, for it was to be peace, a peace assured for their time.

A cold rain fell but thousands came to the airport to see Neville Chamberlain, to thank him and cheer him. Instead of Mars he had found a Munich. And the people filled the streets to Whitehall and sang their thanks.

Two days later the members of an enthusiastic House of Commons came together to hear Neville Chamberlain, and broke into cheers as he entered the hall. But before Chamberlain spoke a sandy-haired, sharp-featured man, Alfred Duff Cooper, First Lord of the Admiralty, rose to say he was resigning from the Cabinet.

"There is no greater feeling of loneliness," he said, "than to be in a crowd of happy, cheerful people and to feel there is no occasion for gaiety and cheering. I tried to persuade myself that the terms of Munich were good. I tried to swallow them but they stuck in my throat. I hope and pray the Prime Minister is right and that his policy of sweet reasonableness will prevail. But I cannot believe what he believes. And so I can be of no assistance to him in his government; I should only be a hindrance and it is better that I should go."

Less than a year after Alfred Duff Cooper resigned, Great Britain declared war on Germany. Appeasement, Prime Minister Chamberlain admitted, had proved a failure.

Today Duff Cooper is probably the most important man in Britain without an official position. Winston Churchill and Anthony Eden have rejoined the government, the Duff Cooper—who was certainly closest to Neville Chamberlain of all three members of the British triumvirate which stood for "opposement" rather than appeasement—remains without an important war-time post.

Duff Cooper

Is he being groomed for a bigger job—perhaps the highest political post in Britain? He has wide support among Liberal, Conservative, and Labor circles. He is close to the royal family. And to Duff Cooper must go the lion's share of the credit for Britain's remarkable comeback in armament. He was Minister of War under Baldwin and lost no time in developing the military program. He has expert knowledge of foreign affairs and an excellent reputation in scholarly circles, largely because of a first-rate biography of Talleyrand and a military biography of Marshal Haig, under whom he served in the World War. He is young, forty-nine. He has steely gray eyes, straight sandy-colored hair. His features are sharp and strong, his complexion ruddy. He is married to the beautiful and socially prominent Lady Diana.

CURRENT HISTORY attaches high importance to the views of Duff Cooper, especially his views about a war that so far has puzzled Americans. Is it to be a real war? Does England expect America to fight? What about British war aims? Does Britain look ahead after the war to peace? Duff Cooper discussed all these questions and more in the interview which follows.

"If Adolf Hitler had played his cards wisely, he could have had almost anything he wanted out of England, colonies included. For Neville Chamberlain was prepared to continue making concessions to Germany after Munich. But Hitler launched into a series of blunders which—instead of leading him to the promised land—led him into war."

This is the statement of Alfred Duff Cooper, former First Lord of the British Admiralty, who arrived in this country several weeks ago. He made the statement, and many others of interest and importance, in the course of an interview I obtained with him at the direction of CURRENT HISTORY.

"In the mood of sweet reasonableness in which Chamberlain returned from Munich," said Duff Cooper, "he was disposed to make a substantial colonial settlement with Hitler. In fact, Hitler—had he only known it—could have named his own price.

"But foolishly for him and luckily for Great Britain, Hitler made blunder after blunder, alienating Chamberlain and cutting Germany off from rich prizes. No sooner did Hitler conclude an agreement with Chamberlain at Munich than he promptly turned around and flayed Britain in the standard Nazi manner. And on top of that came the revolting racial outbreaks following the Grynzpan affair.

"Even then—even after these two incidents — Chamberlain was prepared to deal liberally with Hitler. But after the forcible annexation of Czecho-Slovakia last March, any further friendly gesture or compromising attitude toward Germany was impossible. It was then that Chamberlain realized the true dynamism of the Nazi state and the complete nihilistic outlook of its leaders.

"When I look back now and realize how close we had come to almost compromising the empire away, I almost shudder."

ONE of the first things I noticed when I entered Duff Cooper's apartment in the Ambassador Hotel in New York were newspapers spread out on his desk headlining the Scapa Flow incident and the sinking of the Royal Oak.

"Can't understand how that happened," he said pointing to the headlines. "I could have bet up and down

that no U-boat could have got through into Scapa Flow. I thought the mines and defenses were foolproof."

I asked whether the defenses of Scapa Flow were carried out under his administration in the Admiralty.

"Yes; and continued after I had left. And that's why I can't understand how that submarine got through. But I believe Churchill has the leak stopped, and I don't think they can do it again."

I was anxious to ask him about America and the war. Did he think, first of all, that America would fight?

"I don't think so. But . . ." and here his voice took on more animation, "if they do the war will be shortened not by months but by years."

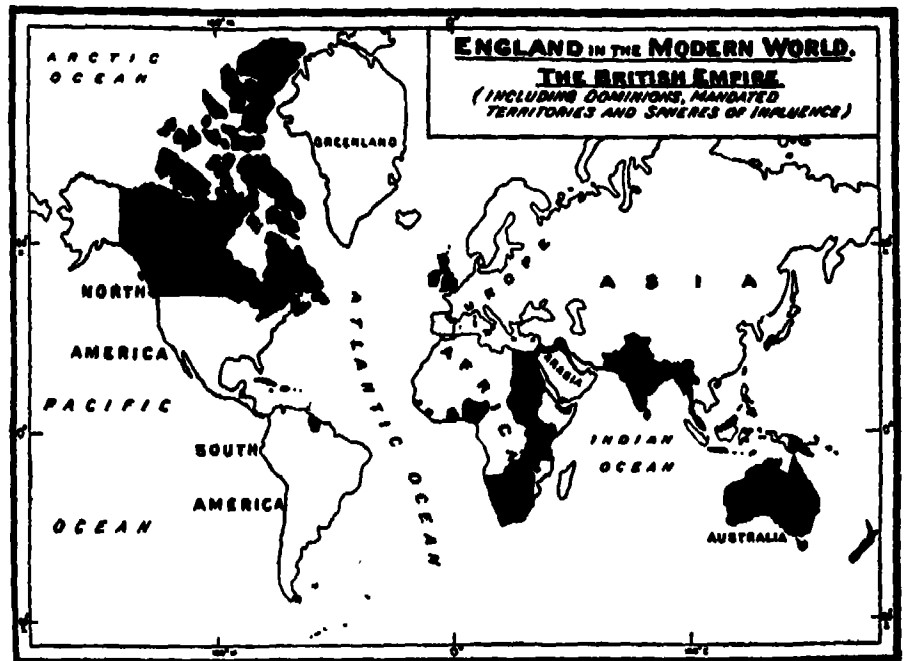
He repeated that, "Not by months but by years."

"Does that mean you may need us once again?"

"I feel certain," he said, "that we will not. I am convinced—thoroughly and completely convinced—that we can handle Mr. Hitler. Why, look what we've got behind us—the resources of the world! With Canada and the United States to draw upon for our needs I don't think we can be beaten.

"Americans seem to be on our side. They're in our corner. This has had a great moral effect upon the British people. Just knowing that you are rooting for them has given them more encouragement and enthusiasm than any other development in this war. It would certainly be a mistake to do anything to alienate the sympathy of Americans. As a matter of fact, I might say that American public opinion is one of the biggest stakes in this war. And Germany realizes it as much as we do."

"Would that explain," I asked, "why London or Paris hasn't been bombed?"

"Probably more than anything else. Just imagine how Americans would be aroused if huge bombers flew over London killing thousands of people. Besides, I think it would be stupid of Germany to bomb London or Paris. I can't see what they would gain. They might kill off several hundred thousands of people but that wouldn't win the war. In fact, it would stiffen the determination of the British people to win. No, I don't think Germany's going to take the chance of inflaming America even if she may decide it good military strategy to bomb London—which it isn't."

Where the sun never sets.

A book published in Germany before the outbreak of the war, and reprinted in England—*How Strong Is Britain*, by Count Puckler—stressed that Germany would have to play successfully the game of moral politics before she could hope to defeat Britain.

"You mean that the idea was for Germany to try to out-moralize Great Britain?" he asked, his eyes twinkling.

"And yet," he added, "Germany's making a try at it. Of course, there's the *Athenia* incident, but I don't think the sinking was deliberately planned by the German government. It looks to me very much as if a German submarine commander either lost his head completely or got his signals horribly crossed.

"But with the exception of the *Athenia*, I think that by and large Germany's behaved pretty well. She's been conducting the war in a fairly decent fashion. She definitely does not want the stigma of aggression pinned to her in this war. She would much rather be attacked on a large scale, not only because she could then say with positive conviction that the war guilt belongs to the Allies and thus attempt to alienate American sympathy with Britain, but because she could use the attack as a rallying point for her people."

Did he think any real significance could be attached to reports of internal dissension in Germany? Did he have any information on the true extent of dissatisfaction within Germany? I asked these questions because there are indications that the British government maintains contacts inside Germany. For example, propaganda leaflets dropped on German towns by British planes are said to have carried the same text as that on a message distributed by the underground movement in Germany.

"I think there is some measure of collaboration," Duff Cooper said. "Incidentally it may interest you to know that one of your reporters applied at the British Ministry of Information for a copy of that leaflet you were talking about. He received word finally that the application had been rejected on the grounds that the information might fall into the hands of the enemy."

He laughed, but quickly became serious again.

"Things like that shouldn't happen. I don't think that we have hit upon a formula for the most efficient conduct of this war. I think the present large Cabinet is a mistake. It ought to be limited to four or five members. If we are going to conduct a war we shall have to do it with a greater measure of administrative unity and compactness.

"But to return to the earlier question—whether I have any information about internal dissension in Germany. Everything I have heard seems to bear out the conclusion that the regime in Germany is shaky. I have said that I thought this might turn out to be a long war. I should have qualified that. I should have said

it would be a long war if Germany could unite the home front. For that is the one big weak spot in Germany's armor. If Germany should, during the next few months, make a huge but futile stab at the Maginot line, with a loss of several hundred thousand lives, you may find that the war will be over before spring.

"Interestingly enough, the heart of the opposition in Germany is centered not on the Left but on the Right —especially the Monarchist Right. Hitler's deal with Stalin has not rested too easily on those groups who went along with Hitler all these years in the hope that he was saving them from Communism. As a matter of fact, the bolshevistic tendencies of the Nazi regime have been growing all the time; the pact with Russia simply served to dramatize that trend, especially for the Rightist groups. Hitler may find himself caught in a nutcracker—with the Right groups on one side and the non-Communist Leftist groups on the other.

"Yet if Germany and Russia ever get together—really get together, that is—with a single purpose and a single determination the alliance may turn out to be the most formidable threat the world has ever seen.

"But I am not so sure that Hitler and Stalin can get together. I am inclined to think the alliance may grow weaker rather than stronger, especially in view of the inability of Russia to help Germany to any large practical extent at this time."

"Is it true," I asked, "that what Britain is fighting for today is her imperial life, realizing that if she stops now she will have to face a much more formidable threat in the future? That the real issue, is not Poland or Czecho-Slovakia but the Empire itself?"

"The immediate issue was Poland," he said, "but, as a matter of fact, the survival of the British empire has always been the real—the true—issue, even though many of the British people and their leaders have not recognized it as such. At every point in Hitler's march during the last four years; when he entered the Rhineland; when he marched into Austria; when he marched into Czecho-Slovakia—at every point Britain failed to realize that each of these successive acts represented a direct threat to the empire.

"When I resigned over Munich, I was criticized because people felt there was no reason for Britain to go to war to save the Czechs. I tried to tell them that it was not a matter of saving the Czechs, but of saving themselves, that sooner or later we would have to meet that threat for our own self-preservation.

"There was no justification for the belief that Hitler would stop at

Winston Churchill

Munich, but the Prime Minister said he was able to find such a reason."

What, I asked, was the explanation for the protracted stalemate in the war. Americans were beginning to wonder when the shooting would start; in fact, some had dubbed it the "powder-puff war."

"Yes," he said, "I guess the same thing is happening here as has already happened to Englishmen. Americans are getting bored; they have been sitting on the edges of their seats waiting for the thunder to break loose and the fact that it hasn't has caused them either to lose interest or feel that they have been let down.

"But there are some very good reasons for the existing stalemate. Germany has hesitated to attack because she wants to escape the odium of aggression; her home front is weak; and finally, she wants to call off the war to enable her to sharpen her weapons and work out her arrangements with the Soviet—looking forward, of course, to the not-too-distant day when she feels there will be no question of her superiority over the Allies.

"Great Britain and France have not attacked on a large scale thus far because the military strategy of the Allies is a defensive one. Defense seems to be the order of the day. Even Germany has prepared for a war of defense.

"To a large extent the wide acceptance of these theories of the superiority of the defense has been due to fellows such as Captain Liddell Hart, who exercises a tremendous influence not only in Britain and France but all through Europe—yes, Germany included. For myself, I think that the thing can be overdone. Captain Hart is a bright man, but a little short on the actual experience side.

"Of course, there is a great value in getting the enemy to fight your type of fight. But there comes a time when you've got to attack and attack hard."

He smacked his fist into his open hand. "That's the way you've got to win your wars!"

Did he think, then, that the war would soon begin in earnest? He nodded. Who, I asked, would do the attacking?

"Possibly Germany, and I don't think she is going to risk an attack against the Maginot Line. As during the last war, she would attempt to turn the flank of the Allied forces by striking through the low countries."

"But do you really think," I asked, "that the Germans will actually invade Belgium and Holland again?"

"It is beginning to look that way. I think the peace appeals by the monarchs of Belgium and Holland were the direct result of pressure brought by Adolf Hitler. I think he gave the low countries an ultimatum: either help bring about peace or suffer the consequences.

"Now that the peace appeal has failed, Hitler may decide that he has the justification he needs for an invasion. He may attempt to appeal before the court of world opinion and say he is marching through Holland or Belgium in retaliation against the Allies for what he may claim was an initial violation by our armies. At any rate, military expediency would seem to dictate that Hitler steer clear of the Maginot fortifications."

"You expressed the belief," I said, "that much of the outcome of the war depended upon conditions in internal Germany. Suppose there is a revolu-

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IV. The Tanks Are Coming

DON WHARTON

THE TANK is a Frankenstein's monster which threatens to turn on its creators.

The tank was designed to get the attack out of the trenches; it has caused more digging in. The Siegfried and Maginot lines are what they are largely because of tanks. The tank overpowered machine guns only to spawn antitank guns. It cleared paths through barbed wire only to beget antitank obstacles. Obstacle-building eats up time and materials, increases the problem of supply. It takes 5,000 to 12,000 man-hours to dig a mile of antitank ditches.

These things complicate the task of British, French and German commanders alike until all of them may well wish the caterpillar-tread tractor back in the Illinois corn-fields whence it crawled. But the Allies—so proud of their great surprise in 1916—have particular reason to wish they had never invented the tank.

The Germans, who last time had no tanks until too late, this time have incomparably the most—a huge fleet estimated at six thousand machines—and growing. That is roughly twice the French tank strength at the outset of the war, and the British, like the Americans, still count their tanks merely by hundreds. Only the Germans have much recent tank experience—gained in the Spanish war, in Austria, in Czechoslovakia. Above all, in Poland.

It was the spectacle of Poland which astounded the world with its revelations of the terrible power of mechanized armies. Their lightning maneuvers, outflanking the Poles, striking hammer blows in the most unexpected places, demonstrated that the tanks of 1939 are far ahead of their 1918 prototypes. They are as different from the last war's lumbering monstrosities as are the new planes from the cloth-and-wire "flying coffins" of 1918.

Speed is the major difference—and better armor. Twenty, twenty-five miles an hour across country instead of the creeping three or four of the World War tanks. The United States has tanks today which have hit sixty on the highways. The wide end runs and deep thrusts of the German tank divisions in Poland were virtually cavalry tactics, possible because the tanks had speed and the German air corps had blinded the Poles by putting out their airdromes. In a war of position, however, the major mission of the tanks is the same as when the British first turned them loose in 1916, to silence machine-gun nests so the infantry can move in. But with its new speed, the tank now does it differently.

LET us watch a tank attack. Imagine the Germans are striking through Belgium, or have found a weak spot in the Maginot line—in any case the tanks are coming and you are high in the air, looking on. You will not be able to see it all, for one of the new lessons is to use tanks in mass, not fritter them away in driblets on minor objectives. The Germans say never use less than a brigade—400 to 450 tanks. The French say 100 to each mile of front. The United States Army agrees, and this autumn decided to take tanks from divisions and pool them as planes are pooled in our G.H.Q. air force.

A tank attack implies a major offensive directed at an objective worth a tremendous price. So here the Germans are hammering on a 50-mile front. The tank attack is to be rammed through a 12-mile sector of that front. That calls for a monster tank attack ten Panzer divisions, four thousand tanks. But four thousand tanks are too many to watch

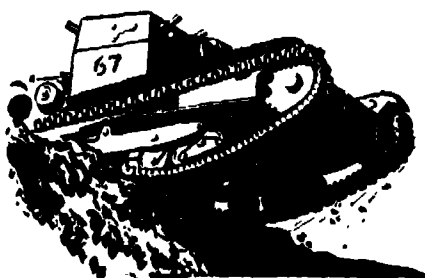
even from high aloft. We'll watch one half-mile slice.

It is dawn, misty. All night tanks have been massing in the German rear, the roar of their motors purposely drowned by planes. Tank commanders have been studying maps; yesterday some of them were visiting the front lines afoot, spotting tank traps, impossible terrain — steep banks, say, or a thicket of trees too big to bowl over. They have picked the sector where tanks seem to have the greatest chance of success. Now they take their posts in the tanks, with shutters closed. Now they are moving into assault positions behind low knolls. And now the German artillery has opened upon French artillery and antitank gun positions; smoke shells are being thrown at likely French observation points; German attack planes are in the air and the tanks are coming.

You see them, down there on this half-mile front, little swift-moving beetles with low silhouettes—elusive targets. They are doing 15 miles an hour over rough ground, sweeping through the tank corridors formed by hill folds, taking advantage of cover much as infantry does. This is the first wave, perhaps twenty-five tanks in our sector, staying 50 yards apart, kicking up a dust storm which merges with the battle smoke.

They're medium tanks, 15 to 20 tons each, with armor thick enough to stop machine-gun bullets. One or two tanks are picked off by the antitank guns. Another runs into a field of buried mines and is blown to bits. Another, turning too sharply, throws its track. Another is blasted skyward by a large shell. These losses were foreseen, are accepted as inevitable. The survivors keep coming, ignoring tank losses, ignoring opposing infantry and machine-gun nests, ignoring antitank guns. This first wave is breaking through for the French artillery area two to three miles in the rear; in 10 minutes the tanks are there, cruising around and around, circling like hornets gone mad, their 20 tons crushing French materiel, their machine guns mowing down French artillerymen, their heavy guns potting the batteries themselves.

Meanwhile the second wave sweeps forward and goes to work on the French antitank guns. You see the same cruising you've just watched, but in a different area. The second wave is clearing out antitank guns. The third wave cleans out machine-

gun nests. Light tanks this time—six, eight, ten tons. They have more speed and you grow dizzy watching them turn their crazy circles. Now comes the infantry, close behind.

About then you notice that the German tanks are forming in columns and speeding back toward their own lines. They're not being forced back. They're heading for predesignated assembly points where they can hide and lick their steely wounds. Their return routes were selected before the attack, to keep them from running down their own infantry. The parks were so carefully chosen you can't spot them.

But look—here are fresh tank battalions coming up, three waves, like the three you've been watching. They are heading for the second French defensive position 10 miles to the rear, a second hammer blow before the first has lost its momentum. This time support comes from the air rather than from the artillery. On the tank sector alone the Germans unloose six hundred bombers and five hundred attack planes. That means ninety planes on our half-mile front, so let's get out of their way and down into one of the German tanks.

It weighs twenty tons, has five machine guns, at 37 mm. gun and a crew of six in coveralls like garage mechanics. They wear helmets like football players' to keep their skulls from being cracked in the lurching, pitching inferno. The going is rough, like broncobusting. The men are cramped, hot, uncomfortable. They can't see much—paint the whole windshield of your car black save for a slit one by three inches and you'll have an idea of what a tank driver is up against. They fear gas because when they have to don masks, they can see even less and they are even more uncomfortable. The driver is manipulating two sets of gears plus other instruments. Above the roar of the tank he hears only the guns. The tank commander, sitting in a turret a little above and behind him, has to signal directions by a tap of the hand on the right or left shoulder. When the commander begins firing the 37 at a pillbox, he nudges signals to the driver with his feet. The commander has one eye glued to a telescopic sight, both ears covered with radiophones. He talks with planes, artillery posts, other tanks. Before the attack, reconnaissance had spotted the enemy's passive defenses: steel rails placed vertically in concrete bases; concrete and steel pyramids four to six feet high; telephone poles driven deep into the ground; felled trees. Now at the last minute the commander is warned of a mine field, irregular rows three or four feet deep, two thousand to a mile of front. The tank doesn't worry about machine guns, except as molten lead from bullets may splash through slits into eyes. In our own experiments, machine guns have hit a tank two thousand times without damage.

But what the tank man does fear is the antitank gun, a highly mobile, easily aimed piece firing probably fifteen shots a minute under battle conditions. Its 1½-inch projectile, emerging from the muzzle at a speed of 1,800 miles an hour, can knock this tank off at ranges up to 1,000 yards—if it hits at the right angle.

But what is the French infantryman doing? The Polish, Spanish and Ethiopian campaigns bred tall stories of infantrymen destroying tanks by crawling up behind them with hand grenades tied to bottles of gasoline. Theoretically, the grenades explode, setting fire to the gasoline, which forces the tank crew to choose between surrender and cremation. Actually, all these tricks are overemphasized. Tanks were incorrectly employed in Spain; the crews were inexperienced—you need as much experience in tanks as you do in planes—and the brass-hats ignored the principle of use *en masse*. Finally, many tanks were early German models, most of them slow, with little or no rear-end observation.

The French infantryman you're watching is up against vastly improved machines, expertly handled. His rifle isn't worth a hoot against such armor and he can't stalk them from the rear with hand grenades. But experiments have shown that tanks can roar across infantry foxholes without cracking the crouching soldier's head. So your poilu lies low in his foxhole, lets the tanks go by without drawing their fire, and then cuts loose on the oncoming infantry. He's attempting to break up the teamwork between tanks and troops, much as a halfback tries to dodge interference and hit the man with the ball.

But he doesn't succeed. As you observed from the air, the German infantry came in with the third wave, occupied the ground, prepared to help keep the attack rolling. More infantry followed the second set of tank waves and night falls with a great gap in the French lines—a gap 12 miles wide.

Of course, it may never go so smoothly—if, indeed, it happens at all. But if the war turns into a war, if it is finally fought on land, this is a rough approximation of the role military experts think the tanks might play.

Naturally, any attack implies possible counterattack, and here the tank is a potent weapon. Not tanks fighting tanks like football teams colliding, but tanks *en masse* as part of a counter-attack after the enemy has lost momentum or over-reached himself. The French send tanks across in waves, but they do not try to take one big, deep bite. They work step by step.

Aviation's role in tank defense is mainly reconnaissance, forestalling surprise. It is possible for planes to disrupt a tank attack by bombing the tanks in their assault positions. Planes can also try to catch tanks in their parks. But tanks are easy to hide! In pre-war maneuvers, Royal Air Force planes spent an entire futile day trying to discover a brigade of tanks concealed in the woods. And when tanks are deployed or moving they are poor air targets. At Fort Benning, Ga., ten old tanks were lined up in the brush alongside a road, as if scurrying from planes. Nine attack ships were brought over from Maxwell Field, shown the tanks, and then allowed to come back for a low-flying attack. The planes dropped 180 thirty-pound bombs and scratched only one of the tanks.

Laymen think of war as developing new weapons. It does. But more often it develops new ways of using old weapons—for example, the rolling barrage. Perhaps the present war will evolve new defensive methods against tanks. But if Allied inventiveness fails in this, then the tank's birth was a tragic error. Already it has given aid and comfort to the enemy.

V. Ribbentrop: Hitler's Oracle

HENRY C. WOLFE

When the assessment of war-guilt for the present European conflict is made, probably no man on the guilty list will stand higher than the Reich's Foreign Minister, Joachim von Ribbentrop. Even the Fuehrer appears to have been less responsible for the outbreak of the war than the Minister who directs Germany's foreign relations. When Hitler announced that the German army was "returning the Polish fire," von Ribbentrop and his collaborators among the "wild men" of the Nazi Party had carried the day. The war which they had plotted and worked to bring on was a reality. They could congratulate one another. And they all could toast von Ribbentrop.

Astute, cynical, hard-boiled, a strange combination of vision and shortsightedness, of cleverness and the clumsiness born of egotism, the Nazi Foreign Minister has had the task of waging war on the diplomatic front. His job is still tremendously important. On his diplomatic strokes the Third Reich's future may well depend. For it is von Ribbentrop's responsibility to prevent the spread of Anglo-French influence; it is his job to keep the neutrals out of the London-Paris alignment. Success in this backstage conflict could strengthen Germany enormously; failure could render the position of the Reich untenable. No wonder he still sits at the Fuehrer's right hand.

Though a comparative newcomer in the Nazi limelight, von Ribbentrop has been pushing steadily toward the front of the stage. More than any other man, "Ribbi" had the Fuehrer's ear during the crucial weeks of late summer and early autumn. His bellicose and daring advice triumphed over the more conservative Field Marshal Goering's admonitions against the gamble inherent in war. For months the von Ribbentrop-Goering duel was waged behind the scenes. Its ultimate effect on the Reich and on the world at large is yet to be seen.

Von Ribbentrop is the perfect example of a man on the make. From

Joachim von Ribbentrop

boyhood he has been steadily bettering his position, sometimes by high-pressure salesmanship, at other times by pure luck. It was by luck that he obtained his *von*. Friends say that he was adopted by his kindly Aunt Gertrud, a member of a noble branch of the family, and received his *von* from her. Enemies say that by accident he met an elderly General von Ribbentrop who adopted him. In any event the *von* sets him apart from the rank and file of the Nazi Party.

Hitler is said to have been impressed by von Ribbentrop's *savoir faire*, his knowledge of three languages (the Fuehrer speaks only German) and his appearance of "a man of the world." That von Ribbentrop can be suave and ingratiating no one denies. A salesman by instinct he sold himself to the Fuehrer. But even the luck of von Ribbentrop sometimes fails the Reich's Number One Salesman. There was the occasion in February, 1937, when he was presented to King George VI of England. "Ribbi" was in London to sell the British the idea that the Reich's re-armament and peace avowals were not incompatible. When he was presented to the British monarch, the German diplomat stepped forward, right arm upraised, and gave a lusty, deep-throated *"Heil Hitler!"* A horrified British public bitterly resented this act of Nazi boorishness, and the role of Germany's dwindling group of friends in Britain became more difficult. One such tactless slip can undo a great many successful pieces of "Ribbi's" brilliant salesmanship.

Educated in Switzerland, France and England, von Ribbentrop spent four pre-war years in Canada and the United States. When the conflict broke out he entered the German army and served as a Lieutenant of Hussars. Here again there are conflicting stories about his record. His friends maintain that "Ribbi" served with distinction and became a Staff Officer with General von Seeckt, later being sent on an important mission to Turkey in 1918. But this is not what his detractors say. They tell you that he was forced into the army and deserted to Sweden while on furlough. Friends and foes agree that he saw service in Turkey.

After the war "Ribbi" escaped much of the hardship and bitterness which was the lot of so many demobilized German officers. Engaging in the wine business, von Ribbentrop courted Annelies Henkell and married her in 1920. She was the daughter of Germany's greatest champagne magnate. Thenceforth the son-in-law did not lack cash for his ventures. Still selling the Henkell champagne, and a little Scotch whiskey on the side, he went from capital to capital. His list of acquaintances increased fast, and his knowledge of the ways of the world broadened. Meantime, he moved into a modern villa in the Lenze Allee, a fashionable suburb of the German capital.

During the early days of the Nazi movement, when its followers were a nondescript lot of recruits, von Ribbentrop devoted his talents to the champagne business. But by 1932 the ambitious wine salesman was beginning to delve into political affairs. At first a Liberal in German politics, he was quick to note the shift of the Reich political winds toward reaction. An instinct for profits guided him to cast his lot with the Nazis. As the representative of industrial and financial interests, "Ribbi" set out, late-comer though he was, to be a leader of National Socialism.

General von Schleicher had just replaced Franz von Papen as Reichschancellor. But the General's regime was insecure. Many Germans feared that it would collapse and that the Reich would be plunged into civil war. They would agree to almost anything to prevent such a catastrophe. Adolf Hitler was busy promising to

establish a stable government and give the harassed Germans security and better economic conditions. But he needed von Papen's help to thrust von Schleicher out of office. Could von Papen and Hitler be brought together to work out a basis of collaboration? Here "Ribbi" stepped forward.

In the decisive month of January, 1933, von Ribbentrop arranged a meeting between the ex-Chancellor and the future Chancellor in the home of banker Schroeder in Cologne. That meeting between von Papen and Hitler set the stage for the Nazi victory at the end of the month. And it made the opportunistic and adventurous "Ribbi" one of the select company close to the Fuehrer.

For the rest of 1933 von Ribbentrop continued to visit the capitals of Europe in the interests of the champagne business. But it was soon reported that he was peddling politics on the side. And well informed people in London and Paris learned that one could make excellent contacts in German Government circles through the Beau Brummel wine salesman. Even though "Ribbi" was busily plying his dual trade, he did not fail to keep up social contacts. A handsome blond face, poise and ability to play unusually good tennis and bridge —all added to his prestige abroad. Some admirers referred to him (it was 1933 and Eden had not yet been dubbed "war-monger" by the Nazis) as the "Anthony Eden of the Reich."

Before many months passed after Hitler came to power he made von Ribbentrop Special Commissar for Disarmament Questions. The Commissar rushed from capital to capital, usually by plane, making new contacts and carrying out the Fuehrer's policies. Still comparatively unknown in the Reich, he was pushing Dr. Alfred Rosenberg out of the Fuehrer's inner circle. As Director of the Foreign Affairs Section of the Nazi Party, Rosenberg was a kind of "unofficial" Foreign Minister. The real Foreign Minister, von Neurath, was also beginning to feel the von Ribbentrop pressure.

In June, 1935, "Ribbi" amazed Europe by a diplomatic feat in London when he wangled a naval treaty from the British. By this pact the Reich was allowed to build a navy thirty-five per cent as large as Britain's. Hitler might now push the French for the honor of having the second largest navy in Europe. It was an event which surprised the British public, dismayed and alarmed the French, and delighted the Germans. Von Ribbentrop had carried through an extraordinary piece of salesmanship. His Fuehrer was grateful.

From his offices in Berlin, *Das Buro Ribbentrop* went ahead carefully setting the stage for his next *coup de théâtre*. The Reich was still isolated and needed friends. Von Ribbentrop had an inspiration for a plan that promised to break through the wall of isolation around Germany. He would build an alliance of anti-Communist states. Ostensibly, the Fascist coalition would be directed against the Soviet Union. But actually it would serve the particular ambitions of each member. And of course it would be of most use to Hitler and his *Drang nach Osten*.

WHEN "Ribbi" went to London as Ambassador in late October, 1936, he arrived at Victoria Station arrayed in the brown shirt of a Nazi Storm Trooper. Addressing official welcomers, he pontificated: "The Fuehrer is convinced that the only real danger for Europe and the British Empire is the spread of Communism—that most terrible of all diseases—terrible because people only realize the real danger when it is too late! Closer collaboration between our two countries in this sense is not only important, but in my opinion a vital necessity!"

A month later "Ribbi" flew back to Berlin on a secret mission. The following day the anti-Comintern Pact was signed in the German capital by representatives of the Reich and Japan. But the man who signed for Germany was not the Reich's Foreign Minister, von Neurath. It was von Ribbentrop, the Ambassador to Great Britain, who claimed credit for a diplomatic *coup* that was to break the Reich's isolation and align National Socialist Germany with Imperial Japan against the Soviets.

From the anti-Comintern triumph "Ribbi" moved on to still greater victories. He used his influence with the Fuehrer to ease conservative von Neurath out of the Foreign Ministry into an advisory capacity. Then von Ribbentrop took over the duties of Foreign Minister. Wearing his full uniform of an officer of the S.S. (*Schutzstaffel*)—black coat, trousers, boots and a swastika brassard—"Ribbi" now became the leader of a faction of the Party. He and his followers were called "wild men." Their chief opponent was Marshal Goering. For the doughty Number Two Nazi, though no less a militarist than his intra-party enemies, wanted to proceed slowly and to consolidate each position for the Reich before the next move was made. Such conservatism was anathema to the "wild men."

When the German troops invaded Austria in March, 1938, "Ribbi" and his wife were in London. That may have been a bad bit of luck for von Ribbentrop, because British vacillation at the time of the *Anschluss* may have convinced him that the British would always give way to Hitler. It may have prepared him for the wrong guess that he made less than a year and a half later when he assured the Fuehrer that Britain would not fight for Poland.

But Britain's failure to take action against Germany when Hitler marched into Austria strengthened "Ribbi's" position. It weakened the influence of those advisers who spoke an occasional word of caution. Hitler was becoming convinced that von Ribbentrop really knew the English, that his Foreign Minister could not go wrong in his appraisal of the English character.

Along came the Czechoslovak crisis in the summer of 1938. Goering, though shouting his defiance to the world from the Nuremberg Congress, was giving Hitler admonitions to proceed warily. Once more "Ribbi" assured his chief that the British would not move, that Chamberlain was only bluffing, that the Reich could safely destroy the Czech state. The "peace of Munich" once more confirmed "Ribbi's" predictions. His stock with the Fuehrer went higher than ever. And von Ribbentrop began to enjoy

dangerous delusions of grandeur. Friends began to compare him with Bismarck. They were saying that he was even greater than the Iron Chancellor. For had not Bismarck been forced to fight three wars to gain a little territory?

When the Polish crisis was precipitated last March, "Ribbi" advocated his usual firm line of action. While Goering was advising Hitler to settle the Polish question without war, "Ribbi" was hammering away to sell the Fuehrer the need for direct action. Once more he assured his chief that the British would not move. Had he not been right in the past in his predictions about the British? Hitler listened to his "man of the world" Foreign Minister. His sales resistance weakened and he acted accordingly.

But the Poles refused to bow to Nazi demands. Now allied with Britain and France, Poland prepared to stop the *Drang nach Osten.* They turned a deaf ear to Hitler's threats. The Nazi "war of nerves" against the Poles was not succeeding. Soon autumn rains would come and the German chance to invade Poland this year would be gone. In mid-August Hitler knew that he would have to do something spectacular, and do it quickly. Once more "Ribbi" was the man of the hour. His pact with the Soviets came like a bolt out of the blue. An astonished Europe watched the German Foreign Minister take off in an airplane for Moscow to sign a non-aggression pact with the Kremlin.

Von Ribbentrop, the father of the anti-Comintern Pact, the man who at Victoria Station had inveighed against Communism, "that most terrible of all diseases," was now fathering a treaty between Berlin and Moscow! It seemed incredible. But not to those who really know "Ribbi." For a man on the make like von Ribbentrop is an arch opportunist. He is not troubled by inconsistency. If it serves his purpose today to betray the ally of yesterday, that ally will be cast aside. When Hitler made his peace with Stalin the ally happened to be Japan. The Nazi-Soviet deal shattered the anti-Comintern Pact.

Sir Nevile Henderson, British Ambassador to Germany, says in his reports to his Government that von Ribbentrop effectively prevented "a last effort for peace." Even in those last tragic hours of August, when the fate of Europe hung in the balance,

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VI. Gandhi Balks Again

W. DANGAIX ALLEN

INDIA—that dark horse of the British Empire—has taken advantage of England's entry into a European war to demand immediate steps toward full self-rule. The country's one big and militant political party, the National Congress party, has refused to cooperate in the central government or the governments of the provinces unless a Constituent Assembly made up of native and popularly selected representatives be called, to draft a permanent Constitution for an independent United States of India.

A few weeks ago, the British Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, head of India's central government, made a stern retort to the Nationalists. He announced that the country would be returned to the autocratic rule of British officials wherever the democratic machinery breaks down through Nationalist non-cooperation. But if the Nationalists dislike the thought of such dictatorial rule, so do the British, who fear that it may lead to violent anti-British uprisings. At best, it weakens British chances of winning India to the whole-hearted cooperation in the present war that she accorded in 1914. Gloomily, the British note Mohandas Gandhi's statement that the India of the Congress party's conception "cannot be a partner with Britain in her war with Hitler."

THE most serious split in the Congress party in recent years was created by Bose last spring. He felt that the time had come for an ultimatum to the British, threatening nation-wide civil disobedience if the Viceroy did not call the Constituent Assembly so long desired by all Indian Nationalists. He foresaw a world war beginning in the fall of 1939 and was convinced that the Congress party would not be obliged to carry out any drastic campaign to make the British capitulate on self-rule for India. But Gandhi and his closer adherents, the more conservative ve-

bay, Punjab, Bengal, Madras, United Provinces, Central Provinces and North Western Frontier Province. The individual provinces have been given constitutional governments under the India Act, each with an elected ministry and assembly—and each with a non-elected British governor.

The other division of modern India is that of the five hundred or so nominally independent native states, ruled autocratically by Princes who contribute annual fixed sums to Britain. They are tactfully supervised by British residents. Their foreign affairs and their external military affairs are run for them by Britain. Among these native-ruled feudal states, about a dozen are comparable to European nations in wealth and importance. One of the largest, Hyderabad, is the size of New York State and Pennsylvania combined. The smaller Indian states range downward to the size of a nice Long Island estate, or a small Iowa farm.

In New Delhi there is a centralized government for British India and a central council of the native Princes, over both of which the British Viceroy has active control.

THE best known native institutions for political action are the National Congress and the Moslem League in British India, and the Chamber of Princes in the native states. The Moslem League, a political party, claims to represent Moslem interests throughout British India. The National Congress party claims to represent Indian interests everywhere regardless of religion. The Chamber of Princes is—or rather was until this year—merely an unofficial gathering that met sporadically to discuss matters of mutual interest. Of all political organizations, the National Congress party is by far the most important. Although it has only about four million members, they are comparable in militancy to the Russian members of the Communist party. The Congress, as the party is usually called, has had half a century of experience championing India's right to self-determination. Among its pres-

ent chiefs are such headliners as Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Bose and Sardar V. Patel.

From the very beginning, the Congress and other Indian Nationalist organizations opposed the India Act of 1935 which, according to its British makers, was to be a permanent constitution for India. They opposed it because it killed the prospects of a native-drafted constitution. In addition, its provisions for provincial self-government leave wide emergency and veto powers to the British governors, and reserve foreign and military affairs to British officials in no way responsible to the Indian people. Approximately 50 per cent of the revenue of the provinces is left in the control of the native, popularly elected provincial ministries and assemblies. The central legislature for British India meets in New Delhi, where delegates elected in the provinces sit in the upper and lower house, but here again vital matters affecting about half the budget are excluded from their control.

Shortly before the elections in the spring of 1937, the Congress party dropped its non-cooperation with the Provincial Autonomy section of the India Act, capitulating to its most influential leader, Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhi wanted to be as conciliatory with the British as possible. He saw prospects, even under the India Act's limitations, of carrying out such internal reforms as improvement in public education, relief of peasant indebtedness and stimulation of native industries.

The Congress party swept the elections in 1937 and has held its gains ever since. Seven of the eleven provinces came under its control, shortly followed by an eighth, and among these eight are those provinces most important industrially and commercially. An exception is Bengal Province, where, however, the Nationalists do dominate the great industrial and shipping city of Calcutta.

The British provincial governors, while surprised to find themselves cooperating with such an overwhelming majority of Nationalist representatives after the 1937 elections, in turn astonished the more extreme Nationalists by accepting the new situation gracefully. They did not use their emergency powers to obstruct the "New Deal" which the Congress candidates had been elected to carry out. Governors and Viceroy have been impressed in the past two and a half years by the adaptability of native politicians, by their tendency toward moderation and cooperation among themselves. The Congress candidates have increased their popularity by their honesty, their homespun clothing and simple habits of life, their refusal to accept a higher monthly salary than 500 rupees (about $140).

The "New Deal" activities of Congress party ministries in these two and a half years have accomplished impressive results. In 1938 Madras Province put through radical laws which a year later had cut the huge indebtedness of the local peasants in half. Efforts to emancipate the Untouchables or depressed classes—formerly excluded from temples and schools—are epitomized in the election of an Untouchable as Mayor of the city of Madras. This is comparable to the election of a Negro as Mayor of Baltimore. In Bombay Province new laws forbid hotels to exclude the Untouchables. On January 14, 1939, a Literacy Day in United Provinces attracted twenty million people.

While politicians take the credit for India's rapid awakening, much of it belongs to business men and scientists. In what amounts to a great industrial revolution, India's old preoccupation with local prides, castes and religions is giving way before interest in money-making, unionization, and the exploitation of natural resources. Such phrases as "national planning" and "coordination of India's industries with her agriculture" are popular.

ign Minister, von Neurath. It was

Japan Times

"Look what's behind you, John!"

This land of newly discovered economic strength is rightly nicknamed "the crown jewel of the British Empire." She is as large as Europe (excluding Russia), half the size of the United States. Her foreign trade is not much less than that of France and is three times that of China. Talk of birth control has been shelved in favor of "more efficient exploitation of nature to the benefit of a greater number." From her newly found modern viewpoint, India can be considered underpopulated, with less than half Japan's density per square mile and about half of Germany's. India's economists note with satisfaction that the death rate (in United Provinces) dropped from 82 per thousand in 1918 to 21 per thousand in 1937, while Calcutta's infant mortality has decreased about 50 per cent in a decade. Newly established metallurgic industries, the discovery of oil deposits, the opening of a million acres of desert to cultivation through irrigation, all increase India's confidence in her future.

Her scientific awakening and industrial revolution have changed the nature of the much-publicized conflict between her 240 million Hindus and 80 million Moslems (Mohammedans). It is not by chance that this year's most serious "Hindu-Moslem" riots have taken place in industrial rather than religious centers. India's new and growing factory zones hold many seasonal and permanent laborers, recently come from far-off villages in hopes of making quick fortune. Just as an influx of Chinese to California or Italians to New Orleans might lead to racial or religious conflicts, so in India bands of unsettled, confused men, flocking to industrial Cawnpore from all parts of India, tend to gather in cliques and to fight against groups which differ from themselves in clothing, dialect or religion. Much recent fighting has been between Moslems from the Punjab area and Hindus from the Gujerat region.

The British, in drafting the India Act of 1935 with its plan for Provincial Autonomy, found opportunity to widen the breach between Hindus, Moslems and other religious communities on the plea of protecting the weaker groups from the numerically stronger Hindus. The new Autonomy plan put more emphasis than ever before on religious difference, and created separate electorates, with seats in the legislatures for each

minority. Under these circumstances, the Moslem League has become increasingly powerful. Thus far it has played counter-weight to, meanwhile trying from time to time to strike a bargain with, the National Congress. In rapidly changing India, the Moslem-Hindu split is not that permanent force of disunion on which the British rely for smoothing a continuance of their rule. These Moslem League leaders are not irreconcilable religious fanatics but practical strategists. Their one great leader, President of the League for several years, is the brilliant, worldly lawyer M. A. Jinnah, who married a Parsee (of Zoroastrian religion) and whose daughter last year married a Parsee —in a Christian church.

If present world and Indian events do not suffice to bring Hindus and Moslems to cooperate for Nationalist aims, Mahatma Gandhi holds an ace up his sleeve This card is the famous Moslem leader, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who is loyal to Gandhi and the National Congress while preserving his prestige among Mohammedans. Gigantic, of winning personality, this forty-eight year old chieftain of the warlike Pathan hillsmen on the Afghan frontier is nicknamed "The Frontier Gandhi" because of his long efforts to convert his warriors to Gandhi's non-violent methods. He has been frequently imprisoned by the British and has gone through other ordeals which prove that his faith in non-violence is not based on cowardice. Popular Abdul modestly refused all Congress party offices until last summer when he became a member of the party's Working Committee, or High Command. Gandhi has spent much effort on this rising star of Indian politics. In poor health, Gandhi travelled thousands of miles in the past year to inspect and address the Red Shirts, the powerful organization of trained volunteers which "The Frontier Gandhi" has formed.

Another rising star of Indian politics, forty-two year old Subhas Bose, has been influencing India deeply this year by opposing Gandhi's personal dictatorship and by fighting Gandhi's conciliatory methods for obtaining his country's freedom from Britain. Bose is from Calcutta, in Bengal, industrially and politically one of India's most important areas. Regardless of his political views, he can count on a considerable following, partly because of Bengal's provincial pride in him, partly because of his magnetic personality and oratorical skill. Thanks to years of study of European affairs, carried on while in exile, Bose is as well informed on world trends as the other widely travelled Nationalist leader, Nehru. He is more Occidental in outlook than other major Congress chieftains—and less fundamentally devoted to the doctrine of non-violence

India is threatened by Russia through Afghanistan and the famous Khyber Pass as well as through Chinese Turkestan. Japan is a potential menace via Tibet. Note that India's railroads have no continuation northwards.

The most serious split in the Congress party in recent years was created by Bose last spring. He felt that the time had come for an ultimatum to the British, threatening nation-wide civil disobedience if the Viceroy did not call the Constituent Assembly so long desired by all Indian Nationalists. He foresaw a world war beginning in the fall of 1939 and was convinced that the Congress party would not be obliged to carry out any drastic campaign to make the British capitulate on self-rule for India. But Gandhi and his closest adherents, the more conservative veterans of the Congress, continued to believe that the British could be won over without risking such action. They feared that a nation-wide agitation could not be carried out on a non-violent basis, doubted whether younger leaders like Bose would be able to preserve strict discipline. What Gandhi's veterans did not express publicly was their fear that any great public struggle at this time against British rule would increase the power of such mass organizations as the undisciplined peasant and factory workers' unions, and the influence of more radical leaders, including those of the active, though illegal, Communist party. Even dynamic, socialistic Jawaharlal Nehru, youngest of the veteran clique, felt it safer to await Gandhi's command before acting against Britain. Bose finally resigned from the party presidency and created a Forward Bloc within the party as a rallying point for progressive and radical groups.

The British press interpreted this move as a split that would weaken the Nationalist movement in India. But closer examination indicates that these quarrels are all "in the family." As Bose undoubtedly knows, fear that

extremists were gaining ground inside or outside the Congress party would hasten British surrender to the Gandhi non-violent group.

Hoping to put India in a condition easy to rule in war time, the British tried to rush through the federation plan outlined in the India Act of 1935, under which all the five hundred semi-independent princedoms would join the eleven provinces of British India in a sort of United States of India. In this, the British knew they had to face opposition from the Congress party because of the Nationalists' fear of the influence feudal-minded, pro-British Princes would exert in national affairs. The Viceroy also knew that the Moslem League and other Moslem groups would fight federation because most of the Princes are Hindus.

Natives eating in front of a hovel along the Kali Gats in Calcutta. A high caste Hindu refuses to come within 30 feet of these "Untouchables."

On the other hand, the British government felt sure of cooperation on the part of the princes themselves. Only a few months before, at the time of the Munich crisis, the Princes showered telegrams on London offering financial aid and soldiers to defend the Empire. The vast majority of these Princes owe their security to the permanence of British rule in India, which guarantees them great internal independence provided they behave like yes-men. Under the British-drafted plan of federation, these yes-men were to be permitted a strong voice in national affairs—40 per cent of the seats in the upper house and about a third of the seats in the lower house of the proposed central all-Indian legislature.

Of recent months, the Viceroy and London's India Office have insisted that the Princes take steps toward reform in their individual territories so as to forestall growing democratic movements seeking the overthrow of the entire feudal system. At a meeting of the Princes early last summer, the Viceroy quite sharply pressed them for action. The Princes meanwhile had been examining the details of the terms on which they would be admitted to the projected "United States" of India. They discovered that the price was too high for the advantages offered. Listening to the Viceroy's pleas, they realized with alarm that their role of yes-men would not in itself protect them any longer. They found that in the projected federation their high degree of internal independence would be sacrificed to national advantages. To the petty lords, this independence has meant license to take a fourth of their entire State revenue for private use, for travel and long absences in England and America. Under independence, the more enlightened, larger states have developed local resources for their internal profit, but further progress in this direction would be to some extent out of local control under the plan of federation.

Hence, to the deep disappointment of the British, the Princes joined British India's Nationalist politicos in balking at centralizing Indian rule in time for the present war. Two months ago, the Viceroy capitulated, dropping federation until the end of the war. This capitulation not only brought out the power of the Congress party, it also left the Princes aware at last of their strength, much less eager than in 1914 to contribute money and men to the protection of the British Empire. They will continue to help Britain as before—but on a cash-and-carry basis.

Apparently, the British did not expect their position in India to be weakened on so many sides. However, they made very sure they would not lose India to any outside power during an eventual world war. An admirable military plan for keeping India out of direct contact with possible enemies was decided upon in January 1939 and by September 1, when war broke out in Europe, its provisions had been carried out. Shortly after the Munich crisis in the fall of 1938, Lord Chatfield, who was made Co-ordinator of Defense in the British home government in February of this year, was sent to work out a plan for India's defense. He and his committee of experts concluded that there was small likelihood of large scale military uprisings by the Indians themselves if they were not influenced from the outside. Britain, they decided, could hold India internally by civilian diplomacy under the direction of suave, experienced Viceroy Linlithgow, whose term was extended indefinitely as soon as Britain declared war on Germany. Lord Chatfield's suggestions that British and Indian troops be withdrawn from India proper to strengthen strategic points controlling the sea routes to India were carried out through the summer. By September, a third of all British troops had left India. Large numbers of native Indian troops were also taken away from any temptation to mutiny, and sent to "external defenses of India," namely Singapore and the Suez Canal, those switchboards of Empire lifelines. By describing such Empire defenses as India's "external defenses" the way is left open to charge expenses of these military establishments to India.

The western approaches to India were strengthened by the recent Anglo-Turkish pact and by reinforcing with Indian troops the port of Aden on the Red Sea just across from Italian East Africa.

Controlling the routes to India from the east, from Japan and the Pacific, is the great naval and air base of Singapore at the southern end of the Malay Peninsula. The naval base, able to shelter and repair an entire battle squadron, was nearing completion by September 1, and

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Martin Dies of Texas

This is the Congressman who has made himself known as the investigator of un-American activities

FREDERICK R. BARKLEY

REPRESENTATIVE MARTIN DIES is far from being the first American politician to fly a kite built of a broadsheet attacking "un-American activities." But while many of his predecessors tangled their kites with the nearest telegraph wires, Mr. Dies of Texas has established such a sympathetic relationship with those same wires that his name is now a household word.

Attorney-General A. Mitchell Palmer tried much the same thing in the 1920's. So did Representative Hamilton Fish in 1932, when the House of Representatives commissioned him to run down any and all radical and subversive agencies. One unhappy result of Mr. Fish's investigation was his discovery of a case of lettuce in a Baltimore warehouse where he expected to find a case of bombs. Representatives McCormack of Massachusetts and Dickstein of New York tackled the same investigating job a few years later.

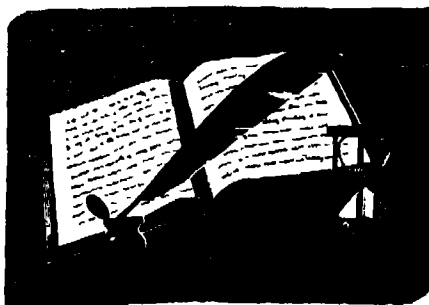
When the Dies committee was constituted in 1938, Washington expected little of it. As matters have turned out, however, Martin Dies has been raised to the position of a national figure—picture in the newspapers almost every day, headlines even when he is resting in his tent; adulation or attack by political figures from President Roosevelt on down.

Thus it is no wonder that more and more people are beginning to ask just who this fellow Dies is, and just what kind of ball he rolls down the alley at the assorted Communists, Nazi Bundists, radicals, liberals, Silver Shirts, Gold Shirts, New Dealers and just plain "peace and democracy" spectators.

The answer is not easy to give, even to those who have watched the tall, boyish-looking, tow-headed chairman of the special House committee

Dies is intense, persevering.

on un-American activities for the last sixteen months. The trouble, it seems, is that Mr. Dies does not conform to pattern; while he has done most of the wrong things and given not a few of the wrong answers, he has still been able to keep slogging along to sounder and higher ground.

Although Mr. Dies has served continuously in the House since 1931—he is now in his fifth term—he was unknown nationally until the present investigation began. That does not mean that he never had succeeded in getting his name on the national press association wires; he had done so four or five times. However, the publicity was all of the type which made commentators refer to him when the

present fanfare started as "another obscure Southern Congressman."

Probably his leading exploit did not get into the news at all, but when Mr. Dies, at the beginning of his third term and when he was only thirty-five years old, managed to get a place on the powerful House Rules Committee, he made a rare and rapid leap.

Luck, apparently, was at least two-thirds responsible. The big Texas delegation in the House had been held entitled by custom to one membership on the Rules Committee, but had lost its representation through death in the previous session. Mr. Dies looked over the Texas list; found all the other members unavailable because they either held or were in line for important committee chairmanships; campaigned for the Rules Committee job despite his lack of seniority and got it. This excused him from service on other committees and left him free to practice statesmanship on as broad a gauge as he could encompass.

The chief product of the young Texan for the next few years was a batch of proposals directed against alien residents of the nation, of whom there were naturally few in his East Texas district. In speeches with resplendent "God save America" perorations, Mr. Dies maintained that deportation of all aliens who had not sought citizenship or could not prove legal entry would help solve the unemployment problem.

None of these proposals got much farther than the House bill hopper or much more than a line or two on the press wires. Then in 1936 the Congressman changed his tactics. Possibly inspired by the success of the Nye, LaFollette, Black and other special committees of the Senate, he began offering resolutions for House investigations. In three years he pro-

posed to probe into seven different subjects.

First he sought authority to investigate charges made by the late Senator Schall--a violent critic of the New Deal—that the Administration was restricting freedom of the press and of radio. Next he volunteered—for the author of a successful resolution is always given the job of conducting the proposed inquiry—to discover whether or not it was true that resigning government officials were accepting lucrative private jobs.

Nothing came of these proposals and in 1937 he struck out at sit-down strikers, next against the German-American Bund's camp operators, and finally against an alleged sugar lobby. Still the House remained uninterested, as it did again in 1938 when Mr. Dies wanted to probe Secretary Ickes' charges that "Sixty Families" control the United States.

WHEN the Dies resolution to investigate un-American activities was finally adopted, Washington observers, and perhaps Administration officials too, looked over this record and decided that this was just another political headline hunt. At any rate, Administration leaders began direct fire at the Texan before he fairly got started. This turned out to be bad strategy.

For despite the fact that the first year's investigation by the Dies committee was somewhat slipshod—as the Chairman himself admits—it so caught the imagination of the American public and the members of the House that, last January, the committee had no trouble getting its life extended with a four-fold appropriation.

Out of the results of the second year's inquiry has come a picture of its leader somewhat different than that generally held of him when he began it. Perhaps this is because the investigation might be subtitled "The Education of Martin Dies"; perhaps because the signing of the Soviet-Nazi non-aggression pact in August revealed a massive vein of un-American pay dirt which Mr. Dies had persistently asserted lay beneath the surface soil in this country.

If he really conformed to the type to which in speeches and interviews he sometimes appears to be conforming, Mr. Dies would be an impassioned "one hundred per cent American" zealot finding Bolsheviks under every bed, army cot and chaise longue, and stirred with a passion to "ship 'em back where they came from," or to pass drastic laws against their rights of speech, organization and assembly. There are enough of the type in the House, and always have been, so that Mr. Dies need not lack a model.

The facts are, instead, that Mr. Dies is a drawling, mild-spoken, easy-going legislator who, almost accidentally it would seem, has booted himself into national prominence. During the first year of his investigation when strange and eccentric witnesses marched to and from his witness stand in a steady stream, the Chairman seemed to regard the spectacle as a huge joke.

"You know what would be fun?" he commented one day after listening to a particularly spectacular witness. "Just throw the audience out and let that fellow keep on talking: he was a card!"

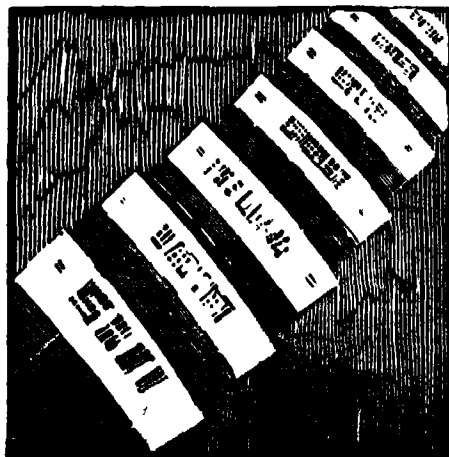
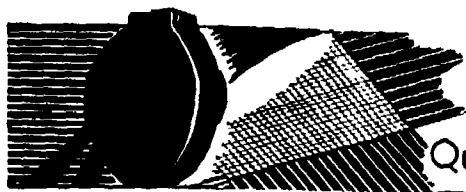
This observation was in keeping with the legislator the House members knew during Mr. Dies' early days in Congress—the joke-loving yarn-spinner who spent more of his time gossiping and smoking long cigars in the cloakroom than working on the floor or in committees; the originator and self-elected president of the "House Demagogues' Club," the spread-eagling orator who, as a lark, had publicly inducted Mr. Roosevelt into that club at a Democratic picnic a year or two before.

BUT as the committee has proceeded, with a larger appropriation which has permitted better preparation and presentation of evidence, Mr. Dies has struck off on a serious tack. Although the basic reason for any Congressional investigation is to produce recommendations for legislation, Congressman Dies now believes that any legislative proposals advanced on the basis of his committee's work might lead to the same repressive and un-American conditions which the committee is probing. Here, certainly, is a novel conclusion to be reached by any Congressional pursuer of "alien isms."

The Congressman also has moved forward considerably in the last two years in his recognition that undemocratic and alien ideas do not just drop out of the sky but are the product of unsound and distressed economic and social conditions. Two years ago he could say: "If we have to subsidize and help support Americans to make them loyal, the country's gone already." Since then he has come to the conclusion that "poverty" is the basic cause of the "disease" the committee is investigating, and that the "long-term remedy" is in its abolition instead of in the repression of poverty's victims and recalcitrants. How much further Mr. Dies' education will go remains to be seen. The life of his committee is scheduled to expire in January, but a few weeks ago he announced that he would ask the House for $100,000 to continue it another year.

"Not interested" is Mr. Dies' blunt reply to queries on whether his new-found prominence is likely to bring him higher political preference—some have suggested that he is aiming at the Texas Senatorial nomination next year, or perhaps even at the Vice-Presidency. He professes rather to prefer playing pool at home in the evenings with his three young sons and doing a little bird-shooting down in East Texas every summer and fall to "running around the country on any political campaigns."

So far he has had to do mighty little campaigning to get re-elected each two years in Texas—he never has had opposition in the final elections and sometimes not even in the Democratic primary. Today, at thirty-nine, he has made a national name almost unrivaled among members of the House, which should make his election campaign easier still.

"He could beat me right now in my own district," Representative Sam Rayburn, popular veteran Democratic leader of the House, said recently in half-grudging admiration. And Mr. Rayburn was probably right.

THEY SAY

Quotations from the World Press

If the Bombers Come

—Advice by J. Swire as printed in The Listener, *publication of the British Broadcasting Corporation.*

When I first got to Spain, I had no idea what to expect nor what to do when there was an air-raid. I wanted to see an air-raid. I had not long to wait.

One Sunday morning in Barcelona I was roused by a series of loud crashes from the anti-aircraft guns. I jumped up and looked out. Traffic had stopped. The wide street below was deserted. The blue sky overhead was plastered with little white puffs like cotton-wool snowflakes on a Christmas tree. But I could see no planes—in fact, in many of the raids I went through I never saw the bombers at all. They flew too high to be spotted with the naked eye.

The noise of firing died away, and the ambulance bells sounded through the street. Pretty tame affair this air-raid business, I thought.

But I shouldn't have thought it tame at all had my hotel been a quarter of a mile down town. About forty bombs had been dropped there. Rescue squads were working frantically to unearth the victims; ambulances were dashing away with the dead and wounded. In several places bombs had split seven-story blocks of flats from roof to basement. I was horrified—indignant.

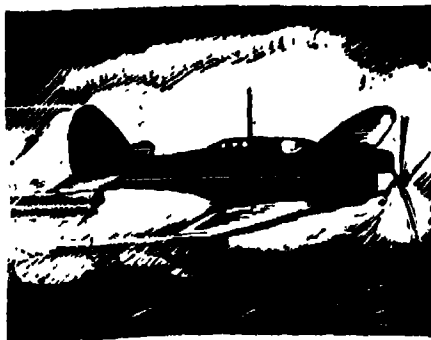
But one grew accustomed to such sights. I realized, too, that if one behaved sensibly, the only real danger was from a direct hit—and that danger was not much greater than the danger of motoring in England on a holiday.

Don't imagine that I wasn't frightened during raids. But by keeping calm and observing certain simple rules, I reduced my danger to a reasonable minimum.

If I was in the street when the warning sounded, I would generally go on quietly to my destination—if it wasn't too far. But if the anti-aircraft guns began to fire I would get under cover quick. On the sides of the houses black arrows were painted, pointing the way to the safest place within about a minute's sprinting distance. Generally it was a basement. There were severe penalties for owners of such improvised shelters if they locked their entrances. At the entrance to every building a notice was posted, saying whether it was strong enough to provide reasonable protection or not—and, if not, where it was best to go.

The important thing is that everybody should get off the streets—and below ground level if possible—quickly and easily. Covered trenches or basements—particularly if reinforced and interconnected—will give protection against everything except a direct hit.

During my last few months in Barcelona I lived at the top of an eight-story block of flats. At first I found it hard to resist the instinct to dash below when the alarm sounded. But I realized that, since there was no basement, I was safer at the top—where I was above the wide target area of the surrounding ground. (For this reason church towers were sometimes used as shelters in Spain.)

Unless a bomb falls directly on top of you, your danger is *lateral and slightly upwards*, because when a bomb bursts the blast and splinters spread this way. So, unless you can get below ground (which is best), or have really good protection around you at ground level, it is often best to go *up* several floors. Of course, if you are at the top of the house and a bomb hits the roof, you will be killed. On the other hand, I have seen houses with their upper floors quite intact, although parts of the bottom floors have been blown out by bombs falling at the base of them.

But, whatever you do, don't stand about at ground level imagining that because you have good overhead protection you are safe. At ground level you must get behind a really stout wall—a foot of reinforced concrete or the equivalent in other materials. Get in the angle and keep close in—in case the ceiling falls; and see that you are fully sheltered from all outer doors and windows. Remember that your chief danger comes from the sides.

About types of shelters I will say little, because it is dangerous to generalize.

Do remember that flying glass is one of the greatest dangers in an air-raid. Never, therefore, hang about behind glass windows. You can stick strips of stiff paper or tape up and down and criss-crossed on both sides of each pane. This reinforces the glass and checks splinters. For additional protection I suggest fine-meshed wire netting fitted as close as possible on top of the strips; and when the alarm sounds, hang a thick rug over the window.

But, even so, distrust the beastly thing. Keep between windows—or lie down—or get where flying glass can't hit you. And don't shut windows till you hear a gas warning.

Undoubtedly the enemy's chief weapon will be the high explosive bomb—dropped, probably, from a great height. They are terrifying, shocking, and they make a horrible sound as they come down. I shall never forget lying in an orange grove near Valencia while planes circled overhead for ten minutes, bombing a railway station close by. As each bomb screamed down I snuggled closer to the earth—wondering what it would be like to be dead, and waiting for the inevitable crump; then the rushing, clutching blast which snatched at my back above the level of the hollow where I lay. May you never have such an experience.

But there are two points to note. First, if you lie down flat in the smallest hollow in an open space—perhaps a hollow you hardly noticed when standing up—you are safe from

everything except a direct hit and the slight danger of anti-aircraft shell fragments. Second, you can hear bombs coming; therefore, if you hear them while running for shelter, don't run. Drop where you are.

If you think bombs are going to burst near you, bite something between your teeth—preferably a piece of rubber. By keeping your mouth open it helps to prevent you from being stifled and choked, and from having your eardrums burst by blast.

Remember that your security in a raid depends on you. Just as in modern warfare every soldier must think things out for himself, and think quick, so must you. Do be prepared to be scared. You will be.

The New German *Volksmeldedienst*

—Condensed from the Berlingske Aftenavis, *Copenhagen*

All Germans must become reconciled to the fact that all their activities, even their thoughts, will from now on be closely supervised by an active organization. The task of this organization will be to nip in the bud even the slightest indication of defeatism.

Until now supervision was in the hands of the regular police, the Gestapo (Secret State Police) and Nazi party organs, with district leaders at the top, and individual block-watchers at the bottom. However, this proved to be insufficient. Despite Hitler's efforts to halt the war, Germany has to prepare herself for a long and bitter struggle. The government, therefore, wants to be certain at the outset that the country this time will not have to worry about a "stab in the back."

The new organization which is to watch for the "enemy within" has been called *Volksmeldedienst* (National Reporting Service). Its outstanding weapon will be denunciation. The idea for its creation is said to have originated in S.S. (Hitler Élite Guard) circles. The main function is to detect anybody listening to foreign radio stations (punishable with hard labor, or even execution). Furthermore, a person who has listened to foreign broadcasts must be prevented from spreading information. Also, nobody may pick up or read pamphlets dropped by British airplanes. In cafés or in company nobody may show the least sign of dissatisfaction or discouragement, or indulge in criticism.

Thus, the new *Volksmeldedienst* must be regarded, to a certain extent as being a branch of the Gestapo. The S.S. Group Leader Reinhard Heydrich has been designated leader of the new service. While most newspaper readers are familiar with the name of Heinrich Himmler, there are still many who don't know much about Heydrich — Himmler's immediate subordinate, who must be regarded as the real head of the Secret State Police.

Thirty-five years old, he has a life history possible only in Nazi Germany. He was born in the city of Halle. When fifteen, he fought in the ranks of Halle's local free corps. Later, he played an important role in the Deutsch-Nationale Jugendbund (German Nationalist Youth Association). He entered the German navy in 1922, where he was an able officer and advanced quickly. It is significant that he was employed principally in the Naval Intelligence Service.

Down deep in his heart, Heydrich was a National Socialist. Thus when in 1931 the fight for power became serious, he resigned his commission and became a military Nazi. Hitler called him to Munich where he was made a group leader in the S.S. and where he became Himmler's closest associate. Today, Heydrich is the real master of the dreaded Gestapo.

Heydrich is one of the Third Reich's most hard-bitten men—and he looks it. When he appears at official functions—a uniform cap with skull and bones as a cockade atop his face, looking around with slanting phlegmatic eyes—many a man, even high party officials, trembles in his boots.

The British Secret Service, it is said, regards Heydrich as head of a chain of spy schools, started in 1934. No student of these spy schools must be over thirty, and no class may have more than five students. Lessons are given, under iron discipline, in languages, national psychology, police service, industrial organization, explosives, secret codes, and trick photography.

Thread Hoarders Chided

—Condensed from an article in Das Schwarze Korps, *organ of the Hitler Élite Guard*

Statistics have their good points and their much abused dullness is quickly transformed into something which is very much alive, for instance if they can be used as a weapon against hoarding.

Do you know, German women and comrades, how large the German consumption of thread is per capita? The average German uses twenty-six pfennig annually. Well! Imagine that suddenly millions of hausfraus rush to the stores to buy, let us say, just one additional spool of thread. Within a few days the annual output of sewing thread by all German factories would be cleaned out. The entire industry would have to work one whole year to make up for the loss, or otherwise it would have to multiply its efforts—something hardly possible in times of war.

You are astonished if the storekeeper shrugs his shoulders regretfully and tells you that there is no thread and that he does not expect any shortly. You think that you have not hoarded thread. Not you! And yet what you have done was actual hoarding and it has upset the entire industry. Such little thoughtless examples of hoarding by the individual, if multiplied by millions, amounts to a real attack upon the nation's economy.

Neutral Latin America

—Condensed from an article in La Prensa, *Buenos Aires*

In Latin America we have given much attention to the attitude of our governments on neutrality in the present conflict. The work achieved by the recent Pan-American Conference at Panama laid a solid base for further efforts to carry out the desire of the New World to keep aloof from the grave happenings in Europe.

The attitude of the South American peoples toward what is happening in Europe has changed funda-

mentally since 1914. Hardly had the war of 1914 begun when one felt its repercussions in this continent to an alarming extent. Banking establishments, commercial houses, industrial undertakings, all the general activities of each South American republic were affected, and measures were taken to prevent a danger which they considered immediate. A true war of opinion was begun. Street manifestations, lectures, war poems, publications of a diverse nature were indications of the opposed camps. Disputes took place in cafés, restaurants, theaters, and sometimes reached serious proportions.

But today, the declaration of war among Germany and England and France has met with a different reaction. A temper of serenity has predominated. At first, it was believed that the struggle would be brief. Now, however, not only is it felt here that the conflict will be prolonged, but also that all the destructive weapons at the disposal of the belligerents will be utilized.

Can one attribute this attitude of serenity, of calmness in the midst of such great catastrophe, to indifference, or egoism? No. The peoples of the Americas, now more than ever, are preoccupied with the developments in Europe. They measure and weigh the frightful tragedy, and if it were possible to develop some conciliatory action without compromising their power they would do all in their power to put an end to the conflict convulsing the Old World.

The reasons for their attitude are perfectly clear. The clouds which until a relatively short time ago were darkening the sky and disrupting the harmony which should exist among the republics of this continent have been disappearing. Peace has become imperative for these republics. Under its banner, they are strengthening and consolidating American fraternity and, as a natural consequence, the diplomatic, cultural and economic relations among the republics have grown closer.

The sensation of well-being that this peaceful situation has brought in its wake, the pleasure and the profit resulting from work done without political anxiety, the atmosphere of mutual confidence—all these are factors which have firmly convinced the South American peoples at last that peace is an invaluable boom to social and economic welfare.

This conviction, becoming more rooted each day, has contributed to the formation of a "continental conscience" or, rather, the Latin-American personality. The peoples of the New World are preoccupied with their own problems and their common interests. They lament the cruel happenings afflicting the countries of other continents, but they no longer consider them as theirs.

Das Schwarze Korps

A German view: "Just a little scratch!"

"The Traitor of Stuttgart"

At this stage in the European war, France is being deluged with propaganda broadcasts from Stuttgart, Germany. For the most part, the French accept this bombardment with philosophic detachment, but one of the broadcasters enrages them—a certain Paul Ferdonnet, who speaks with a maddeningly perfect French accent. The idea of a Frenchman in the pay of Germany is almost too much for the French to bear. Various articles have appeared in the French press "exposing the traitor of Stuttgart." *La Lumière* carries the following story of his past.

"Until the war broke out, Ferdonnet lived in France, where as a German agent he spread German propaganda. This man, who presented himself as a former professor, which he never was, insinuated himself into Rightist circles. Ferdonnet was not content with sending correspondence to the so-called nationalist papers. He also published books. One of them was called *Facing Hitler*. This was written for the glory of the Fuehrer, and in it Ferdonnet greeted the Nazi revolution and used almost characteristically Hitlerian phrases, such terms as 'Marxists and Jews, who inflicted the barbaric term of brown pest on the idealistic German youth.' Therein, too, one will find an admiring portrait of the Fuehrer. In December 1938 he published another book called *The Jewish War*. The title is sufficiently explicit: the Jews were the ones who wanted the war. It is an infamous formula which one finds time and again in many of our papers. Reprinted in those papers, too, one will often find attacks directed by Ferdonnet in his book against the journalists who did not share his admiration for Hitler."

A writer in *Le Jour* contributes this little portrait of Ferdonnet:

"I can recall him, dumpy and provincial in his handsome jacket and his fantastic trousers, wearing a lace handkerchief in the pocket next to his heart. Stiff and ceremonious in his role of *private docent* in the University of Bonn, he excited merriment among the secretaries in our office, who among themselves imitated his mannerisms. The gentleman, however, nothing daunted, returned to the charge many times, thrusting upon people his copy, underlined with red ink, and dealing in somewhat dogmatic fashion with German policies."

Henri de Kerillis in *L'Epoque* also contributes a biting article on Ferdonnet:

"By studying the treasonous activities that have flourished among us in the last few years, we will be able to guard against methods that will be employed in the future. That is why it is not futile to examine more closely the case of Paul Ferdonnet, the traitor of Stuttgart. It was in 1935 that Ferdonnet entered the service of Germany. His essential mission was to develop among French Nationalistic circles Hitlerian undercurrents. According to him, Hitler was the good genius of peace, whose mission was to rid the world of the Communist danger, the 'Jewish pest,' and build the basis of a new civilization.

"In his writings, he addresses himself to the French patriots, the French bourgeois, and asks them to have confidence in the ruler of Germany. At the same time, he does not lose from sight the precise and practical objectives so dear to Hitler. After his *Facing Hitler*, he published *The Czecho-Slovakian Crisis*, an odious calumny directed against President Benes and the unfortunate Czech people. Later he extended his efforts to other fields. He carried on a campaign to spoil the Franco-Russian alliance and a furious anti-Semitic campaign to make the French believe that, if war came, the Jews would be the only ones responsible.

"Ferdonnet insisted that Eden was Litvinov's brother-in-law, which allowed him to present that statesman as an agent of world Bolshevism and Judaism. A French journalist well known in France, called Pertinax, whose true name is Geraud, became under Ferdonnet's pen 'the Jew Grunbaum Geraud.'

"At present we feel ourselves better able to defend ourselves against miserable beings of his kind. If Ferdonnet victimized honest men and found unexpected support for his campaign, now that he stands so completely exposed his eventual successors will be discerned all the quicker."

Advice from Premier Abe on Relations with China

—Condensed from the text, printed in Taisei, *Tokyo, of a lecture by General Nobuyki Abe before the Tokyo Municipal Foreign Trade Association a few days before he was appointed to head a new Japanese Cabinet*

The increasing complexity of relations between Japan and third powers in connection with its China policy has recently given the Japanese people the impression that these third powers are more responsible for the China Incident than the Chiang Kai-shek regime. It is necessary, especially after the conclusion of the Reich-Soviet agreement, to re-examine whether successful dealing with the powers will really bring about a satisfactory termination of the Sino-Japanese hostilities.

It is true that Chiang Kai-shek is at present receiving aid from all the Western Powers of importance, notably Great Britain and Soviet Russia. France and the United States are also supporting the Chiang Kai-shek regime. In the earlier stage of the China hostilities Germany offered influential cooperation in military operations against the Japanese forces, while Italy supplied army planes and other war materials. Although these two countries later severed relations with the Chiang regime, the other great powers have continued to extend assistance. All this goes to show that Japan must first deal with the third powers that have close relations with China.

Taking great pride in their traditional culture, which they regard as the fountain-head of all Oriental culture, the Chinese very naturally claim superiority over the Japanese, whom they look upon as a small nation owing a cultural debt to them and today imitating Western civilization. It is by no means difficult to imagine how deeply China was displeased by

the energetic activities of the newly rising Japan, which courageously acted up to its resolutions, while China, losing control of its vast territories, could do nothing to cope with the new situation brought about by the modern age. The pride of China sank into the minds of Chinese statesmen and leaders, gradually permeating the Chinese masses at large. This is greatly responsible for their present outlook toward the Japanese nation. China's leading classes, prejudiced against Japan, have always guided the Chinese masses in a direction against their neighboring nation.

In modern times people have come to understand that they should share the common responsibility for moulding the destiny of their country. China as a modern state has also followed the same course of development, though slowly on account of the vastness of its territories and people. The history of the Western Powers' encroachment on Chinese territory, which has relegated it almost to the position of one of their colonies, extends into the past, even beyond the Opium War of 1839–42. It is no wonder that the Chinese nation, awakened to the spirit of modernism, has realized its miserable position among the world nations.

This Chinese national consciousness gave rise to the revolution of 1911, stirring up the Chinese to the perpetual anti-foreign movements and the struggles for its legitimate status among the nations of the world, which have from time to time taken various forms such as the claim for recovery of sovereignty, the return of foreign concessions, tariff autonomy, and so on. Under such circumstances, it is natural that the anti-foreign movement based on Chinese national consciousness should have been chiefly levelled against Japan, the nearest neighbor, which they hold in contempt.

What, then, are the causes of the China hostilities? Japan's attitude toward China, the Chinese calculation of their own strength, and the attitudes of third powers—these are universally considered the immediate factors. Although no additional explanation is needed to understand these already well studied causes, I have still something to say which demands reflection.

There is good reason to believe that in the year when the present Incident in China broke out, China was not really determined to go to war with

Japan, though it inwardly intended to beat the latter before long. Japan was then in miserable condition, at least in appearance, owing to its corrupt politics, its political parties struggling one against another over trifles, its financial stringency, and especially its army which was on the verge of a split. What could China do other than to underestimate Japan?

If China had found Japan thoroughly alert, with its politics smoothly functioning, its army well disciplined, and its economy stabilized, it might not have been induced to aggravate a local clash into a wholesale war beyond local settlement.

Fairly and squarely, Japan has been demanding of China all that it considers necessary for realization of a new order in East Asia. In pursuing these ideals, however, Japan may have assumed only a perfunctory attitude toward China, failing to show sincerity worthy of its good intentions. This is not the way of Western Powers in dealing with China. Even though they have openly deprived China of territory, China makes no complaint because they unsparingly give what they should give in compensation for what they have taken. Herein we find the appalling contrast between the wise and crafty attitude of Western Powers and the miserably illiberal and stingy way of Japan in dealing with China. All things considered I am led to the conclusion that the Chinese people's mistaken and prejudiced conception of the Japanese is, after all, due to the latter's attitude toward the former.

With the aggravation and expansion of the [Marco Polo Bridge] Incident, the National government of China came to find itself in need of third powers' help and the Communist party's co-operation. For continuing resistance against Japan, the National government has since been falling back on third powers and especially the Communist party. At present, the liquidation of the Communist influence in the National government is the first condition of disposal of the China Incident, while the elimination of third powers' assistance to the Chiang Kai-shek regime is also essential. But neither the Communist influence nor third powers' support was the real cause of the China Incident at the outset.

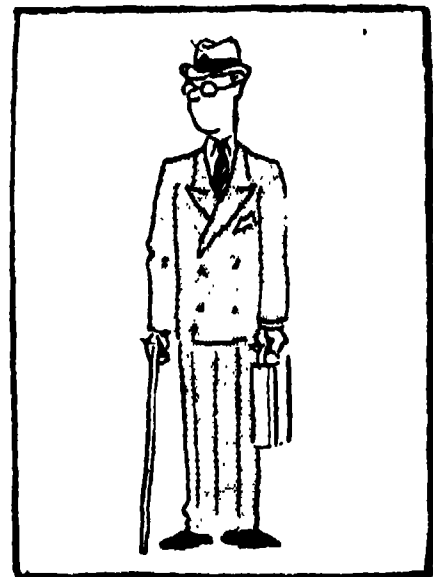
Japan will do its utmost to deal with the Chiang-assisting powers,

PHILOSOPHIC TYPE

DISCIPLINED JUNKER

STRENGTH THROUGH JOY

GOOD PARTY MEMBER

CHARMING VIENNESE

MAN IN THE STREET

The drawings above appeared in the London Daily Express as illustrations to an article on the "enemy" by Osbert Lancaster.

tion of Soviet influences from China. But none of these is the way to strike at the root of the Sino-Japanese conflict. This cause may be likened to a disease too far advanced for remedy, which cannot be cured easily and in a short period even by an excellent physician. It cannot be immediately stamped out by force of arms, but it should be treated slowly.

It is my firm belief that what the Japanese, especially those who are connected with important overseas [China] business, should do is to associate with the Chinese people in a spirit of true friendship and understanding, treating and guiding them with a sincere affection as warm as paternal love, even if they sometimes refuse to respond. It is up to the Japanese to rectify the mistaken ideas of the Chinese and help their wholesome growth.

El Telégrafo, Guayaquil, Ecuador

"Quien ganará?" means "Who will win?" The same word play is now current in many languages with appropriate changes in the last two lines.

Sicily's *Latifundia* Being Broken Up

—Condensed from an article in La Revista Commerciale Italo-Americana, *New York*

Ten years ago Mussolini announced the government's intention of reclaiming all the marsh lands of Italy, thus freeing the country of malaria and enriching the national territory with millions of acres of fertile lands on which the farmers can raise the crops to feed a rapidly growing population and rear their children under favorable social conditions. The program then outlined has been carried out; the fever-breeding marshes at the gates of Rome and much of the malarial lands in Sardinia, Calabria and other parts of the South have been transformed into fertile farm lands.

Now another of those wars on poverty and disease, "the wars which we prefer" (words spoken by Mussolini on December 18, 1932), has been declared with the Duce's announcement of the government's intention of finally breaking up the Sicilian *latifundia;* the name given to the vast estates in the interior of Sicily on which the lack of water and of roads has been responsible for poor and scanty crops cultivated by a poverty stricken peasantry living in crowded, unsanitary villages many miles from the fields they till.

Statistical returns show that there are in Sicily 452,414 agricultural properties covering an area of 5,192,000 acres. Of these 2,034 occupy 1,461,000 acres, while 892 occupy 1,069,000 acres. There are 164 properties occupying 270,000 acres, while 64 occupy 295,240 acres each being over 2,470 acres in area.

On visiting Sicily two years ago, the Duce stated that these conditions would be changed; now the work is about to start.

Within the next ten years twenty thousand farm-houses are to be built on approximately 1,250,000 acres. The essential reclamation works preliminary to land settlement will be carried out by the government. The primary problem is that of the water supply in the interior of the island. Aqueducts must be built, artesian wells sunk, and great reservoirs, such as the ancient Romans used, must be provided for storing the torrential rain-waters of the winter and spring.

Sicily is now provided with adequate highways and provincial roads; these must be supplemented by minor roads connecting the sites of the future homesteads and villages with the main thoroughfares, thus enabling the products of the farms to reach consumer markets. Then small rural centers must be built with church, schools, dispensary, general store, and the essential handicrafts to meet the needs of the families living on the moderate-sized farms which will people the now desolate solitude of the great estates.

The total cost of the work is estimated at two billion lire, of which one billion will be provided by a government appropriation, 400 millions being for public works—roads, water supply, and rural centers—and 600 millions for grants in aid to the landowners who are required to carry out land and agricultural improvements and provide farm buildings, to the cost of which the government contributes 38 per cent.

Those land-owners who carry out the required works will be the direct recipients of the government grants; for those who do not feel able to do the work themselves a special institute is being set up under the auspices of the *Banco di Sicilia,* which will carry out the works required, handing back to the land-owners all or as much of the reconditioned lands as they are financially able to handle. Land-owners who neither wish to do the work themselves nor through the institute will have their lands expropriated at their current taxable value.

By breaking up the *latifundia* the standard of living of a population which accounts for one-tenth of the nation will be raised; new and important opportunities for work will be offered to the peasantry. Sicilian agricultural production, now valued at some two billion lire per annum, will rapidly increase; it is believed that the wheat crop, which now averages some 900,000 tons per annum, can be doubled. The result will be a marked rise in the taxable wealth of the community.

Italy's greatest natural assets are her labor forces, and Italian financial policies are successful to the extent to which they allow of the full utilization of these labor forces on productive work. Realizing this, the Fascist State is wisely investing national savings in permanent land improvements which will allow of intensive farming and provide a livelihood for a dense population, firmly attached to the soil.

The rules governing private business no longer hold good in the case of such national enterprises, involving the long range investment of a huge volume of savings in the land. The investment is justified by reasons of the highest public interest, the purpose being to maintain the prevalently agricultural character of Italian economy, check the growth of urbanism, and above all secure that increase in the production of wealth which alone can enable the country to live

on the higher level to which it aspires.

The work will be put in hand immediately. The first batch of two thousand farm-houses — complete with stable, silo, granary, and all other requisites—will be delivered to the families who are to inhabit them on October 28, 1940.

Politics Ahead

—Condensed from the column by Frank R. Kent, Washington correspondent of The Baltimore Sun. *Copyright, 1939, by* The Sun

The regular session of Congress will be far different from the special session recently ended. In the latter, politics was adjourned while the neutrality fight was on; in the next session, politics will dominate from the start.

That is inevitable in any session preceding a Presidential campaign. It is forced by the facts that the Presidential primaries, beginning in March, run through until June and that the session itself runs right up to the dates of the nominating conventions. In the coming session the political flavor will be greatly heightened. There are several reasons. One is because it is the end of the sitting President's second term, which opens the field for a convention struggle in the majority party. Recognition that a President is not only entitled to one renomination but can secure it no matter how great the party discontent is so general that the second nomination is always conceded. The reverse is true when he is finishing a second term. Then, no matter how great the President's popularity, it is traditional that he retire and it is quite certain that any effort for a third nomination would meet determined resistance.

That is why, despite third-term sentiment for Mr. Roosevelt (similar to that which existed for Mr. Coolidge in 1928 and for other two-term Presidents who preceded Coolidge), there are at the moment various Democratic figures looming up and a number of States which are preparing to put forward favorite sons. Some of these are making active campaigns. Some are simply "receptive." In the Senate itself there is Vice-President Garner, Senator Wheeler, of Montana; Senator Clark, of Missouri, and Senator Tydings, of Maryland. Outside the Senate there are Secretary Hull, Mr. Farley, Mr. McNutt and Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, who, to the mortification of his colleagues, is being mentioned both for the Presidential and Vice-Presidential nominations. Four years ago no name was spoken of except that of Mr. Roosevelt; this time the woods are full of candidates and the session will be given over to political jockeying.

This is as true of the Republicans as of the Democrats. For example, in the Senate, the Republicans have three avowed candidates—Taft, of Ohio; Vandenberg, of Michigan, and Bridges, of New Hampshire. Outside the Senate, District Attorney Dewey is the outstanding Republican aspirant. Blanketed by the outbreak of war and the embargo debate, his friends expect him to forge again to the front.

It is true that the Roosevelt jobholders, the "inner circle" advisers and some of their relatives who hate the idea of relinquishing the power which their White House connection confers, will keep the third-term movement alive so long as they can. But the conviction of the more discerning is that there will be no third nomination; that at some time of his own choosing Mr. Roosevelt will irrevocably take himself out of the race. It is, of course, easy to understand that in addition to the satisfaction of making it clear that his retirement is voluntary and not compulsory, he wants to insure two things—one, that the platform indorse his administration and promise continuation of New Deal policies; second, that the nominee be someone acceptable to him. Those whose judgment is best are completely convinced that Mr. Roosevelt's mind is set upon achieving those two things, that he is entirely clear-headed about the unfeasibility of a third term and will end the movement when he thinks the time ripe.

Oasis in the Slums

—Condensed from an article by Rose Garrett Radnor in The American Hebrew, *New York*

"Notice that most of them drink their milk before they even touch their soup," said the young woman at my side. "They love their milk."

I was on Stanton Street, near Delancey, in a very poor, congested section of New York's lower East Side. I had entered a settlement house about the size of a small factory, and it had seemed not unlike a school with its hall bulletin board and its door marked "Office."

But now, I had entered upon a totally unexpected scene. Instead of the usual woodwork and painted walls, the entire room before me was lined from floor to ceiling with knotted pine. Light. Beautiful. Small round tables with olive green tops, each flanked with eight attractive maple chairs, filled every available space, and each table bore a vase with fresh flowers, and a paper napkin for each child. Lovely cretonne curtains lined two large windows.

Auckland Star

He won't be happy till he gets it.

It was twelve o'clock noon. Into this dining-room came upwards of one hundred and fifty Jewish children, all from the neighborhood public school. Trooping in for a lunch planned for them by a dietitian—all paid for by the Children's Welfare League of the Jewish Settlement of the East Side, of which Mrs. Gabriel Hamburger was founder twenty years ago and is now president. A lunch that included, besides the pint bottle of milk with its straw (given twice daily), vitamins to give more color, more energy, and wherewithal for proper growth. On this day, the children had steaming lentil soup, a sandwich thick with cottage cheese and parsley, a ruddy apple, and all the bread and butter that a child could eat.

Of Eastern and Western extraction, Palestinian dark and palest blonde, neatly and cleanly dressed, with good shoes, these children took their places, seeking friends. There was no regimentation—except, perhaps, that an older child sat at each table with the smaller ones, to help them, and to stack the dishes later, placing these at a "cafeteria" counter which fed directly into the spotless kitchen.

"This is an atmosphere not found in their own homes." Mr. Alter Torn, executive director, was speaking to me. "The children come to think, 'This is my home—my home. My other home . . . .' It inspires the child with a certain something of hope, that maybe some day he will have more than his father, and will have a home, or a room, like this. Mrs. Hamburger puts it as 'To give these children a fighting chance in life.' At four o'clock, they will have their supper here. They get no meat, but vegetables and other products that have the vitamins and protein of meat. Eggs two or three times a week. Plenty of meat substitutes. And starchy foods, for energy. The League gives them apparel: their shoes, of course; underclothing; summer clothing, and ski suits in winter."

We walked into the adjoining kitchen, efficiently hotel-like, in miniature: Porcelain and monel metal. Air-conditioned. With a food pulverizer and electric disposal of garbage. Blue-and-white curtains fluttered at two windows, and there was a red geranium in a white flower pot. A clear-skinned, motherly woman at my elbow was saying, "After luncheon, in half an hour, my kitchen will look like snow." The rows upon rows of dishes stacked in the cupboards looked like snow.

But food for the body is but one phase of this extraordinary settlement house where everything is offered free. Many physical, educational, social and religious activities keep the young people of all ages, and even their parents, occupied and happy in leisure hours.

Hosts of children—for the most part, average, normal youngsters—can tell a story of an oasis in the desert of the slums where, from the gymnastics and tap-dancing and showers in the basement to the sunshine, games and crafts on the roof, the building has offered food for mind, soul and spirit, as well as for body, and protection against the hazards of the street and the discouragements of slum living. There are not a few who, having started as pre-school children in the nursery, continue to come here. They have gone to public school, coming in after school to do their lessons—perhaps getting help from the librarian, or from books in the well-stocked library—and for Hebrew School, games and their supper, staying until bed-time. Now, attending high-school, or working, they come just as regularly in the afternoon or the evening, along with the adults, for meetings, games and tournaments, social affairs, educational forums, and for synagogue.

This ordered routine of living for residents of crowded, impoverished and disturbing homes is a definite health measure.

There is also painstaking curative work of a psychiatric nature in connection with problem children who are studied by those in charge, with the assistance of mental hygiene and child behavior clinics. Tangles and snarls in their natures, due to parental lack of understanding, are straightened out, and the children become normal and happy.

For example, Toby, aged seven, was at first a barbarous, anti-social runaway, defeating with hysteria any attempts at correction. A large diet of eggs, butter and milk to build up her nervous system and an improvement in physical home conditions failed to change her. Not until psychiatrists prescribed praise and affection from her teachers—actual fondling of a love-hungry child who was lonely in a large family—did Toby become the co-operative child she is today.

Health measures are also taken through the dental clinic and the medical examining rooms which are under the supervision of the Department of Health. Daily, twenty-five to thirty children from the neighborhood, regardless of race, color or creed, have their teeth cared for here by two dentists and a dental hygienist who are particularly competent to care for young children. The records show treatments of more than ten thousand children, most of whom would be obliged otherwise to do without necessary dental work.

Night Life in "The Shadow"

—*Condensed from an article by Betty Cavanna in* The Churchman, *New York, an independent journal of the Protestant Episcopal Church*

Len Carroll's orchestra. Floor show. Dancing. Supper.

Scene: A university campus.

Place: The Silver Shadow.

And the "perish the thought" faction raises its hand in holy horror.

"A university sponsoring a night club? Incredible!"

Old grads bridle. Sewing circles wave needles to greet the latest nine-day scandal and business men chuckle over their noon coffee.

But a fact's a fact. The University of Iowa *has* fathered a night club, and, furthermore, over a period of four years, that night club has become increasingly popular and successful.

The Silver Shadow looks much like any other popular night spot. Down a flight of stone steps that ordinarily lead to the campus cafeteria is a large room hung with silver curtains, a room dimly but colorfully lighted, which at capacity holds a hundred couples. A swing orchestra on a raised platform is playing a tricky arrangement of a new song. An entertainer is ready to step up to the microphone. Laughing couples are calling from table to table and paper streamers are flying. The dance floor is crowded. Waiters are busy, frocks are formal, black ties in evidence. Only one thing

The brave soldier—the prudent general—the little storm trooper—the well-beloved leader . . . and the mysterious spectator.

changes the picture from the typical to the unusual: no liquor is being served!

In the implications behind that last sentence lies the story of the origin of The Silver Shadow. In the winter of 1936, automobile accidents on the road between Iowa City and Cedar Rapids were adding up to a rather terrifying sum. Especially on weekend "date" nights, University of Iowa students were frequently involved or endangered, as they sped from campus to city hotels and night clubs. Compared to similar situations on Eastern university campuses, the problem at Iowa was not acute. But Iowa educators, student leaders, and pastors were not content with judging themselves by Eastern standards.

"How can we keep the students on campus over weekends?" they asked each other.

And R. H. Fitzgerald, director of the Iowa Memorial Union, a campus student center, found the answer.

"What they want is night life," he said. "All right, let's give them night life. Let's turn the cafeteria into a night club over weekends, use student orchestras and student entertainers, serve good food and soft drinks, and see whether we can't give our undergraduates a place to dance on campus that will be more fun and a lot healthier than the places that now attract them."

"There will be a lot of conservative alumni who will be up in arms," Mr. Fitzgerald was warned.

"Those people," came the answer, "know a little about what confronts modern youth, but not enough. Certainly most intelligent adults will see that to provide a place of wholesome, attractive entertainment, student organized and student patronized, minus the hazards of liquor and vulgarity, is an important achievement. Surely even those who disapprove of dancing will grant that, since the vast majority of students will dance somewhere, they may as well dance here at home."

One step followed another. A student band was employed. Talent was selected. Student waiters were trained. The Silver Shadow was opened, and from the first night it became a going concern.

The club has now entered upon its fourth season, and the entire university is interested and proud of the project. Much of its success is due to the fact that, from its inception, it has been exclusively a student enterprise and that it has always been conducted on a business basis. The income which student entertainers, musicians, attendants, and waiters receive from their fellow students through The Silver Shadow amounts to approximately $3,000 a year. This is money deflected from Cedar Rapids dance places which had formerly been furnishing the bulk of student weekend entertainment.

Among the incidental advantages of the campus night spot is the discovery of a great deal of latent student talent. With new opportunities to take part in wholesome amusement, singers, dancers and instrumentalists have sprung up like new grass after rain. In some cases, Silver Shadow entertainers have been led to professional careers. Each year the floor shows have become more attractive.

The Iowa Memorial Union, which is still behind the project, now has a new director, Earl E. Harper, who has watched The Silver Shadow during the past season with unprejudiced eyes, and who has checked the reaction of administrative officials, faculty members and students.

"The Silver Shadow," he says, "has made a permanent place for itself on campus. It is conducted on a high plane of social decorum, and yet I have detected no stiffness. The young men and women enjoy themselves to the full, yet without the slightest hint of coarseness. Attendance of faculty members and adults is not encouraged in the least, the administrators of the Iowa Union being present more as participants in the enjoyment and fun than as chaperons."

Critics of the University of Iowa project have remained to praise. They have come to realize that the administrators who first thought of The Silver Shadow were taking forceful, and even daring, steps to face their obligations to normal young people who like to play. They were not trying to start a reform movement or solve a general problem. They simply loved the students with whom they worked and tried to see things through their eyes.

As another college president recently remarked, "There is more of light than darkness in The Shadow."

Our Pattern of Living

—Condensed from a dispatch from Washington to The Christian Science Monitor

"In the most comprehensive survey ever made of the way Americans spend their money, the National Resources Committee has discovered that in 1935-36 the poorer two-thirds of the Nation, on the average, did not live within its income.

On the other hand, the upper third spent four times as much as the lower for its food, shelter and clothing and still saved nearly one-fifth of its total income.

These disparities in the American pattern of living are outlined in the Committee's report, "Consumer Expenditures in the United States," drawn up on the basis of first-hand questioning of sixty thousand families living in cities of different sizes, in villages and on farms in thirty different states.

A preceding report on the same survey showed that a third of all families in the United States are eking out livings on incomes of less than $780 a year, and approximately nine-tenths live on less than $2,500.

For the lower third of the Nation, *consumption expenditures exceeded* income by 17 per cent, and even a large proportion of families and individuals in the American "Middle Class" showed deficits. In the latter group, income was sufficient to cover actual living expenses, but when gifts, church donations and taxes were all paid, this group was also "in the red."

Not all of the families and individual consumers in the lower income groups had deficits, by any means, but for the groups as a whole expenditure exceeded income, and was met from resources accumulated in previous years, or by loans from relatives and friends, credit at retail stores or other forms of borrowing.

A modern note in the survey is the revelation that automobile expenditures now rank fifth on the American family's budget. Almost 6½ per cent of total consumer income was given to "the family car" and only 1½ per cent to all other modes of transportation.

The total volume of income flowing into the hands of the Nation's consumers in 1935-36 was approximately $59,300,000,000. Of this amount $50,200,000,000, or about 85 per cent, was spent for current consumption; $2,200,000,000 or nearly 4 per cent was used for gifts to relatives and friends and for contributions to the church and to philanthropic agencies; and about $900,000,000, or 1½ per cent, was paid out as income taxes, poll taxes and certain minor personal property taxes. The remaining $6,000,000,000, 10 per cent of total income, was saved.

The three major consumer needs—food, shelter, and clothing--absorbed nearly two thirds of the total income.

Here is the average American family spending pattern. This is the way it would budget its $1,622 income, if it could at the same time reflect the consumption habits of the very rich and the very poor

Food	$467
Housing	457
Clothing	141
Gifts and church	45
Personal taxes	24
Automobile	114
Medical care	64
Recreation	41
Personal care, education, reading, transportation other than automobile, and miscellaneous items	
Savings	164

In connection with education expenditures, it was pointed out that while less than 1 per cent of consumer income was apparently spent for this purpose, expenditures made directly by families and individual consumers cover only a part of the total outlay of the nation. Almost five-sixths of the cost of education is met through public and private schools.

How to Buy a Home

—Condensed from Real Estate News

Low monthly payments on homes are clouding the otherwise sound judgment and obscuring the perspicacity of many home buyers today.

Twenty-five-year mortgages not only cost the borrower a great deal more in interest charges than the old-fashioned ten-to-twelve-year mortgage, but by reason of the lower "carrying" cost per month may tempt many to assume excessive obligations.

The risk of default and loss of the property is much greater under a twenty-five-year mortgage than under a mortgage that has only twelve years to go.

The monthly carrying charges on a $5,000 mortgage at five per cent for twenty-five years are about $29.25. The total payments for twenty-five years would be $8,775. On the same mortgage for twelve years the monthly charge would be $46.25, or a total of only $6,671. The saving in interest on the short-term plan is $2,104, or more than forty per cent of the amount borrowed.

The most hazardous period in meeting mortgage obligations are the first few years. On a twenty-five-year mortgage the principal is reduced very slowly during the first five years, while on a ten-year mortgage the reduction in principal is much more rapid.

The big joker in the long-term mortgage is the "easy" monthly payments—they are truly "easy" on reducing principal but anything but easy when one figures total interest charges. The total interest cost of a direct reduction $1,000 loan at five per cent for twelve years is $331.81; for twenty-five years the total amounts to $752.59.

All cash is clearly the best plan in buying a home for those who have the money. It eliminates many worries, and the home free of debt, is always good collateral for open credit or a necessary loan when a genuine emergency turns up.

The next best plan is to make the largest down payment possible and give a mortgage for the balance for the shortest term necessary to accommodate and fit into a prudently arranged family budget.

Those whose cash resources and dependable income limit them to the ten-per-cent down, twenty-five-year-mortgage plan should be careful in selecting their home, careful in stretching their vision over the eventualities of many years—and consider carefully if it would not be better to buy a lower-priced home for which they could hope to pay in full in ten or twelve years.

Toward the American Dream

California and Ohio pension plans have failed, but relief for the aged will continue to be a major issue

SHELBY CULLOM DAVIS

THE smashing defeat of the Ham and Eggs old age pension plan in California and the Bigelow plan in Ohio at the November 7 election shows that, although Americans may have been parched by the drouth of depression, they still do not believe in mirages. California and Ohio have both earned respective reputations as deciding national elections and as being the "Mother of Presidents." Winning margins of two to one in California and over three to one in Ohio over the pensionites' indicate not only that America is not ripe for further monetary experiments but that the present Federal old age security program is satisfactory to the majority.

If a prophet in 1929 had predicted that in ten years the nation would be giving payments to those over sixty-five, he would have been hooted down. Such an idea would have been regarded as un-American and contrary to our tradition of self-reliance. Such things belonged to the paternalistic governments of Europe.

All this has been changed in the past decade. During the Thirties the Federal Government entered the life insurance and annuity business on a vast scale, but it does not wait, hat in hand in the outer office, as does the ife insurance man. For the Federal Government has no prospects. Citizens are either customers or they are not, and every one fulfilling certain requirements is a customer willy-nilly. On government books now are forty-five million customers, whose old age will be made far more secure than in the past and for whose dependents protection in case of death is provided.

This is the most ambitious, long term legislation ever passed in Washington. It is well intentioned beyond belief. It approaches the near millenium for old folks. Even if the monthly security payments are not as large as the "miracle merchandisers," the [illegible] or the Bigelowites desire, they are absolutely sure and regular, as long as the Federal Government has credit. It is as if a magic wand had passed over our gray haired heads guaranteeing peace and security for their ebbing years.

No one could deny that during the depression of the early Thirties the aged needed help, nor that the young needed relief from the responsibilities of caring for their parents. It was not that the young were callous but that they were already overburdened in trying to care for themselves. At first the New Deal catered to these needs by increasing relief payments, inaugurating projects, such as sewing-rooms, suitable for elderly workers, and took care of those over sixty-five as part of its general relief program. Then gradually talk arose of a nationwide plan whereby people would be compelled to save for their old age. Faith in life insurance, always strong with the American people, had grown even stronger during the depression for that was one type of savings that had not shrivelled up with every death rattle of the stock market.

At first this plan was discussed chiefly by social workers and those who had studied the working of social insurance in Europe. Germany, it was recalled, had established compulsory insurance against old age in 1889. France had followed in 1910. After the war it was part and parcel of nearly every European state, but as long as the boom lasted here we were unimpressed. Then politicians began to hear about it. They became increasingly conscious of the fact that America was growing older. Statistics were broadcast and rebroadcast, for they are seldom remembered, showing that at the turn of the century old folks (sixty-five years or over) totalled only four percent of the population while they now totalled over six percent and by 1980 would actually be fourteen to sixteen percent. Here was a growing section of the population that it would be both humane and politically expedient to cater to, if it was feasible. That last was a big question. People had been trying all their lives to achieve security only to find, like the gold at the end of the rainbow, it usually remained out of reach. Would the Federal Government be able to do the job any better than it had been done and what about the cost?

As it turned out, these important questions sank into the background when Dr. Francis E. Townsend entered upon the American scene. No orator, this modest country doctor set in motion a movement that turned out to be political dynamite. He proposed that every person sixty years of age or over be given $200 monthly by the Federal Government provided he retired and spent the $200 within the confines of the United States within thirty days. The pensions were to be financed by a two percent sales tax on all business transactions. Little attention, however, was paid to the financing. Old folks by the millions listened to Dr. Townsend in rapt admiration for the $200 monthly he proposed was more than enough to keep body and soul together. It would actually give them many things they had been unable to afford during their working days. In this sense the Townsend Plan was also a reward for the aged, not just board and lodging.

Moreover the utopian theories of

Dr. Townsend happened to fit nicely into the purchasing power theories just beginning to be seriously discussed in Washington. A Government deficit was in the process of being changed from a fearful to a wonderful thing. Mr. John Maynard Keynes, noted English economist, had been advising the New Deal to spend and spend without thinking immediately of the cost. It was up to the Government to provide purchasing power, he said, and Washington was beginning to agree. Fine, said Dr. Townsend, in effect. I shall provide all the purchasing power you could possibly want. Assuming that only 11 millions out of the 12½ million persons over sixty years of age would apply for a pension and retire from their jobs, by paying them each $200 a month or $2400 a year no less than $26.4 billions in new purchasing power would be created. Not only would this give the old folks a fine time, but it would end the depression. Thus kill two birds with one stone.

The plausibility of the Townsend Plan and the doctor's sincerity attracted followers by droves and at one point he claimed to have 35,000,000 signatures to his program. Townsend clubs were organized all over the country and the good word of the good doctor passed quickly over the land. This whirlwind of public opinion, emanating not only in the Far and Middle West but also extending to sections in which the aged predominate in the East, such as Massachusetts, literally built a fire under Congress. The Social Security Act of 1935 was passed by an overwhelming vote in which Republicans joined, feeling that this was the best way to head off Townsendism. Thus the Federal Government went into the insurance business because of popular demand.

While the doctor is still active, some of his followers have been even more so. Sheridan Downey, a Sacramento lawyer, who in 1938 was elected to the Senate from California, is the torch-bearer and orator of the present old age pension movement. A New Dealer, unlike Dr. Townsend, a lifelong Republican, Senator Downey sees in old age pensions the safeguarding of the rights of our senior citizens.

The growth of local old age pension movements undoubtedly accelerated the liberal amendments to the Social Security Act of 1935 that were passed in 1939. The California "Ham and Eggs at Fifty" plan came so close to victory at the polls in 1938 that national political leaders were forced to think fast. The 1935 legislation provided a long range program but had, in effect, said, "Not in our time." This merely whetted the appetites of those old folks who ruefully acknowledged truth in the dictum "in the long run we are all dead." There was dissatisfaction too with the meagerness of the early benefit payments. There was also a demand that dependents' and survivors' benefits be provided.

Fitzpatrick—St Louis Post-Dispatch

Santa Claus didn't show up.

Originally, as the Act was passed in 1935, benefit payments were not to begin until January 1, 1942, but in 1939 the date was moved ahead so that old age security begins next year. No less than $114 millions will be paid out to the old folks during 1940 according to the estimates.

At the same time, Congress decided not to advance the payroll tax from 1 per cent, which both employees and employers pay, to 1½ per cent in 1940 as originally specified. The 1 per cent rate was frozen until 1943 when it is scheduled to rise to 2 per cent each, to 2½ per cent in 1946 and 3 per cent each in 1949. Thus during the Forties we are scheduled to pay increasing taxes on our wages. The question is, will we do it? Will we increase our payroll taxes by three times the present amount, so that the estimated receipts in 1950 from this tax will be $1¾ billions compared with $500 millions in 1940?

We will need either a period of rollicking prosperity or a Spartan-like character to apply these tax increases to ourselves. When Congress refused to raise the tax from 1 to 1½ per cent in 1939, the whole country breathed a sigh of relief, but one can almost hear the moan that will go up from worker and employer alike by 1943 when the tax will be doubled, or by 1949 when the tax will be tripled from its current rate. Yet such increases are necessary if old age security is to be adequately financed and so that each person's insurance or annuity will bear at least some relation to the amount he has contributed.

The 1939 Congress was exceedingly generous, if not lavish, in its appropriations, a peace-time record. In liberalizing old age benefit payments so those reaching sixty-five or over during the Forties would have living benefits, even though they had not had time to contribute much, Congress raised the cost of old age security by about $7 billions over the next fifteen years. This includes, of course, the great liberalization of survivors' benefits for widows and children.

This tremendous increase in the cost of old age security passed almost unnoticed amid the general glee at "freezing" the 1 per cent payroll tax until 1943 and at the decision to do away with the $47 billions reserve fund octopus which would have accumulated under the Act as passed in 1935. Our old age security is now on a pay-as-you-go basis and the reserve will be kept to modest proportions.

Pay-as-you-go simply means that the payroll taxes must, over a period of years, balance the benefits paid out to the old folks. Actually, until 1955, payroll taxes will be greater than benefit payments. A surplus of about $7 billions will be built up, but it will dwindle fast, as more and more persons reach 65.

Recently the Social Security Board has stopped figuring what old age insurance will cost after 1955. This is as far as it cares to look ahead, possibly because the figures get too astronomical after that. By 1980, it is estimated, no less than fourteen to sixteen per cent of the population will be sixty-five years of age or over.

Those at the present time in the twenty-five to thirty-seven year old age group will thus have lots of company in 1980 and furthermore they will have had plenty of time to build up good benefit payments. The drain on the Treasury will be so great that some economists believe at least another four per cent of payrolls would have to be taxed to pay for it, in addition to the six per cent (three from employees and three from employers) as the present Act specifies. This additional four per cent might not be placed on payrolls but instead income taxes might be raised to supply the necessary revenues. Thus, a minimum of ten per cent of taxes on payrolls is estimated to be necessary to finance old age security eventually.

Fortunately, 1980 is a long way off and it looks as if old age security should have relatively clear sailing until 1955, even if Congress does hedge somewhat on going through with the payroll tax increases per schedule. That means the Forties will be the best decade the old folks have had since we became such a citified country, and that January 1, 1940, will mark the beginning of a new era.

The effect of compulsory old age insurance on our economic system will be marked although one can only speculate now as to the manner and extent it will alter the lives of the rest of us. We do know already that the payroll taxes tend to have a deflationary effect upon business in that they detract from the workers' ability to purchase consumption goods. This was severely illustrated in 1937, the first year of the payroll taxes. These are, really, a sales tax, since the collection of the new taxes was one cause of the sharp decline in business that year. Until 1940, however, no regular benefit payments were paid to the old folks, so that taxes collected before then meant that the amount of the taxes would not be spent on clothing, movies, food or shelter. Beginning in 1940 regular benefit payments will be made and these will increase more than tenfold during the Forties. Thus the old folks will have the money to spend which the rest of us will be paying as taxes. There will be a transferal of purchasing power from young and middle aged to old. At the same time, many families will no longer have to provide for their parents and funds can be spent instead which will tend to more than counterbalance the amounts paid in taxes

The payroll taxes, particularly by the time they total six percent in 1949, will exert an upward influence on the general price level. Employers will endeavor to pass on their taxes in higher prices and employees will endeavor to obtain higher wages.

Although a few occupations are not covered by the Social Security Act, the vast majority are. Forty-five million gainfully employed are clients of the Federal Government and are building up month by month security for their old age Farm laborers and domestic servants are the two most important classes not now covered but sometime during the Forties they too may be brought in. Salesmen, who work on a commission, are even included provided they have an employer who contributes.

According to the Act, it is actually the first $50 of a person's average monthly income, or $600 per year, that counts most heavily in calculating his benefit at age sixty-five. The formula states that the first $50 of average monthly wages will receive 40 per cent or $20 in monthly benefits at age sixty-five. For any additional monthly wage, up to $250 total, only 10 per cent is granted. And for every year worked, an additional amount equal to 1 per cent of the benefit is given.

A wife reaching age sixty-five is entitled to one-half the pension of her husband. When she becomes a widow her benefit jumps to three quarters. If the widow has children under eighteen she is entitled to a benefit of three quarters of her husband's until her children reach eighteen, and her children, under eighteen, each receive one-half of her husband's benefit.

The benefit payments will work out in this manner. A man aged 40 on January 1, 1937, the date at which employed workers began building up credits, will receive with his wife at age 65 a monthly benefit payment of $56.25, assuming his monthly salary meantime averaged $150. He would have contributed a total of less than $1200 and in less than two years he and his wife would receive in benefits all that he had paid in. And since average life expectancy at age 65 is twelve more years for men and fifteen more for women, the couple would have plenty of time to enjoy their security in old age.

Indeed, a man averaging $150 monthly for the three years prior to becoming 65 in 1940 would receive with wife, aged 65, no less than $46.35 monthly. These, in truth, will be our senior citizens in privilege but this has served to cost the radical pension movements many votes.

Granted that the Federal Government can write inexpensive insurance due to the mass scale of its operations, its freedom from the necessity of advertising and the ease of collections, as compared with private industrial insurance, it can not do it this much cheaper. The difference is represented not only by the employer's contribution but also by a subsidy which the Government thus gives to those unable to afford old age security privately.

Life promises much for old folks during the Forties. Although Social Security payments in many cases won't be large, they will be steady. Need for humiliating requests for charity will diminish; elderly parents may be independent or, if they live with children, they may have the quiet satisfaction of paying their own way. However small, a man's home is his castle and there will be more of such castles for the old folks than at any time in recent American history.

If the Social Security program works out as planned over the years, without interference from radical state pension schemes which would shake if not destroy the whole structure, then a most far reaching step, almost in league boots, will have been taken toward the realization of that destiny for which our forefathers came to these shores and have striven during sixteen full decades; a destiny which is greater than mere standard of living; a destiny which envisages a richer and fuller life for every American to be crowned at its crest with peace and security in old age. That destiny is the American Dream.

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Originally, as the Act was passed in 1935, benefit payments were not to begin until January 1, 1942, but in 1939 the date was moved ahead so that old age security begins next year. No less than $114 millions will be paid out to the old folks during 1940 according to the estimates.

At the same time, Congress decided not to advance the payroll tax from 1 per cent, which both employees and employers pay, to 1½ per cent in 1940 as originally specified. The 1 per cent rate was frozen until 1943 when it is scheduled to rise to 2 per cent each, to 2½ per cent in 1946 and 3 per cent each in 1949. Thus during the Forties we are scheduled to pay increasing taxes on our wages. The question is, will we do it? Will we increase our payroll taxes by three times the present amount, so that the estimated receipts in 1950 from this tax will be $1¾ billions compared with $500 millions in 1940?

We will need either a period of rollicking prosperity or a Spartan-like character to apply these tax increases to ourselves. When Congress refused to raise the tax from 1 to 1½ per cent in 1939, the whole country breathed a sigh of relief, but one can almost hear the moan that will go up from worker and employer alike by 1943 when the tax will be doubled, or by 1949 when the tax will be tripled from its current rate. Yet such increases are necessary if old age security is to be adequately financed and so that each person's insurance or annuity will bear at least some relation to the amount he has contributed.

The 1939 Congress was exceedingly generous, if not lavish, in its appropriations, a peace-time record. In liberalizing old age benefit payments so those reaching sixty-five or over during the Forties would have living benefits, even though they had not had time to contribute much, Congress raised the cost of old age security by about $7 billions over the next fifteen years. This includes, of course, the great liberalization of survivors' benefits for widows and children.

This tremendous increase in the cost of old age security passed almost unnoticed amid the general glee at "freezing" the 1 per cent payroll tax until 1943 and at the decision to do away with the $47 billions reserve fund octopus which would have accumulated under the Act as passed in 1935. Our old age security is now on a pay-as-you-go basis and the reserve will be kept to modest proportions.

PAY-AS-YOU-GO simply means that the payroll taxes must, over a period of years, balance the benefits paid out to the old folks. Actually, until 1955, payroll taxes will be greater than benefit payments. A surplus of about $7 billions will be built up, but it will dwindle fast, as more and more persons reach 65.

Recently the Social Security Board has stopped figuring what old age insurance will cost after 1955. This is as far as it cares to look ahead, possibly because the figures get too astronomical after that. By 1980, it is estimated, no less than fourteen to sixteen per cent of the population will be sixty-five years of age or over.

Those at the present time in the twenty-five to thirty-seven year old age group will thus have lots of company in 1980 and furthermore they will have had plenty of time to build up good benefit payments. The drain on the Treasury will be so great that some economists believe at least another four per cent of payrolls would have to be taxed to pay for it, in addition to the six per cent (three from employees and three from employers) as the present Act specifies. This additional four per cent might not be placed on payrolls but instead income taxes might be raised to supply the necessary revenues. Thus, a minimum of ten per cent of taxes on payrolls is estimated to be necessary to finance old age security eventually.

Fortunately, 1980 is a long way off and it looks as if old age security should have relatively clear sailing until 1955, even if Congress does hedge somewhat on going through with the payroll tax increases per schedule. That means the Forties will be the best decade the old folks have had since we became such a citified country, and that January 1, 1940, will mark the beginning of a new era.

The effect of compulsory old age insurance on our economic system will be marked although one can only speculate now as to the manner and extent it will alter the lives of the rest of us. We do know already that the payroll taxes tend to have a deflationary effect upon business in that they detract from the workers' ability to purchase consumption goods. This was severely illustrated in 1937, the first year of the payroll taxes. These are, really, a sales tax, since the collection of the new taxes was one cause of the sharp decline in business that year. Until 1940, however, no regular benefit payments were paid to the old folks, so that taxes collected before then meant that the amount of the taxes would not be spent on clothing, movies, food or shelter. Beginning in 1940 regular benefit payments will be made and these will increase more than tenfold during the Forties. Thus the old folks will have the money to spend which the rest of us will be paying as taxes. There will be a transferal of purchasing power from young and middle aged to old. At the same time, many families will no longer have to provide for their parents and funds can be spent instead which will tend to more than counterbalance the amounts paid in taxes.

The payroll taxes, particularly by the time they total six percent in 1949, will exert an upward influence on the general price level. Employers will endeavor to pass on their taxes in higher prices and employees will endeavor to obtain higher wages.

Although a few occupations are not covered by the Social Security Act, the vast majority are. Forty-five million gainfully employed are clients of the Federal Government and are building up month by month security for their old age. Farm laborers and domestic servants are the two most important classes not now covered but sometime during the Forties they too may be brought in. Salesmen, who work on a commission, are even included provided they have an employer who contributes

According to the Act, it is actually the first $50 of a person's average monthly income, or $600 per year, that counts most heavily in calculating his benefit at age sixty-five. The formula states that the first $50 of average monthly wages will receive 40 per cent or $20 in monthly benefits at age sixty-five. For any additional monthly wage, up to $250 total, only 10 per cent is granted. And for every year worked, an additional amount equal to 1 per cent of the benefit is given.

A wife reaching age sixty-five is entitled to one-half the pension of her husband. When she becomes a widow her benefit jumps to three quarters. If the widow has children under eighteen she is entitled to a benefit of three quarters of her husband's until her children reach eighteen, and her children, under eighteen, each receive one-half of her husband's benefit.

The benefit payments will work out in this manner. A man aged 40 on January 1, 1937, the date at which employed workers began building up

credits, will receive with his wife at age 65 a monthly benefit payment of $56.25, assuming his monthly salary meantime averaged $150. He would have contributed a total of less than $1200 and in less than two years he and his wife would receive in benefits all that he had paid in. And since average life expectancy at age 65 is twelve more years for men and fifteen more for women, the couple would have plenty of time to enjoy their security in old age.

Indeed, a man averaging $150 monthly for the three years prior to becoming 65 in 1940 would receive with wife, aged 65, no less than $46.35 monthly. These, in truth, will be our senior citizens in privilege but this has served to cost the radical pension movements many votes.

Granted that the Federal Government can write inexpensive insurance due to the mass scale of its operations, its freedom from the necessity of advertising and the ease of collections, as compared with private industrial insurance, it can not do it this much cheaper. The difference is represented not only by the employer's contribution but also by a subsidy which the Government thus gives to those unable to afford old age security privately.

Life promises much for old folks during the Forties. Although Social Security payments in many cases won't be large, they will be steady. Need for humiliating requests for charity will diminish; elderly parents may be independent or, if they live with children, they may have the quiet satisfaction of paying their own way. However small, a man's home is his castle and there will be more of such castles for the old folks than at any time in recent American history.

If the Social Security program works out as planned over the years, without interference from radical state pension schemes which would shake if not destroy the whole structure, then a most far reaching step, almost in league boots, will have been taken toward the realization of that destiny for which our forefathers came to these shores and have striven during sixteen full decades; a destiny which is greater than mere standard of living; a destiny which envisages a richer and fuller life for every American to be crowned at its crest with peace and security in old age. That destiny is the American Dream.

What's YOUR Opinion?

A monthly department conducted by George V. Denny, Jr., founder and moderator of America's Town Meeting of the Air and President of Town Hall, New York

The Question this month:

WHAT SHALL WE DO ABOUT UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES?

Answers by: J. EDGAR HOOVER, FRANK E. GANNETT, SAMUEL DICKSTEIN, HARRY F. WARD, FRANK KNOX, MAURY MAVERICK AND OTHERS

WHATEVER one may think about Congressman Martin Dies of Texas, in his capacity as chairman of the House committee investigating un-American activities, he is forcing the American people to think as they have never thought before about the defense of democracy from within. Stanley High, speaking recently at The New York Herald Tribune Forum, said: "Mr. Dies may not be quite the finest bloom from the hothouse of Texas politics, but he is certainly a handy man with a flit gun."

It is this aspect of the Dies committee's activities that causes *The Washington Post* to comment editorially: "Mr. Dies' investigation is not so much an inquiry as a crusade. A great many citizens who are eager to see subversive activities exposed at the same time refuse to condone persecution of any minority because its views may be unpopular or even repulsive. Apparently the vital distinction between investigation and persecution has escaped Mr. Dies.

"Two beneficial results should flow from the type of inquiry the House authorized. It should convey to the public valuable information as to the background of organizations and individuals seeking public support. And it should aid in enforcement of the law. Those constructive ends will be obscured, however, unless civil liberties are scrupulously respected. Fearless and fair investigation is an essential part of the democratic process. Persecution of minorities is utterly repugnant to that system."

It is around these points that the controversy rages. Everyone seems to respect Mr. Dies' endeavors, but many seem to see in them the potentialities of a "witch hunt."

Mr. Dies himself stated recently in a speech to the New York City Fédération of Women's Clubs: "It is no longer a question of whether we will permit the voters to express their honest views. America is a free country and I would defend with my life the rights of its citizens, but when they take the oath of allegiance and then seek to undermine our government, I say, what amendment in the Constitution protects these spies and agents of foreign governments?" Thus Mr. Dies poses the eternal dilemma of democracy. Where does freedom of speech end and the defense of democracy begin?

This month we sent the question, "What Shall We Do About un-American Activities in This Country?" to representative Americans who have given a great deal of thought and study to this highly important problem. The publisher of the third largest chain of newspapers in America, Frank E. Gannett, president of the Gannett Newspapers, replied:

Views of J. Edgar Hoover

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice

My past and present interest is law enforcement. I believe that respect for law is the highest type of patriotic citizenship. I am of the opinion that any individuals or any organizations at variance with the fundamental principles of government, reflected in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, are a real, continuing threat to democratic institutions in this country. I believe that approved instruments of publicity should be employed by the law-abiding, patriotic citizens of the country, in order that the basic principles of democracy may receive the widest possible emphasis and demonstration to all of our citizens, and that particular stress should be placed upon the inculcation of democratic ways of life and thought in our younger generations. I believe in a strict enforcement of and a rigid adherence to all existing laws.

Frank E. Gannett

"If we were prosperous, as we should be, and if American people were contented, there would be no need to worry about un-American activities in this country.

"I believe that freedom of speech and freedom of the press are vital if democracy is to survive. Therefore I am opposed to restriction by legislation of these fundamental rights. I can't see how under our Constitution we can restrict either of these liberties.

"Like it or not, it seems to me we shall have to permit a person to say what he wishes to say, so long as he does not advocate overthrow of the government by force. Of course he must be willing to assume responsibility in the courts if what he says appears to violate the laws against slander and indecency.

"One of my favorite mottoes is Voltaire's: 'I wholly disapprove of what you say but will defend to the death your right to say it.'

"We shall be safe from un-Amer-

Views of Roy O. Woodruff

Member of Congress from Michigan

I believe Congressman Dies and his committee are doing a splendid thing in bringing to the attention of our people the activities of Communists and all un-American organizations.

Had there been any question in a person's mind as to the advisability of such work as this committee is doing, it would have been eliminated, it seems to me, by the most recent news from Russia to the effect that Premier Molotov has announced to the world at large that it is time for a world revolution and the overthrow of all capitalistic governments. In making this statement I feel certain he did not have in mind only social revolution. I believe the same thing is true of communistic representatives in this country. In my opinion they are plotting revolution here as they are elsewhere and I believe such activity, when it comes, will be one of force and not of persuasion. With this thought in mind, it seems the duty of this government is clear and that every effort should be made to eliminate from the government service any agents of the Kremlin, and to send back to the countries from which they came all aliens advocating such revolution.

I shall cooperate with others of like mind to the end that legislation curbing these activities so far as this can be done under the Constitution be placed upon the statute books.

ican activities only so long as we have freedom of speech and freedom of the press and can fight out in the open those 'isms' that are contrary to our conception of democracy."

Another publisher, head of The Chicago Daily News *and former candidate for Vice-President of the United States on the Republican ticket, Colonel Frank Knox, goes further in calling attention to our economic condition as a breeder of "Un-Americanism":*

Frank Knox

"It is my frank opinion that the threat of Communism practically disappeared when the alliance was announced between Stalin and Hitler. I have never been one of those who got very much excited about the Red menace in this country and I have never been sympathetic with many of the drastic plans for the curtailment of Red activities. The way to intelligently combat an extreme form of radicalism here, whether you call it Communism or Nazism or Fascism, is to foster and promote an economic condition which will make an actuality, or as nearly an actuality as is possible, the American ideal of the United States as a place where every man has his chance.

"When we so restrict and limit our free enterprise system that young men have no outlet for their ambition and little prospect of attaining success, then we can expect a trend toward a Socialistic state or a Communistic state or a Fascist state. I would combat all of these various 'isms' by promoting an economic condition here in the United States which would bring a return to the free enterprise conditions under which America grew strong and prosperous. The tendency toward monopoly and special privilege among great leaders in business and industry is a far more potent threat to ultimate Communism than the puny, piffling efforts of a few crack-brained allies of Moscow or Berlin."

Prominent also in the publishing field is Bruce Bliven, president and editor of The New Republic, *national weekly. "Let them talk" is one theme of Mr. Bliven's statement.*

Bruce Bliven

"The thing to do about un-American activities in this country is to see to it that we have a great many American activities.

"If we start limiting free speech to those who agree with us, then speech is no longer free. If we imitate the methods of the totalitarian countries in trying to combat them, just in so far as we follow their methods they have won a moral victory over us.

"I should like to see the American believers in democracy work just as hard to expound their doctrines in this country as the supporters of totalitarianism now do. Obviously, the first and most important demonstration of the value of democracy is to make it work; to checkmate the anti-democratic actions that go on in this country, even in some high places; to make America such a good home for all its citizens that our patriotism will have a solid basis.

Views of Harry F. Ward

Chairman of the American League for Peace and Democracy

We need no repressive laws against either organizations or propaganda. Our existing statutes provide us ample protection against treasonable activities. Our Supreme Court has drawn the line between word and deed as closely as it can be drawn without destroying the Bill of Rights which protects the essence of our democracy. What the American people need to know about propaganda is whether it is under foreign control or supplied by foreign sources. If the American people are given the facts about the sources of propaganda, their common sense will tell them whether it is subversive and un-American, and they will react to it accordingly. Getting these facts is a job for experts, not politicians. Our experiences with three Congressional committees have shown that we cannot possibly get the necessary facts about propaganda activities from Congressmen with political axes to grind. What we get is a minimum of fact, a maximum of hearsay and opinions, and the smearing of the reputations of a lot of innocent people for political purposes. What we need instead of the Dies committee is a disinterested expert commission, appointed by the President, with fact-finding powers only, instructed to turn all facts concerning the breaking of law over to the Department of Justice as soon as they are uncovered, and to make nothing public except at the times when it delivers its official reports.

"As for 'alien agitators,' I agree with the late Mr. Justice Holmes, whose idea in general was 'let them talk.' If our people can't be trusted to hear both sides and make up their minds, they can't be trusted for anything."

From California, a tireless young Congressman, who was put on the Dies committee, we are told, to temper the conservatism of the majority of its members, suggests four important things that should be done about un-American activities:

Jerry Voorhis

"The first thing that needs to be done if we really want to get rid of 'un-American activities' is to solve the unemployment problem. People

in America will never listen to any appeal to follow a foreign system of dictatorship if they can be shown that there is reasonable hope for a job, security for their families, and a fair measure of economic opportunity under our system of free government.

"The second thing is full publicity. The American people are entitled to know all there is to be known about every organization which acts in America under the direction and control of a foreign power or dictator or which seeks by force and violence to deprive any group of people in the United States of their Constitutional rights.

"The third thing is to require that anyone who desires to take advantages of the liberties our nation affords must use those liberties to the full. By this I mean that no political organization should be allowed to keep secret its membership list or to conceal names of contributors or to put out any propaganda or 'educational' material without indicating exactly where it comes from.

"The fourth thing is that a very sharp line of demarcation must be drawn between movements seeking the solution of America's economic and social problems for America's sake, on the one hand, and un-American activities carried on by foreign-dominated groups for the benefit of foreign powers, on the other hand."

A one-time colleague of Congressman Voorhis and now the storm center of his home city of San Antonio, Mayor Maury Maverick, strikes out in characteristic fashion:

Maury Maverick

"There is no reason why this government should let itself be destroyed by foreign governments. But there is a lot of junk and poppy-cock about so-called un-American activities.

"What we want to do is to extend *American activities* and the main activities under our American Constitutional form of government, our freedom of speech, press and religion. Indeed, it is my opinion that these liberties should be protected for the Reds, White and the Blues—and Blacks, if you know what I mean, for Fascists and Communists, colored people, members of the C.I.O., and even people for President Roosevelt! Select a particular group, deny them freedom of speech or any civil liberty —and *it slaps back in your face.*

"Long time history, but much more important *very recent* history shows this is true. Mr. Hitler bellowed that he was protecting Germany from Communists. He took in the labor unions, the teachers and the veterans. As soon as he got them in his power he abolished their organizations, and their individual civil rights.

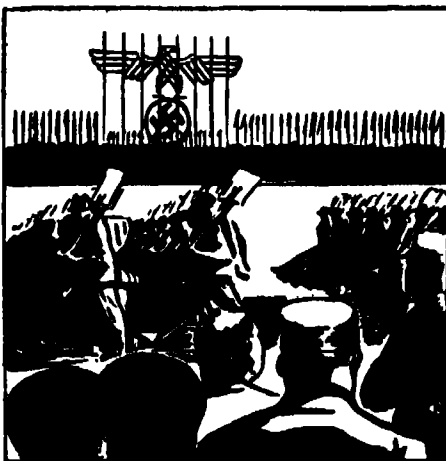
"For bait, he kept talking about Communism. All during the time he was building up this bogey, he was abolishing the last vestige of liberties. He was destroying *every* civil liberty. Then capitalistic or property rights of Jews, and finally everyone. This complete, he starts a war and makes a trade with the Communist power of Russia, which he had been denouncing for twenty-five years.

"The idea of suppression of liberty does not proceed from any country believing in sound constitutional democracy. It originates from two sources: propaganda from the dictatorships, and cowardice in the democracies.

"If any man commit treason or use force or violence, shoot him. But let us be courageous and honorable enough to protect freedom for others or else we all lose it. The only way to *keep* freedom, and the only way to *keep* constitutional democracy, is to protect civil liberties for *everybody.*"

Congressman Samuel Dickstein of New York, however, points out some of the difficulties in exercising our right of free speech if it should "degenerate into license."

Samuel Dickstein

"I believe that freedom of speech is a necessity for a country which like ours is based on the principles of democracy and individual freedom. I do not believe, however, that under the guise of freedom of speech people should be allowed to create a cleavage among our citizenry and array brother against brother. Intolerance surely is not to be propagated under the constitutional right which every individual in this country has to freedom of speech, and this freedom should not be allowed to degenerate into a license to enslave us all."

Young Joseph Cadden, executive secretary of the American Youth Congress, is further interested in this difficulty, as he agrees with Dr. Harry Ward of the American League for Peace and Democracy:

Joseph Cadden

"What is un-American? 'Why,' said the professor, 'anything I don't agree with.' Fantastic as it may seem, this is the definition of 'un-American' in common use. Those who use the term most profusely apply it indiscriminately to all of their enemies.

"These same artists painting 'un-American' all over our scenery are the citizens most fearful of free speech, most fearful of the guarantees made by our Bill of Rights. They are—and have been—yapping for more legislation to curb activities and expression of opinion they don't like.

"Suppression of our civil rights to even the slightest degree will mean the beginning of the end of democracy—the death of Americanism. Our Constitution defines the American form of government clearly. Our laws against sedition, libel and treason are equally clear.

" 'What this country needs is'—a more thorough application of democracy, a more universal practice of Americanism, including the use of the ballot (limited now by apathy, poll taxes and discrimination against Negroes), the observance of civil rights (limited now by overzealous police, local officials and vigilantes).

"Democracy can survive only if the practice of Americanism is extended by an alert citizenry. It can be killed quickly by attempts to curb the rights of citizens with whom we disagree."

A new thought is injected into the controversy by Congressman N. M. Mason of Illinois, a member of the Dies Committee, who states:

N. M. Mason

"President Roosevelt in his annual message to Congress January 4, 1939, said: 'Storms from abroad directly challenge three institutions indispensable to Americans, now as always. The first is religion. It is the

source of the other two—democracy and international good faith. An ordering of society which relegates religion, democracy, and good faith among nations to the background can find no place within it for the ideals of the Prince of Peace. The United States rejects such an ordering, and retains its ancient faith.' We agree unanimously with the President, both in his analysis of the danger that confronts our Nation from these foreign 'isms' and also in his firm decision to reject such 'isms' and retain our 'ancient faith.' But the question that confronts us is 'how can this be done?' I answer this question by saying:

"The germs of Communism, Fascism, or Nazism cannot live, much less thrive and grow, when exposed to the sunlight of Christianity. Christianity is the 'gospel of love'; Communism is the 'gospel of hate.' Christianity elevates and magnifies the individual; Communism magnifies the state and subordinates the individual. Christianity depends upon control from within, self-control; Communism depends upon control from without, control by the state. Christianity is the best antidote for these alien 'isms' that man can apply. Let us apply this God-given remedy for the ills of present-day society. Thus can we make America safe for democracy, and our American youth safe for Christianity."

There will be many who agree with Congressman Mason, and while agreeing will not be willing to overlook the evidence gathered by the Dies committee, as well as that assembled by our Department of Justice agents, particularly by the well-known former agent Leon G. Turrou, who answered our question as follows:

Leon G. Turrou

"In view of the existing situation in Europe and the insidious activities of foreign agents in this country, the enactment of stronger laws should be speedily resorted to.

"I am convinced from my observations and investigations that the sort of people who join subversive organizations are small in number, although that does not make them any the less dangerous. These Hitler-crazed people who cheer the swastika are far from representing the whole community, and this is even the case in Germany. Not long ago I talked with the captain of one of the German liners; a high type of man as are most German captains, and I found that he secretly hated and despised the Hitler regime.

"I have heard some people express amazement when they hear that some of the persons joining the organizations in this country, which represent in reality the totalitarian states, were American citizens. They seem to have the notion that naturalization has the magical property of transforming a treacherous crook into a high-minded and loyal citizen. The truth is that

George V. Denny, Jr.

naturalization oftentimes means only a temporary expedient. Therefore I maintain that, if we are to have a unified nation, all such organizations should be left where they belong, and that is three thousand miles across the Atlantic. They are entirely out of place in the United States. Because of this, and if Congress does its duty, and I believe it will, an end will be put to these organizations, which apparently have far more respect for the heads of dictator countries than for Uncle Sam. We cannot have a divided allegiance in this country if we are to present a solid front to any enemy that threatens us. The swastika flag, or any other flag that is abhorrent to our system of Government has no place here.

"While I am far from advocating any copying of the totalitarian system or changing our democratic forms, there are some things that we must do, even if we dislike them, in order to be a match for enemies who menace, not only from without, but also from within our own gates—and that is to require the registration of all aliens. Democratic England, despite objections from certain groups, introduced this. Why should any honest person, whether he be an alien or American born, be afraid of having his address or even his finger prints on record? More than a million Americans voluntarily have placed their prints in the F.B.I. civil file. I believe the majority of Americans, both native born and naturalized, would approve."

Disagreeing, Congressman John M. Coffee of the state of Washington, comes back with the reply:

John M. Coffee

"Let the Department of Justice handle un-American activities; enshroud all citizens with every safeguard vouchsafed us by the Constitution; define the term 'un-American' and ascertain what are the programs of the Communist, Fascist and Nazi organizations; what is there against which we are afraid in relation to our democracy? I contend that freedom of speech should not be curbed and all civil rights should be aggressively maintained. I oppose the proposal that members or sympathizers of organizations alleged to be dominated by Communists or Fascists be proscribed or persecuted. Who may arrogate to himself, with assurance, that he is right and the other wrong? Radicalism is a relative term. William Jennings Bryan's radicalism of '04 was conservatism in '14; Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom of 1915 was merely in advance of the times.

"My constructive suggestion as to un-American activities is that we solve our own problems here, and the discontent and despair here, by making possible a more equitable distribution of wealth and purchasing power, a cessation of unemployment, a realistic approach to modern economic requirements in a machine age, when the frontier has disappeared and immigration has virtually stopped."

With this view, Mr. Aubrey Williams, Administrator of the National Youth Administration, heartily concurs:

Aubrey Williams

"I deplore all of this name calling. We would do well to devote our available energies to doing something about the deplorable conditions of the millions of unemployed people and the other millions who live in hovels

and slums and toward the solution of our economic and social problems."

From a distinguished columnist, John Temple Graves II, who is widely read throughout the south, comes a slightly different point of view:

John Temple Graves II

"I suggest that unless and until the situation gets really out of hand we leave activities against un-American activities to the industrious Messrs. Dies and Hoover, and concentrate our attention upon our own immortal souls as Americans.

"The alliance of Russia and Germany has caused official Communism and Nazism in the United States to cancel each other in a good measure, and the greater threat to this country is from those Americans who either don't know what America stands for or think it doesn't stand for that any more. In other words from people who, in their hearts, have lost faith in democracy, in the rule of majorities and the rights of minorities, and who couple their righteous pleas for peace and for staying out of the war with suggestions that the totalitarians may have the right idea after all, that democracy hasn't worked and that some sort of discipline is needed in this country to save it from ruinous control by its masses.

"These people—and there are many of them in conditions of wealth and influence—think of themselves as more American than any others, but in their condoning of Hitlerism, their readiness to violate the bill of rights, their increasingly open anti-Semitism, their cynicism about the institutions which make this country, they are very dangerously un-American, and the danger comes of the very fact that their credentials as Americans are so good."

Finally, there is this reply from DeWitt M. Emery, President of the National Small Business Men's Association:

DeWitt M. Emery

"In my judgment it would be a serious mistake to outlaw the Communist or any other party. I'm heartily in favor of permitting the Communist to talk his head off so long as he does it out in the open. On the other hand, I'm just as much in favor of cracking down on him hard when he hides behind a false front.

"If Communism is, as it seems to be, a conspiracy to overthrow our democratic form of government, that's all right so long as it sails under its true colors; but when its real purpose is hidden behind a high sounding front and when it gains control of labor organizations for the sole purpose of promoting a fight between capital and labor, that's putting too much of a strain on good nature and it's high time its activities and the real purpose behind those activities be given a full and complete airing as is being done by the Dies Committee.

"It has often been said that one cannot serve two masters and I think this is particularly true of members of the Communistic party who are employees of our government. In this connection I am fully in accord with the following resolution adopted by our Association at its 1939 Convention in Detroit: 'that all employees of the Federal and State governments, irrespective of their positions, whose past conduct, utterances or affiliations indicate a leaning toward Communism, Nazism, or other ideologies that are at variance with American principles of government, be forthwith dismissed and their positions filled by loyal citizens who believe in and at all times will support our form of government and our American institutions.'"

This might be called an interim discussion, as this investigation will undoubtedly continue and moves will be made during the coming session of Congress to enact some kind of legislation. As we go to press we learn that committee investigators have been interviewing students and faculty members in American colleges and universities. The investigation will go on and the American people will be asked to formulate intelligent opinions about proposed legislation. CURRENT HISTORY will welcome a wide expression of opinion on the part of its readers on this highly controversial and most important subject. What's YOUR Opinion?

EACH week (Thursdays), over N.B.C.'s Blue Network, you hear Mr. Denny and celebrated national figures on America's Town Meeting of the Air, the country's most popular radio forum. In this department in CURRENT HISTORY, Mr. Denny assembles each month a cross-section of opinion on controversial questions by outstanding authorities, as well as a special section of opinion by readers.

We will be glad to have our readers send in their opinions now on this month's question, "What Shall We Do About Un-American Activities?" Letters should not exceed three hundred words and should be mailed before December 12. They should be addressed to:

George V. Denny, Jr.
CURRENT HISTORY
420 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Letters

To the Editor: I certainly have enjoyed your magazine and am passing it around among my friends to read pages 14-44-45 of the Nov. issue.

I have sent out a number of cards to friends to be sure and read the articles in this issue. Don't allow this country to betray their sons again.

Should the people vote on war? Yes. And those who vote for war on foreign soil, when war is declared, must stand up and say, I will go and take my son. Let the boys who are asked to spill their blood have the right to vote for their lives.

If some great flood could envelop all voters for war everywhere, what a grand world this would be to raise a son.

On the lips of every mother, father and son in this land are these words. "We must not enter this war." Don't allow them to sell us out again.

SALLY I. YOUNKINS,
Erie, Pa.

To the Editor: Shall the people vote on war? We might as well ask: Shall the people effectively tie the hands of our State Department, so it cannot function in periods of international friction?

It might be of some constructive purpose if our people voted for popular control of war, provided people in other nations would reciprocate with similar control, and provided they would implement such control so that there would be

(a) Universal disarmament, with military equipment permitted only to an international police force.
(b) Temporary abrogation of popular control in all nations, when any one nation starts re-arming.
(c) An agreement to use the international police force against any nation so re-arming.

What I suggest is that we try to utilize this perfectly natural desire (in the individual, for self-protection) not for the paradoxical purpose of weakening our national defense, but as a means for inducing the people in other nations to join us in a constructive program.

HARRY KRONICK,
Cedar Falls, Iowa

The Problem of Japanese Trade

CLARENCE H. MATSON

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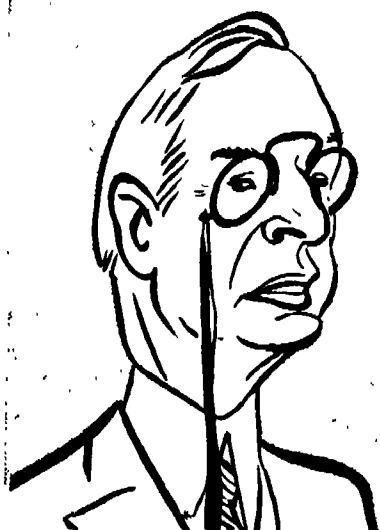
FOLLOWING the Administration's neutrality bill victory, repealing the arms embargo to allow ale of war materials to all nations, enator Key Pittman announced that e will press for action on his resoluon to empower President Roosevelt › embargo vital shipments to Japan ' there is no improvement in Japaese-American relations. As Chairıan of the Senate Foreign Relations ommittee, which gives him influence ı shaping American foreign policy, enator Pittman led the battle for ıe repeal of the arms embargo. He is ow expected to lead a fight for the nbargo against Japan immediately fter the United States-Japanese 'eaty of amity and commerce expires n January 26 if no new treaty is ıen in the making.

While it is generally realized that n embargo against Japan would be ıore a move to aid China than to arass Japan, American business ould be hard hit by such a developıent. And no part of the United tates would be more seriously af-ɜcted than Southern California hose trade with Japan overshadows s trade with any other country.

Exports from Southern California › Japan were greater in 1938 than ıe combined exports to the seven ext largest customers—England, the hilippines, Russia, Australia, Canda, the Dutch West Indies and Chile. hese latter nations bought goods ırough Los Angeles channels mounting to $45,131,892, as comared to Japanese purchases which ɩtaled $45,356,499. This is a large ıare indeed of the total Japanese ırchases from the United States hich in 1937 amounted to nearly 300,000,000.

What would be especially sig-.ficant in the loss of this trade is ıe fact that it affects many parts ! the country—$33,336,044 in purıases of cotton and oil shipped ırough Galveston, Texas; machinery nounting to $61,081,323 exported ıt of New York City from points on ıe Atlantic seaboard; $25,064,170 in ›ods from Washington St

Secretary Hull

ticularly lumber; and $22,536,193 in goods shipped through the Port of San Francisco.

Japan pays Southern California an average of $125,000 a day every day in the year—enough to build a million dollar skyscraper or factory every eight days. Recently, Californians were elated when a contract was secured to build four ships for the American Merchant Marine which would bring the community $7,500,000 in the next two years. But sales to Japan bring in that amount of money every sixty days.

In 1937, the last year for which figures are available, the New York Customs District sold to Japan a little more than did the Los Angeles Customs District, but Japanese trade is far more important to Los Angeles than to New York because it constitutes such a very large portion of the former's total commerce. Now, with American shipping cut off from much of Europe, American business men regard it as essential that our shipping and commerce be expanded in the Pacific rather than diminished. Trade moving to the Pacific across the continent or through the Panama Canal would by its very nature assist the railroads and the intercoastal shipping lines and perhaps give considerable employment to our vast ... of jobless

However, for many months American sympathizers with China have been urging that the United States place an embargo on all exports to Japan which might be useful in Japan's campaign against China—scrap metals, petroleum products, aircraft and similar commodities, but presumably not cotton or other agricultural products. Advocates of this program were unaware, evidently, of the commercial treaty with Japan, as that treaty would have to be scrapped if the United States were immediately to embargo any shipments to Japan without placing a similar embargo against all other nations.

This treaty, signed at Washington in February 1911, provides: "Nor shall any prohibition be imposed by either country on the importation or exportation of any articles from or to the territories of the other which shall not equally extend to the like article imported from or exported to any other country."

The treaty also provides that it shall remain in force for twelve years from July 17, 1911, but that it can be abrogated by either party upon six months' notice. The last paragraph concludes: "In case neither of the contracting parties shall have given notice to the other six months before the expiration of the said period of twelve years of its intention to terminate the treaty, it shall continue operative until the expiration of six months from the date on which either party shall have given such notice."

It was under this latter provision that Secretary Hull, last July, gave notice of this country's intention to terminate the treaty in six months, which would continue it in force until January 1940. Secretary Hull intimated, however, that this notice was given for the purpose of negotiating a new treaty, which should provide for fair and equal treatment of American nationals in China—in other words, protect American business in China against attacks by the Japanese. The evident purpose, therefore, was to bring pressure on Japan to put a stop to affronts against

American interests and nationals in China.

If the Japanese military in China should continue its anti-American activities, the abrogation of the Japanese-American treaty would open the way to embargoes on exports to Japan and the prohibition of imports from Japan, and this would be extremely serious to the United States. Inasmuch as our action is based on Japanese treatment of our interests in China, consistency would dictate that all commodities be treated alike, and hence embargoes should apply to all exports from the United States to Japan.

If this should be done, Southern California would suffer considerably. Last year $22,606,000 worth of cotton was exported through Los Angeles, and $13,401,000 worth of it, or about 255,000 bales, was purchased by Japan. If an embargo were placed on sales to Japan, all of this cotton would have to find another outlet or be destroyed. It would have a most depressing effect on the entire cotton market.

Last year there was also shipped to Japan out of Los Angeles more than $17,000,000 worth of petroleum products. Here, again, the wiping out of the Japanese market would have a depressing effect upon a whole American industry, with California, Texas and Oklahoma hard hit.

But the shutting off of cotton and petroleum shipments from the United States to Japan would not necessarily stop Japan's military operations against China. The same companies that are now supplying China with petroleum products also have extensive sources of supply in other Asiatic countries. In fact, China has been supplied for several years from the Dutch East Indies and elsewhere in the Orient, although Japan has continued to buy from the United States. As for cotton, Japan can buy that product in several countries, particularly Brazil and North China.

Furthermore, Japan can easily turn elsewhere than to the United States for iron and steel, particularly to Manchukuo and Inner Mongolia, where mines are being developed and new smelters installed as quickly as possible.

Where Japan would be hurt by the abrogation of trade with the United States would be in the cutting off of her market for raw silk. The United States purchases at least 70 per cent of Japan's silk, and this is the principal raw material from which she obtains an income. In 1937 the United States paid Japan approximately $100,000,000 for raw silk, and only $7,000,000 to all other countries. No other country in the world can use this silk, and the destruction of $100,000,000 of Japan's credit abroad would cripple that country more than any other one thing. But Japan, so crippled, no longer could be one of our prime customers.

However, in recent months Japan has been endeavoring to induce her

Premier Abe

own people to use more silk and less cotton. Back in 1929 the United States paid Japan more than $350,000,000 for raw silk, but that was before Japan went off the gold standard and the yen was worth double the present value. In that same year the United States paid China approximately $60,000,000 for raw silk also.

Now that Europe is again at war, Japanese economists believe that the American demand for silk will increase; they remember how American workmen wore silk shirts during the last war's boom days. Many American rayon mills, the Japanese feel, may turn to the manufacture of munitions, so that, even if Americans wanted to substitute rayon for silk, they would have difficulty doing so.

The significant fact is that Japan is the third largest customer of the whole United States, being exceeded only by Canada and England. The United States, on the other hand, is Japan's largest customer. The commercial relations of the two, therefore, are closely intertwined, and each is very important to the welfare of the other. From an economic standpoint, it would seem desirable that friendly relations be maintained between the two, and business men hope that pending Japanese-American negotiations may aid in solving the perplexing puzzle of the Orient.

At present, the balance of Japanese-American trade is very much in our favor. This is true both of Southern California as a unit and of the United States as a whole, as is shown by the 1937 export and import figures for the Los Angeles Customs District and for the whole United States:

	Exports	*Imports*
Los Angeles	$ 58,462,546	$ 10,053,059
United States	288,558,170	159,086,088

In addition to the economic aspects of Japanese-American relations, the political or ethical aspects must be considered. While American sympathy generally is on the side of China, there is a wide divergence of opinion, and also a great misunderstanding of facts, both in the United States and in Japan. I have yet to see a fair and impartial statement of the Japanese-Chinese controversy. As is usual in such cases, doubtless both parties are partially at fault and partially in the right.

There are many eminent and fair-minded Japanese who sincerely believe that Japan has a sort of missionary duty to establish peace and order in Eastern Asia. However, it sometimes seems that Japanese authorities undertake a commendable enterprise in the worst possible way.

To get a proper perspective, it is necessary to go back a generation to the time of the Boxer Uprising, when the Chinese attempted to wipe out all foreigners in China, beginning with the Legations in Peking. Since then there have been many minor anti-foreign disturbances in China directed sometimes against the British, at other times against the Japanese, and occasionally against the Americans or other nationalities. In recent years, the Japanese have been the special object of attack, and there have been so-called patriotic societies organized in China to compel a boycott of Japanese goods. China has had a commercial treaty with Japan calling for the protection of the trade and nationals of each country in the territory of the other, but the Chinese national government evidently has not been strong enough to protect the Japanese.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was was educated in Japan, and up to two years ago was understood to be pro-

Japanese in his sympathies. South China, on the other hand, was very anti-Japanese. Just three years ago Chiang Kai-shek sent an army of 50,000 against a large force of Cantonese who had started a civil war against him to compel him to fight Japan, and incidents of this character were continually arising before Chiang Kai-shek was kidnaped by the Red element in northwest China and compelled to enter an agreement with them to fight Japan.

Of course, in Western eyes this does not excuse the action of the Japanese militarists in attempting the conquest of Chinese territory. The latter claim, however, that they are not trying to conquer China, but only to bring about peace and order, and establish a government which can control its people.

Perhaps where Japan made its first diplomatic mistake was that it did not report to the League of Nations and to the signatories to the Nine Power Pact the fact that disorder reigned in China to the detriment of the Japanese. Nevertheless, hostilities are under way, and both countries are being drained of their resources, both financial and human.

In Japan, the military element is so completely in control that the Japanese people are ignorant of many things that are taking place in China. As a consequence, word which I have received from Japanese sources is that the people in Japan were astounded when the United States, without any warning, gave notice of its intention to terminate the commercial treaty with Japan. And when Ambassador Joseph Grew recently told an audience in Tokyo that there was little or no sympathy in the United States for Japan, the news jolted the Japanese back on their heels. Ambassador Grew warned that "the American people regard with growing seriousness the violation of and interference with American rights by Japanese armed forces in China in disregard of treaties and agreements. When such opinion tends towards unanimity, it is a force which a government cannot possibly overlook and will not fail to reflect in its policies and actions."

If the issues in the controversies in the Orient were purely economic, America's sympathies naturally would be on the side of her principal customer, Japan. However, other issues, in the opinion of many people, outweigh economic considerations. The ethical issues involve the mistreatment of Chinese by Japanese militarists; the bombing of hospitals, schools, and non-military cities; the killing of women and children, and the fighting of a "defensive" war on Chinese soil. Those who emphasize these issues overlook the Chinese persecution of Japanese, which preceded the present trouble, and the fact that Western nations have imposed their wills on China for many decades. Extraterritoriality and international concessions have been forced on China on the ground that foreigners could not be protected nor obtain justice in China otherwise. Japan is doing in a wholesale way in China what other nations have done for many years on a smaller scale. From a standpoint of abstract ethics, Japan should withdraw from China and all other nations with foreign concessions should do likewise, although this might not be internationally practical.

The political issues involve the breaking of treaties, encroachment on China's territorial integrity, and the violation of the rights of other nationals.

To the average layman it would appear that Japan has violated, without question, the Nine Power Pact concerning China, which was signed at Washington in February 1922, and which provided that all of the signatories thereto would *respect* but by no means *guarantee*, as is generally thought—the sovereignty, independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China; provide the fullest opportunity to China to develop and maintain an effective and stable government, and aid in maintaining equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in Chinese territory.

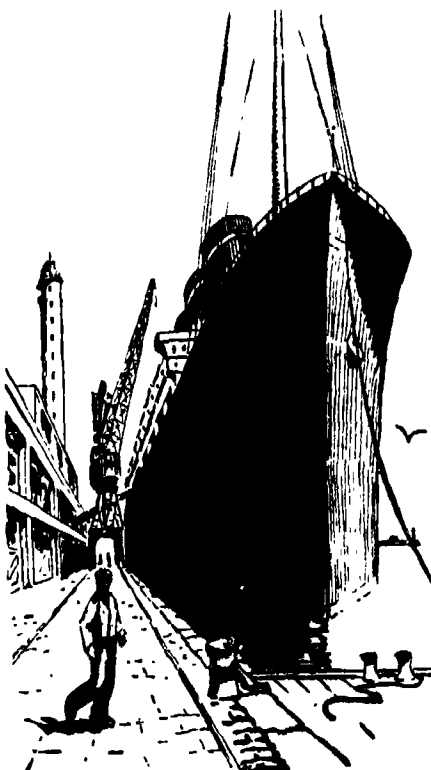
The average American considers that there is no question as to Japan's aggression in China for the purpose of seizing Chinese territory, which would be in violation of the Nine Power Pact. Japan, on the other hand, contends that she is simply endeavoring to establish peace and order in China for the safety of other nationals, as well as for the Chinese themselves, and is not endeavoring to obtain additional territory herself. This, Japan insists, is not a violation of the Nine Power Pact.

There is another aspect of the abrogation of *our* treaty with Japan which should be considered. Many Japanese merchants are now in the United States, and especially in Southern California, with the status of treaty merchants. It is a question how these merchants, and other Japanese residents, many of whom are valued members of our commercial community, would be affected by the abrogation of the treaty.

The first article of this treaty provides: "The subjects or citizens of each of the high contracting parties shall have liberty to enter, travel and reside in the territories of the other, to carry on trade, wholesale and retail, to own or lease and occupy houses, manufactories, warehouses, and shops, to employ agents of their choice, to lease land for residential and commercial purposes, and generally to do anything incident to or necessary for trade upon the same terms as native subjects or citizens, submitting themselves to the laws and regulations there established."

With the abrogation of the treaty of commerce, this protection to Japanese-born people in the United States would be cancelled. The same would hold true for American residents in Japan, and perhaps in all Japanese-dominated territory in Asia—which means all occupied areas in China, where we do most of our trade.

One can hardly imagine that drastic steps would be taken by one nation against the nationals of the other, except in case of war, but it cannot be denied that if embargoes follow the abrogation of this treaty, it will be the first step in an economic war, at

(Continued on page 57)

Chronology of the European War

OCTOBER 20—Adolf Hitler consults his advisers on measures to take in retaliation against completion of the new Anglo-French-Turkish mutual assistance pact. A threat of war to a finish on the Western Front is Germany's retort to reports that Hitler is considering another peace move.
—Moscow denies that the Turkish Pact is a set-back to the Soviet Union.
—Inspired by support accorded their country following a conference of Scandinavian powers, the Finns prepared to take a firmer stand against Russia's demands for concessions in Finland.
—President Roosevelt warns that America's sea frontier will extend as far as the nation's interests require.
—In a statement regarded as an answer to U.S. Ambassador Grew's strong speech condemning Japan, Foreign Minister Nomura declares no third power can interfere with Japan's determination to bring about a New Order in Asia.
—The India Congress party prepares to call for the resignation of eight of the eleven provincial governments in British India in protest against London's decision to defer action on a central government for India until the end of the war.

OCTOBER 21—Summoning Nazi party leaders from all over the country, Hitler orders his aircraft and navy to intensify their warfare "in all oceans."
—A German Coast Guard vessel hits a floating mine off Denmark and blows up with a loss of seventy-one men. A Swedish steamer and a Rumanian oil-carrier are sunk at sea. The total of merchant vessels of all nations sunk to date is set at seventy-seven.
—Finland sends a delegation back to Moscow to receive Soviet demands.

OCTOBER 22—Following the abandonment of the Warndt Forest by French troops, without the knowledge of the Nazis, the lines on the Western Front are about what they were when the war began.
—The fifth raid in a week off the Scottish Coast is thwarted by British planes, which shoot down a German bomber.
—As Moscow resumes negotiations with the Finns, the Finnish Cabinet at Helsingfors sends a new defense budget to the Diet.

OCTOBER 23—The U.S. Maritime Commission freighter *City of Flint* is reported to have been seized by a German cruiser and sailed under the Nazi flag to the North Russian port of Murmansk.
—Inactivity on the Western Front results in a relaxation of blackout restrictions in parts of France least exposed to air raids.
—Plans for a neutral bloc of Southeastern European countries reach the negotiation stage in Rumania with Italy seen behind the program, but Bulgaria continues its pan-Slav policy and moves closer to Russia.
—Secrecy veils talks between the Finnish mission and Josef Stalin and Foreign Commissar Molotov in the Kremlin.

OCTOBER 24—The United States government seeks further information on the seizure of the *City of Flint*, preparing to demand that the Soviet Union release the vessel.
—Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop, addressing Nazi party veterans in Danzig, says that the war was "forced upon Germany" by the British, who dragged the French in, and that the Reich will now "fight to the finish."
—Striking a snag in the negotiations with Moscow over Russian demands on their country, the Finnish delegation leaves for Helsingfors for new instructions.
—A reported plot to sabotage the British liner *Queen Mary* and the French liner *Normandie*, the largest and most luxurious vessels in the world which have been tied up in New York since the beginning of the war, causes police to strengthen their guard at the piers.

OCTOBER 25—The Soviet Foreign Office informs the United States that the crew of the *City of Flint* is safe aboard ship and that the vessel had been sailed into Murmansk because of "engine trouble."
—Moscow informs London that it refuses to recognize the validity of the list of products which Britain classifies as contraband, declaring that the list violates international law and impairs the interests of neutrals.
Germany hints, through Field Marshal Goering's newspaper, that the time has come when war "must rain down in full force upon the British Isles."
—The National Union government in Quebec, headed by Premier Maurice Duplessis, who called a general election to protest against infringement of the Province's autonomy by the federal government's war moves, is swept out of office.

OCTOBER 26—The U.S. State Department presses Russia to turn over the *City of Flint* to her own crew and release her under the American flag. It is reported that the *Flint* was captured, disguised and sailed under the Danish flag, with a time bomb in the engine room in case of capture.
—Prime Minister Chamberlain reveals to the House of Commons that the German pocket battleship *Deutschland* is at large on the high seas and at the same time endorses the view that Russia's invasion of Poland was necessary for the Soviet's safety.
—President Roosevelt denounces talk of sending the boys of American mothers to fight on the battlefields of Europe and assures the nation that the U.S. is neutral and intends to remain so.
—Sir Samuel Hoare, Lord Privy Seal, deplores the drift toward non-cooperation by Gandhi and his followers in India.

OCTOBER 27—The United States Senate, by a vote of sixty-three to thirty adopts the Pittman resolution repealing the arms embargo and placing commerce between this country and belligerent nations on a "cash-and-carry" basis. London and Paris are enthusiastic over this action. Berlin and Moscow criticize it severely.
—In the first encyclical of his reign Pope Pius XII delivers a powerful attack upon totalitarianism and racism and denounces the dictators for the violation of treaties, the ruin of Poland and forcible transfer of populations.
—Washington protests to Moscow against lack of co-operation shown by the Soviet in withholding official information regarding the *City of Flint*.
—British naval authorities admit that two of Germany's three fast pocket battleships have been roaming the high seas for a month.

OCTOBER 28—Moscow insists that the *City of Flint* has been released, is bucking the British blockade and heading for a German port.
—Germany claims success in the first two months of the war at sea, reporting more than 500,000 tons of British merchant shipping sunk, but London places the figure at 210,021 tons.
—Four persons are believed to have been killed and many wounded in street clashes in Prague as that city observes the twenty-first anniversary of Czech independence by going into mourning over its domination by Germany.
—Finland drafts another answer to Soviet demands in the Baltic, while in the Balkans diplomats are active in attempts to halt spreading Soviet influence.
—Administration leaders in Washington plan to rush the arms embargo repeal through the House of Representatives.

OCTOBER 29—While Washington worries over the crew of the *Flint*, it is revealed that Britain and France have stopped and searched eighteen American ships, and that ship owners have asked the State Department to protest at the long delays.
—Moscow awaits the Finnish reply to its demands, and meanwhile extends its domination on the Baltic by marching troops into Latvia.
—The Western Front is calm and France pulls 100,000 troops out of the line. There are rumors that German hesitation on the Western Front is due to internal trouble.

OCTOBER 30—The *City of Flint* puts in at Tromsoe, Norway, accompanied by a Norwegian warship, and leaves after four hours.
—Over the protest of the German gov-

ernment, the Mixed Claims Commission awards $50,000,000 in the Black Tom and Kingsland cases—cases of German sabotage in the U.S. during the World War—in favor of American claimants, after more than fifteen years of litigation.

OCTOBER 31—Premier Molotov, addressing the Supreme Soviet, accuses the Allies of fighting the war to safeguard their colonies, and praises Germany as a seeker of peace. He berates President Roosevelt for intervening in the Russo-Finnish controversy and scores Washington on the impending arms embargo repeal.
—Italy appears to recede from Germany when Premier Mussolini removes six Cabinet ministers, the army and air chiefs and the secretary of the Fascist party, who were regarded as pro-German.

NOVEMBER 1—The White House replies to Premier Molotov's accusations that Washington is meddling in European affairs by charging that his speech was timed to sway the House vote on the arms embargo.
—The Scandinavian countries are alarmed over the Molotov speech. Finland announces that she will resist all Russian demands for bases on Finnish soil. The Finnish port of Hangoe, said to be sought by Russia as a naval base, is mined.
—An abrupt reversal of Tokyo's willingness to approach the American Ambassador for conferences is believed to be the result of pressure by the army, which insists that the New Order in East Asia must be established first.
—Australia drafts a new war budget of $250,000,000 for defense, calling for seven warships, new munitions factories and an increased airforce.

NOVEMBER 2—The vote in the House of Representatives to lift the embargo on shipment of arms to warring nations is 243 to 181. The measure is sent to conference to iron out differences between the Senate and House versions. Meantime, European war orders in the U.S. reach a total of $1,000,000,000.
—The Finnish delegation returns to Moscow for further talks.
—Replying to a speech by Ambassador Grew on October 19, the Institute of the Pacific, whose members are said to include many high ranking Japanese, issues a statement in Tokyo declaring that the kind of peace which the United States desires in the Far East would be "impossible to maintain."

NOVEMBER 3—The Norwegian government releases the *City of Flint* and interns the German crew which was attempting to run the captured freighter through the British blockade. The vessel had put into the port of Haugesund, supposedly to summon a doctor for one of the American sailors.
—President Roosevelt strikes back at Premier Molotov and the Soviet Foreign Office. Commenting on a congressional proposal to recall Ambassador Steinhardt from Moscow, he says he never believed bad manners should beget bad manners.
—Congress gives final approval to the neutrality bill repealing the arms embargo and adjourns. The nation's trans-Atlantic shipping quickly feels the effect of the new laws as the sailings of three liners from New York are cancelled.

NOVEMBER 4—After signing the joint resolution adopted by Congress lifting the arms embargo, President Roosevelt proclaims a combat area in the European war zone that is to be barred to American nationals and ships. American shipping men see the collapse of their Atlantic service.

Berlin, angered at Norway's internment of the German prize crew of the *City of Flint*, terms the Norwegian action a breach of international law and demands the ship's return. The freighter, meantime, proceeds to Bergen, Norway, with her cargo intact.

The U.S. State Department denies a report that Ambassador Grew had warned Foreign Minister Nomura that the United States would exert economic pressure on Japan if Japan insists on its present policy in China. There are said to be secret moves in Tokyo in favor of compromises between Japan and the United States and between Japan and Britain, despite serious surface appearances.

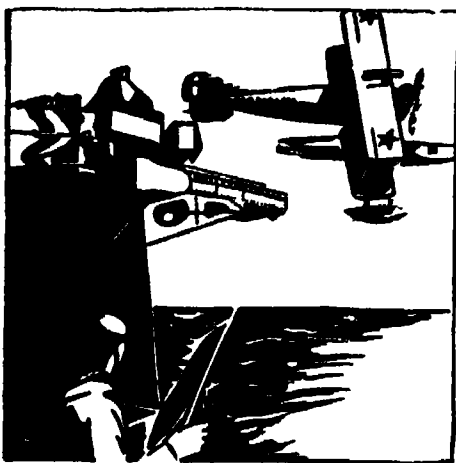
NOVEMBER 5—Norway rejects Germany's demand for the return of the *City of Flint* and release of the interned prize crew.
—Berlin launches a furious attack on the United States for repeal of the arms embargo, charging that "war profiteer motives" are to blame.
—Attacking President Roosevelt as "a spokesman for Wall Street," and a reconciled ally of "economic royalists," Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist party in the U.S., calls upon the American Reds to achieve "socialism" in the United States "by a quick transition." His remarks were made in a speech in Boston celebrating the twenty-second anniversary of the establishment of the Soviet Union.
—The Marquess of Linlithgow, Viceroy of India, announces that talks with Indian leaders have failed to solve differences over the country's future, that there is no choice left but to use emergency powers in governing the country which had demanded greater independence in return for assistance to Britain in the present war.

NOVEMBER 6—Premier Molotov issues a call for the overthrow of capitalism and pledges the Soviet to an unswerving policy of peace. He lists Britain and France as imperialist powers and calls upon the workers of the world to revolt.
—King Leopold of Belgium confers with Queen Wilhelmina of Holland at the Hague in a surprise visit.
—Because the neutrality law bars American ships from the important sea lanes, a petition by the United States lines for permission to transfer nine of its vessels to the Panama flag is filed with the Maritime Commission.
—Senator Key Pittman indicates that he will press for action on his resolution to empower President Roosevelt to embargo vital shipments to Japan after the U.S.-Japanese Treaty of Amity and Commerce expires in January. Senator Vandenberg later warns against making "new threats of a one-sided punitive embargo against Japan—too easily the first step toward war itself."
—Mohandas K. Gandhi declares that India's policy of non-co-operation with Great Britain is under way following the resignation of the Ministries in eight of eleven provinces.

NOVEMBER 7—Queen Wilhelmina and King Leopold send identical notes to Britain, France and Germany tendering their offices "before the war breaks out on the Western Front in all its violence," but there is every indication that peace moves will fail.
—Foreign Secretary Halifax of Britain declares that the Allies are fighting to end "the insane armed rivalry and bring about a new world order."
—The Italian press, aroused by the Comintern manifesto attacking imperialist war mongers, attacks Moscow and warns Russia to keep away from the Balkans.

President Roosevelt delays the transfer of eight American ships to the Panama flag. Secretary Hull criticizes the transfer as impairing the integrity of the neutrality law.

NOVEMBER 8—A few minutes after Hitler addresses Nazi "old guard" leaders in the Munich beer hall on the sixteenth anniversary of his first unsuccessful putsch, a time bomb explodes in the attic of the beer hall, and six are killed and sixty injured when the ceiling crashes. Hitler and all his aides had just departed. The government blames "foreign instigators"—meaning Britain—and offers a $200,000 reward for clues to the identity of the bombers. The blast makes Hitler's speech, in which he warned that the Reich is prepared for a five-year war, minor news of the day.
—Britain gives careful consideration to the Netherlands-Belgium peace offer. In Paris the proposal is expected to die and the French fear the Netherlands and Belgium are in danger of invasion following intensification of German patrol activity on the Western Front.
—Winston Churchill tells Commons Britain will win the warfare at sea but concedes that Germany is turning out two U-boats a week and that a hundred will be available by January.

NOVEMBER 9—One person is killed and several Netherlanders are kidnapped in a clash on the German-Dutch border. Plans for the inundation of the Netherlands are advanced and banks start sending gold to the west.
—Prime Minister Chamberlain sees little hope that the Belgium-Netherland peace proposal will be accepted by Berlin.
—While German police round up suspects in the beer hall bombing, London likens the explosion to the 1933 Reichstag fire but French sources regard the

blast as an act of Hitler enemies within Germany.
—Soviet-Finnish negotiations continue.

NOVEMBER 10—The United States Consulate in Amsterdam advises Americans to leave Holland.
—The Finns and Russians reach a deadlock over Soviet demands.
—Pope Pius suggests the formation after the war of a stable and fruitful international organization.

NOVEMBER 11—Official German quarters admit that the bulk of the German army is concentrated in the west ready for an attack, with troops massed in an area 30 miles deep and 375 miles long, extending north and south of the Franco-German border.
—In Berlin, Hitler's own newspaper, the *Voelkischer Beobachter*, intimates the German war machine may "strike at any moment." The German press generally was defiant on the twenty-first anniversary of the armistice which marked the defeat of the Reich in the World War.
—Little actual fighting is seen on Armistice Day on the Western Front.
—Finland is denounced as "obstinate" in a Moscow broadcast.
—President Roosevelt, in an address from the White House to the Virginia Military Institute, calls for "a new and better peace" and some observers see a possible move to intervene in the war in Europe.

NOVEMBER 12—King George, in reply to the Netherlands-Belgium peace proposals, promises "earnest consideration" for any proposals that conform with Britain's war aims. President Lebrun of France declares the basis of peace must be "reparation of the injustices that force has imposed on Austria, Czecho-Slovakia and Poland."
—Winston Churchill taunts Hitler as a "cornered maniac" in a broadcast and defies him to fight.
—The Finnish-Soviet talks break down. The Soviet press warns that Moscow will find a way to enforce its wishes "for the defense of Russia."
—The Foreign Ministers of Belgium and the Netherlands meet in a surprise conference and discuss joint defense in the event of aggression.
—Because of "reasons of military convenience arising from the conflict in Europe," Britain announces withdrawal of her troops from North China, leaving only one hundred men to keep order. The move reflects improved Anglo-Japanese relations and forecasts possible recognition of the new Chinese Central government Japan is setting up under Wang Ching-wei.

NOVEMBER 13—Adamant in their refusal to grant Soviet demands on their country, the Finnish delegates return to Helsingfors from Moscow.
—Premier Dirk Jan de Greer of Holland avers in a broadcast that the Netherlands is not menaced by Germany and says that "foreign sources" had raised the alarm of a German invasion.
—Ireland protests to the State Department in Washington that it is injured by the United States government's action in barring American ships from that area and denies that it is a "combat zone."
—Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist party of the United States, defends Russia as a peace-maker at a celebration in New York City of the twenty-second anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Union.

NOVEMBER 14—An unnamed British destroyer is sunk after striking a German mine, according to the British Admiralty, which admits that it is the fifth ship of the British navy lost since the outbreak of the war.
—Finnish officials report a series of land and air incidents along the Russian frontier.
—President Roosevelt indicates he will veto the Maritime Commission's approval of plans to transfer eight ships to Panama registry.
—Foreign Minister Ribbentrop informs Belgium and the Netherlands that Germany refuses the offer of the Belgian King and the Queen of the Netherlands to mediate in the war.
—Combined units of the Japanese army and navy land near Pakhoi, where they attack Chinese forces. The capture of Pakhoi, three hundred miles southwest of Hong Kong, is regarded as a threat to French Indo-China, less than one hundred miles away, and a serious menace to the principal arms route remaining to the Chinese Nationalists.

NOVEMBER 15—The Moscow radio charges that the Finnish "ruling classes" are propagating hatred of the Soviet.
—A new edition of *Jane's Fighting Ships* indicates that the Allies are far superior to Germany in naval power, and reveals that one of Germany's three pocket battleships was hit by British bombs in the first days of the war.
—President Roosevelt, laying the cornerstone of the Thomas Jefferson memorial in Washington, condemns government by dictatorship.

NOVEMBER 16—Declaring talk of peace a thing of the past, Berlin declares its war aims are the destruction of Britain as a world power.
—The Italian press warns Russia against any invasion of the Balkans and blames the Allies for the fact that the Soviet has been given an entre into Europe.
—Sir John Simon, Chancellor of the Exchequer, tells the House of Commons that the position of the Allies is stronger than ever because of the passage of the neutrality bill by the United States.

NOVEMBER 17—Following a night of terror, hundreds of Czech students are arrested, and nine are killed by Nazi firing squads in retaliation for recent anti-German demonstrations in Prague.
—At a meeting in London of their leading civil and military figures, Britain and France create the Allied Supreme Economic Council to pool their purchasing.
—The French newspaper *Paris-Soir* reports that German warships are in the Gulf of Finland to aid Russia in setting up an economic blockade of Finland.
—The Domei news agency declares powerful elements are urging the Japanese Government to conclude a non-aggression pact with Soviet Russia.

NOVEMBER 18 — Nazis execute three more in Prague, as martial law is established. President Hacha broadcasts warning that further sacrifice is useless.
—North Sea mine sinks Dutch liner, *Simon Bolivar*, with probable loss of 140. No Americans are aboard.
—German work day in essential industries is increased from 8 to 10 hours, with the ninth and tenth hours "tax free."
—Japan invades Kwangsi Province, the fourteenth of China's twenty-four to be attacked since July, 1937.

NOVEMBER 19—Four more ships are sunk off gale-swept English coast, Italy suffering her first loss in the *Grazia.* Others were British, Swedish, and Jugoslav.
—*Tass*, official Soviet News Agency, announces that preliminary negotiations toward a Soviet-Japanese trade pact have begun successfully.
—Mysterious blast rips hole in Standard oil tanker in Bayonne, New Jersey. Charges of sabotage are being investigated.
—Brief flare up of war on the Western front near Luxembourg border subsides quickly.

Notes and Documents

Speeches By Foreign Statesmen

Joachim von Ribbentrop

On October 24, in a speech at Danzig, now a part of Germany, the German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop discussed Germany's attitude toward Britain, Italy, the United States, and, particularly, Russia, with which he recently completed a world-shaking nonaggression pact. Extracts follow:

Britain has, during recent years, with unparalleled tenacity, attempted to oppose every step undertaken by Germany in her foreign affairs. This is all the more astonishing, since from the outset Germany on her part made every conceivable effort to establish reasonable relations with the Western democracies—namely, France and Britain.

Naturally enough, the Fuehrer then drew the obvious conclusion from the British attitude and from then on based Germany's foreign policy on the sober realization of political actualities. In so doing he attached special importance to the countries whose interests coincided with Germany's.

Rapprochement with these countries was sought and their friendship secured. In this way true and sincere friendship arose between Germany on the one hand and the Italian Empire in the Mediterranean and Japan in the Far East on the other hand.

Soviet Russia has recently also joined the ranks of the states that are friendly toward Germany.

As the Fuehrer said in his last Reichstag speech, the conclusion of the German-Russian nonaggression pact and later the friendship pact meant a complete change in German foreign policy.

The previous traditional friendly relationship that brought the two great peoples such blessings and good fortune has now been restored and there is every reason to hope that this friendship will grow still closer.

As far as Germany's relations with America are concerned, there is no possibility of any difference ever arising between the two countries. On the contrary, Germany is precisely the country among all others that has faithfully observed and respected the Monroe Doctrine.

Germany has no interests to stand up for on the entire American Continent unless it be to develop as extensive trade as possible with all states on that continent.

Fellow countrymen, permit me to say a few words of Britain's war guilt.

Permit me to turn first to France: I believe that throughout the entire world there is today not the slightest doubt that the French people did not want war and that the French people would sooner have peace today than tomorrow, and that this war was forced upon them with unparalleled cunning, cynicism and brutality on the part of Britain and her henchmen in Paris and in the French government.

The aim of the British government was obviously to bring Britain diplomatically and politically into such irreconcilable opposition to Germany that it would be possible for the government at their discretion to start a war against Germany at whatever moment seemed propitious.

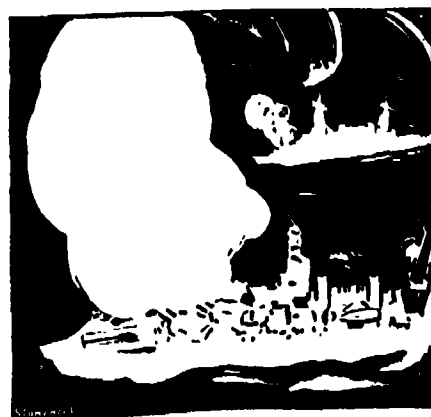
By the guarantee to Poland, Mr. Chamberlain created such a situation.

British warmongers maintain that Germany is striving for world domination. This statement in itself is a deliberate falsehood, and a stupid one at that, for every schoolboy today knows that there no longer is such a thing as world domination and that it is hardly likely that there will ever be one; but coming from the British this claim is nothing but a piece of insolence.

If I were to read out to you a list enumerating the peoples dominated by Britain, I should have to keep you here at least for an hour longer.

In so doing the British government are playing a dangerous game with the future of their empire. If the British government continue in this policy which, when we bear in mind the interests of all mankind, can only be described as criminal, they will go down in history as the grave diggers of the British Empire.

The British Prime Minister has proclaimed removal of the German government. I will refrain from proclaiming removal of the British government, for I am absolutely convinced that in the course of events the British people, who were goaded into this war by British war mongers contrary to their own will, will see to that of their own accord.

Fully conscious that right is on her side, and that up to the end she did everything in her power to avoid this utterly senseless war that was forced upon her, Germany will fight this war to the finish, backed by the tremendous impetus of the whole nation.

Premier Molotov

On October 31, Premier and Foreign Commissar Molotov of the Soviet Union addressed the Supreme Soviet on Russia's foreign relations. Like Foreign Minister Ribbentrop of Germany a week earlier, he stressed the sensationally altered relations between Russia and Germany. Extracts from Molotov's speech follow:

Comrade Deputies:

There have been important changes in the international situation during the past two months.

Since the conclusion of the Soviet-German non-aggression pact on August 23, an end has been put to the abnormal relations that have existed between the Soviet Union and Germany for a number of years.

Instead of the enmity that was fostered in every way by certain European powers, we now have a rapprochement and the establishment of friendly relations between the U.S.S.R. and Germany. This radical change in relations between the Soviet Union and Germany, the two biggest States in Europe, was bound to have its effect on the entire international situation.

Second, mention must be made of the defeat of Poland in war and the collapse of the Polish State. The ruling circles of Poland boasted quite a lot about the "stability" of their State and the "might" of their army. However, one swift blow to Poland, first by the German army and then by the Red army, and nothing was left of this ugly offspring of the Versailles treaty which had existed by oppressing non-Polish nationalities.

Third, it must be admitted that the big war that has flared up in Europe has caused radical changes in the entire international situation. It is a war begun as a war between Germany and Poland and turned into a war between Germany on the one hand and Britain and France on the other.

The war between Germany and Poland ended quickly owing to the utter bankruptcy of the Polish leaders. As we know, neither the British nor the French guarantees were of help to Poland. To this day, in fact, nobody knows what these "guarantees" were.

The war between Germany and the Anglo-French bloc is only in its first stage and has not yet been really developed. It is nevertheless clear that a war like this was bound to cause radical changes in the situation in Europe and not only in Europe. In connection with these important changes in the international situation, certain old formulas, which we employed but recently and to which many people are so accustomed, are now obviously out of date and unapplicable.

Today, as far as the European great powers are concerned, Germany is in the position of a State that is striving for the earliest termination of the war and for peace, while Britain and France, which but yesterday were declaiming against aggression, are in favor of continuing the war and are opposed to the conclusion of peace. The roles, as you see, are changing. •

Efforts of the British and French governments to justify their new position on the grounds of their undertakings to Poland are, of course, obviously unsound. Everybody realizes that there can be no question of restoring the old Poland.

The ruling circles of Britain and France have been lately attempting to depict themselves as champions of the democratic rights of nations against Hitlerism, and the British government has announced that its aim in the war with Germany is nothing more nor less than "the destruction of Hitlerism." It amounts to this, that the British, and with them the French supporters of the war, have declared something in the nature of an "ideological" war on Germany, reminiscent of the religious wars of olden times.

But there is absolutely no justification for a war of this kind. One may accept or reject the ideology of Hitlerism as well as any other ideological system; that is a matter of political views.

But everybody would understand that an ideology cannot be destroyed by force, that it cannot be eliminated by war. It is, therefore, not only senseless but criminal to wage such a war as the war for "the destruction of Hitlerism," camouflaged as a fight for "democracy."

Great Britain, with a population of 47,000,000, possesses colonies with a population of 480,000,000. The colonial empire of France, whose population does not exceed 42,000,000, embraces a population of 72,000,000 in the French colonies. The possession of these colonies, which makes possible the exploitation of hundreds of millions of people, is the foundation of the world supremacy of Great Britain and France. It is the fear of Germany's claim to these colonial possessions that is at the bottom of the present war of England and France with Germany, who has grown substantially stronger lately as the result of the collapse of the Versailles treaty.

The non-aggression pact concluded between the Soviet Union and Germany bound us to maintain neutrality in case of Germany's participating in war. We have consistently pursued this course, which was in no wise contradicted by the entry of our troops into territory of the former Poland, which began September 17.

It is known that our troops entered the territory of Poland only after the Polish State had collapsed and actually ceased to exist. Naturally, we could not remain neutral toward these facts, since as a result of these events we were confronted with urgent problems concerning the security of our State.

The territory that has passed to the U.S.S.R. is equal in area to a large European State. Thus the area of Western White Russia is 108,000 square kilometers and its population is 4,800,000. The area of Western Ukraine is 88,000 square kilometers and its population 8,000,000. Hence together the territory of Western Ukraine and Western White Russia that has passed to us has an area of 196,000 square kilometers and a population of about 13,000,000 of whom more than 7,000,000 are Ukrainians, and more than 3,000,000 White Russians, more than 1,000,000 Poles and more than 1,000,000 Jews.

As you know, the Soviet Union has concluded pacts of mutual assistance with Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania that are of major political significance. The principles underlying all these pacts are identical. They are based on mutual assistance between the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania on the other, and they include military assistance in case any of these countries is attacked.

In view of the special geographic position of these countries, which are, in a way, approaches to the U.S.S.R., particularly from the Baltic, these pacts allow the Soviet Union to maintain naval bases and airfields in specified parts of Estonia and Latvia, and, in the case of Lithuania, the pact provides for defense of Lithuanian borders jointly with the Soviet Union.

The special character of these mutual assistance pacts in no way implies any interference by the Soviet Union in the affairs of Estonia, Latvia or Lithuania, as some foreign newspapers are trying to make out.

Our relations with Finland are of a special character. This is to be explained chiefly by the fact that in Finland there is a greater amount of outside influence on the part of third powers. In a certain sense it may be said that in this case the problem of the Soviet Union's security is even more acute inasmuch as Leningrad, which after Moscow is the most important city of the Soviet State, is situated at a distance of only thirty-two kilometers from the Finnish border. This means that the distance of Leningrad from the border of a foreign State is less than that required for modern long-range guns to shell it. On the other hand, the approaches to Leningrad from the sea also depend to a large extent on whether Finland, which owns the entire northern shore of the Gulf of Finland and all the islands along the central part of the Gulf of Finland, is hostile or friendly toward the Soviet Union. In view of this, as well as in view of the present situation in Europe, it may be expected that Finland will display necessary understanding.

I must, however, inform you that even the President of the United States of America considered it proper to intervene in these matters, which one finds it hard to reconcile with the American policy of neutrality. In a message to Comrade Kalinin, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, dated October 12, Mr. Roosevelt expressed the hope that the friendly and peaceful relations between the U.S.S.R. and Finland would be preserved and developed.

One might think that matters are in better shape between the United States and, let us say the Philippines or Cuba, who have long been demanding freedom and independence from the United States and cannot get them, than between the Soviet Union and Finland, who has long ago obtained both freedom and political independence from the Soviet Union.

As you know, the government of Turkey has preferred to tie up its destinies with a definite group of European powers, belligerents in the present war. It has concluded a pact of mutual assistance with Great Britain and France, who for the past two months have been waging war on Germany.

Turkey has thereby definitely discarded her cautious policy of neutrality and has entered the orbit of the developing European war.

Whether Turkey will not come to regret it we shall not try to guess. It is only incumbent on us to take note of these new factors in the foreign policy of our neighbor and to keep a watchful eye on the developments of events.

There has recently been certain improvement in Soviet-Japanese relations. The symptoms of this improvement have been observable since the recent conclusion of the Moscow agreement, as the result of which the well-known conflict on the Mongolian-Manchurian border was liquidated.

As for the conflict in question, it was liquidated by the Soviet-Japanese agreement concluded in Moscow on September 15 and peace has been fully restored on the Mongolian-Manchurian border.

Our country, as a neutral country that is not interested in the spread of war, will take every measure to render the war less devastating, to weaken it and to hasten its termination in the interests of peace. From this standpoint the decision of the American government to lift the embargo on the export of arms to belligerent countries raises justified misgivings. It can scarcely be doubted that the effect of this decision will not be to weaken war and hasten its termination, but on the contrary to intensify, aggravate and protract it. Of course, this decision may insure big profits for American war industries. But one asks, can this serve as any justification for lifting the embargo on the export of arms from America? Clearly it cannot.

Peace Proposal and Replies

On November 7 Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands and King Leopold of Belgium made a proposal for peace to Britain, France and Germany. Extracts:

At this hour of anxiety for the whole world, before the war breaks out on the Western Front in all its violence, we have the conviction that it is our duty once again to raise our voice.

Some time ago the belligerent parties have declared they would not be unwilling to examine a reasonable and well-founded basis for an equitable peace.

As the sovereigns of two neutral States having good relations with all their neighbors we are ready to offer them our good offices. If this were agreeable to them we are disposed to facilitate by every means at our disposal that they might care to suggest to us and in a spirit of friendly understanding to ascertain the elements of an agreement to be arrived at.

This, it seems to us, is the task we ıave to fulfil for the good of our peoples ınd in the interest of the whole world.

The reply of King George VI of Britıin to this peace proposal was made on Vovember 12. Extracts:

The immediate occasion leading to our lecision to enter the war was Germany's ıggression against Poland. But this ggression was only a fresh instance of ierman policy toward her neighbors. 'he larger purposes for which my peoles are now fighting are to secure that Jurope may be redeemed, *in the words* f my Prime Minister in the United Kingdom, "from perpetually recurring ear of German aggression so as to enble the peoples of Europe to preserve neir independence and their liberties" nd to prevent for the future resort to orce instead of the pacific means in ettlement of international disputes.

The elements which, in the opinion f my governments, must form part of ny settlement emerge clearly and disnctly from these declarations of policy. Should Your Majesty be able to communicate to me any proposals from Germany of such a character as to afford real prospect of achieving the purpose I have described above I can say that my governments would give them their most earnest consideration.

The reply of President Lebrun of France was also made on November 12. Extracts:

A lasting peace cannot be established except by reparation of the injustices which force has imposed on Austria, Czecho-Slovakia and Poland. Neither can it be established unless effective political and economic guarantees assure in the future respect for the liberty of all nations. Mankind will not be liberated from disquiet and anxiety unless it has the certainty that new outrages against law have been outlawed.

It is for Germany and not for France to declare now for or against this peace, which all nations menaced by her in their security and their independence desire.

The Problem of Japanese Trade

(Continued from page 51)

'ast, which might drift into actual ostilities. *This is a situation which* ıost of us devoutly trust can be voided.

Sensing the fact that there might e trouble ahead if plans for an emırgo go through, Senator Arthur andenberg of Michigan recently arned against "new threats of a oneded punitive embargo against Jaın—too easily the first step toward ar itself." Senator Vandenberg's atement followed closely the discuson of a possible embargo by Senar Pittman.

It is possible that Senator Vandenerg's warning was inspired by 'umbled threats of "retaliation" ıat Japan might take against the nited States in China. This retaliaon could be in the form of claiming elligerent rights, which would place l American interests—particularly issions, schools and all tangible operty—in a veritable war zone, ıd mean the use of any such buildgs for any desired purpose.

Meanwhile, plans are proceeding in okyo for conversations between Amssador Grew and Foreign Minister omura aimed at renewing the Japese-American commercial treaty d recognition by the United States the proposed Japanese-sponsored vernment in China under Wang ing-wei.

It has become evident to the student *of Oriental affairs* that Japan's present predicament is caused by the fact that her Diet and Cabinet have no control over her military. The American Department of State can protest to Tokyo against Japanese aggression in Asia, and Tokyo's Foreign Office can apologize and assure the United States that outrages against American interests in China will stop —but the outrages continue. The answer is that neither Japan's Foreign Office, nor the Cabinet, nor the Diet, can exercise control over the military faction.

I do not question the patriotism of Japan's military element. In fact, many—perhaps the majority—of this military element themselves do not approve of outrages against Americans, or even against the Chinese, but they cannot suppress those who are

dominated by what is known as the young officers' group. This is the group that has been chiefly responsible for certain happenings in Japan that are difficult for Americans to understand—including the coup at the Marco Polo bridge near Peiping that started the present undeclared war in China.

It should be remembered that only a few weeks before that incident the Japanese electorate had delivered a decided rebuke to the military party by electing a Diet with nearly 90 per cent of its members anti-military in their sentiments. Yet within a very few months the whole of Japan was backing the military in its campaign in China. This was partly due to a conviction among conservative, peace-loving Japanese that Japan owed a *duty to the world—and to China*—to put down banditry in China; and still more to the fact that, with a strict censorship imposed, military sympathizers controlled the channels of information through which Japan gets its "facts" and on which it forms its opinions.

It would seem that the cure for this situation would be such a change in the constitution of Japan as would make the military element subject to the will of the civil majority. If the United States could aid in bringing about such a change in the Japanese form of government, it would be rendering a service to the future of the Japanese people as well as to the peace of Asia. It is doubtful, however, if it is within the province of American diplomacy to undertake such a proposal. In fact, it is doubtful if the Japanese people themselves could bring it about. The answer probably would lie with the military element itself recognizing its duty to the Emperor and to Japan sufficiently to initiate the change.

Were such a change brought about, a permanent peace in Asia would be much more easily established than under present conditions. For even though Japan's plans to set up one or more new governments in China be fulfilled, guerrilla warfare and banditry—to say nothing of the Red menace—would continue to harass the Japanese people for decades. On the other hand, a responsible Japanese government, free from military domination, with the help of western nations, could aid in establishing a strong central government in China that would be a benefit to the rest of the world as well as to the Chinese.

The Red Cross and the War

On August 22, just nine days before the outbreak of the war in Europe, the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Red Cross was celebrated here and abroad. Sixty-three nations, the entire world, observed the diamond jubilee of the organization, born on a European battlefield, and dedicated to the primary purpose of alleviating the horrors of war.

In an international radio broadcast, Norman H. Davis, chairman of the American Red Cross and of the League of Red Cross Societies, comprising the organizations of the Red Cross in these sixty-three nations, said that day: "We of the United States are proud to be a part of this world-wide chain of Red Cross Societies, which today, in a conflict-ridden world, is a tremendous bulwark against the forces of disintegration. No frontiers of race, creed, color exist within the Red Cross.

"Around its international council tables every year sit men of all nations, of many minds, some representing nations engaged in war, others holding conflicting political, religious, social and ideological beliefs. But they meet in the name of common humanity, pledged to maintain and strengthen this agency of mercy. There is a part in this movement for every man and woman in the world, and in strength of numbers only can we attain our ideal. So I appeal to the citizens of all nations to join with us, in the pledge of our founder, Henri Dunant, who urged that we 'press forward, in a human and truly civilized spirit, the attempt to prevent, or at least to alleviate, the horrors of war.' "

Carrying out this ideal of relief of human distress, wherever it exists and for whatever cause, Mr. Davis on the day hostilities began cabled to the International Red Cross in Geneva, inquiring as to the possible needs of Red Cross societies of the belligerent nations.

Immediate response came from the Polish Red Cross, but before shipments of vitally needed medicines and surgical dressings could be made by the American Red Cross the armies of Poland had been defeated. The Red Cross societies of Great Britain and France requested medical supplies; the German Red Cross expressed gratitude for the offer of help, but replied that it could meet its own needs. Similar expressions of gratitude came from the Red Cross societies of Canada, South Africa, New Zealand and Australia.

Just as the pattern of the war of 1939 presents an entirely different picture from the warfare of 1914, so the relief methods put into operation by the American Red Cross are vastly different. Twenty-five years ago ten medical units, with doctors, nurses and medicines, had been organized and financed and were en route by the ship *S.S. Red Cross* to the European battlefields within five weeks after the war started. The war of 1939 found all of the nations better prepared as far as medical and sanitary corps were concerned, so no personnel or supplies, other than essential medicines and bandages were asked of the American Red Cross.

In the World War the problem of refugee civilian populations in Belgium became of immediate concern, and in this year the distressful condition of the Polish refugees appealed to the sympathy of the world.

Relief in the form of warm clothing and medicines for the Poles who fled to Hungary, Rumania, Lithuania and Latvia and those in German-occupied Poland presented the most immediate problem. Thus far the American Red Cross has spent more than $200,000 in purchases of these necessities, either for shipment from the United States, or in the neutral nations in Europe. Knitted underwear, shoes, cloth for shirts, ticking for bed sacks, cotton sheeting, blankets, soap, toothbrushes and essential drugs were in the first shipments from the United States, while more than $100,000 worth of similar articles were purchased in neutral countries or in the nations harboring the refugees.

Concentration of the interned soldiers and the civilian refugees in hasty shelter, and the lack of a change of clothing or warm garments with which to face the hardships of winter, brought the added danger of epidemics. The plea, therefore, came from the American Red Cross delegation which had flown over in mid-

September by clipper ship to survey the relief needs that all efforts be concentrated on furnishing clothing. Food supplies in all nations harboring the refugees were said to be ample.

The American delegation estimated the Poles in the four neighbor nations to number as follows: Rumania, 4,500 civilians, 23,000 interned soldiers; Hungary, 10,000 civilians, 10,000 soldiers; Lithuania, 3,000 civilians, 14,000 interned soldiers; Latvia, 1,600 interned soldiers.

In each nation the relief was distributed by the Red Cross society, with the supervision of a representative of the American Red Cross.

Some weeks after the German occupation of a part of Poland, the German Red Cross cabled direct to the American Red Cross asking for medicines for the sick and wounded Poles in hospitals and camps under their control. For purchase of these medical supplies, the American Red Cross cabled $25,000 to the League of Red Cross Societies in Geneva. Later the American Red Cross delegation from Washington, composed of Ernest J. Swift, Wayne C. Taylor and James T. Nicholson, visited Berlin and Warsaw to expedite further the American relief for the distressed Poles.

While this relief aid for the Polish refugees was going forward, the American Red Cross, through its 3700 chapters all over the nation, was organizing for the production by volunteers of several hundred thousands of garments and many millions of surgical dressings. The garments—warm dresses for women and girls, shirts, sweaters, socks, caps, scarves for men and boys, hospital gowns and convalescent robes—were destined not only for the refugees from Poland, but also for men, women and children evacuees from their homes in France in the Maginot line area.

The surgical dressings being made for the French Red Cross and the British Red Cross are cut according to patterns sent by those organizations. A shipment of ninety-nine cases went to the French Red Cross in October, and a number of selected chapters now are engaged in rolling these special dressings. Another type of uniform surgical dressing unit, selected by doctors and nurses for general use in civilian or military hospitals, also is being made in Red Cross Chapters.

To finance these war relief operations, the American Red Cross appro-

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While this relief aid for the Polish refugees was going forward, the American Red Cross, through its 3,700 chapters all over the nation, was organizing for the production by volunteers of several hundred thousands of garments and many millions of surgical dressings. The garments —warm dresses for women and girls, shirts, sweaters, socks, caps, scarves for men and boys, hospital gowns and convalescent robes—were destined not only for the refugees from Poland, but also for men, women and children evacuees from their homes in France in the Maginot line area.

The surgical dressings being made for the French Red Cross and the British Red Cross are cut according to patterns sent by those organizations. A shipment of ninety-nine cases went to the French Red Cross in October, and a number of selected chapters now are engaged in rolling these special dressings. Another type of uniform surgical dressing unit, selected by doctors and nurses for general use in civilian or military hospitals, also is being made in Red Cross Chapters.

To finance these war relief operations, the American Red Cross appro-

priated one million dollars from its treasury. Mr. Davis announced that public contributions would be welcomed, and contributors might designate the purpose for which they wished their gifts spent. More than $260,000 had been received by the American Red Cross up to November 10, of which the major portion had come from Polish sympathizers or citizens of Polish descent.

Other relief by the American Red Cross included an appropriation of $20,000 for the care of the shipwrecked Americans from the *Athenia* who were taken to Scotland and Ireland. Later these Americans and other refugee citizens being repatriated from Europe came under the care of Red Cross Chapters at various ports of debarcation. Officers from the chapters met the boats as they docked and offered shelter and medical care, and met other needs of American citizens who were without financial resources.

In Washington, the Red Cross also established a central bureau for handling inquiries from Americans who were trying to reach relatives in the war zones. Inquiries were received at the rate of five thousand a week, and were cleared through the State Department, its consular officers abroad, and through the International Red Cross, and its member societies throughout Europe.

II. France Makes Up Her Mind

(Continued from page 17)

I shall tell you what I said to a British friend of mine, General Morgan, in 1915 or 1916. "I am always nervous," this friend said, "when I remember what Caesar remarked of your Gallic ancestors: they begin things as men but they end them as women."

"Morgan," I replied, "Caesar has been dead a long time; what I know is this: you British can die wonderfully but you do not suffer so well; our people can." Four years in the trenches proved that I was not mistaken, and I cannot see that the French have much changed; the peasant still has his heritage of dogged perseverance while the Parisian workman can go on indefinitely if you only allow him to vent his cynical remarks freely.

All this is, as you can perceive, of an exceedingly simple character. Our

people have no suspicion of the deep calculations which I see some columnists charging to British diplomacy. If they could be shown what is meant by the neologism of the season—"a phoney war"—they would stare. They have always known that, between the Maginot line and the German wall, there is not enough space to deploy vast armies and, early in the game, they understood that artillery fire or aerial bombardment has no other object than to compel the opponent to spend his money. On the other hand, it can hardly be said that what is going on at sea is not the most gruesome reality. So there can be no question of anything faked in the slow-speeded conflict we are witnessing.

Yet if an observer could be psychologist enough not to be satisfied with the flat denial which French soldiers would give, and pressed his quest by subtly chosen questions, he would probably elicit the answer which is also in the present writer's mind, viz., above this war, in all the countries which fight or merely watch it, unceasingly floats a radiant apparition, Peace in her rainbow robes. There has never been so much latent hope in suffering Europe as there is at present.

VI. Gandhi Balks Again

(Continued from page 28)

Indian and native Malay troops had been added to its defenders. The city of Singapore had become war minded through frequent sham battles and blackouts. The port of Penang, half way up the Malay Peninsula from Singapore, on the way to Siam, had been fortified. Late in June the British and French military and naval commanders in the Pacific and Asiatic zones met in Singapore to coordinate plans in event of war. Holland's vulnerable East Indian Islands spent a special fund of $50,000,000 this year for additional armaments. On Amboyna Island, which commands one of the shortest routes from Japan to Java, the Dutch have built an impregnable fortress.

The British plan for encircling India with military safeguards does not appear to have envisaged any large scale blitzkrieg by the Soviet by way of Afghanistan. Invasion by the frontier tribes and the Afghans themselves has been well guarded against. A conspiracy to foment an uprising in Afghanistan a week after war broke out in Europe was promptly put down. Britain held that the conspiracy was "possibly inspired by foreign influences," and suppressed news of it until November 8. Thanks to the past two years of almost constant activity by British bombing planes and armored cars against Afghan border uprisings, the territory has been thoroughly studied, and strategic roads and forts have been built. The British have concluded that relatively few bombing planes and mechanized troop units will suffice to protect India from the north.

FINALLY there is the Crown Colony of Ceylon at the southern tip of India, which in the past year has been roused to patriotic pro-Empire fervor. Anti-aircraft batteries were recently organized in its great port city of Colombo. Native Ceylonese have been enrolled for the first time as regular troops. Owing to labor disputes between Indian immigrants and native Ceylonese, there is a strong anti-India sentiment here working to British and Empire advantage. Ceylon has expanded its already excellent air traffic facilities, and can receive planes coming from Australia,

Singapore or Africa, by routes out of contact with India.

One must conclude that in the present war Britain has little to fear from outright German, Russian or Japanese conquest of India. Britain may, however, be forced to surrender many treasured powers as the price for whole-hearted Indian cooperation. In the end, the present British government in India may have to abandon its recently declared rule by emergency decrees, and to agree with Gandhi that it should "forget the old language of imperialism and open a new chapter" of much greater native control.

V. Ribbentrop: Hitler's Oracle

(Continued from page 25)

"Ribbi" was "still for war." In his violent tirades against all who opposed the Reich's invasion of Poland, von Ribbentrop imitated the methods that the Fuehrer had used against Chamberlain at Berchtesgaden and Godesberg. Sir Nevile describes "Ribbi's" behavior as "aping Herr Hitler at his worst."

When on the morning of September first Hitler declared before the Reichstag that his troops had begun "counter-attack with pursuit" against the Poles, the war was on. It was the war for which "Ribbi" had plotted and planned so diligently. The conflict might be called his personal work. But there is an ironic twist to all this. Until the moment the German troops crossed the Polish border, von Ribbentrop was top man with Hitler. But once the war started, Goering became Hitler's heir. The Marshal became the real power behind the throne in the Reich.

Von Ribbentrop still stands high with his Fuehrer. If he can carry out more diplomatic legerdemain, he may continue his successful career. But Turkey has joined the British and French. Italy has not been acting like a last-ditch ally of the Reich. Several of the neutrals have not been manifesting undying friendship for Germany of late. And Stalin's westward march has caused many second thoughts in Berlin about "Ribbi's" pact with the Kremlin. It is too soon, perhaps, to begin selling von Ribbentrop's stock short. The Reich's super-salesman may have more tricks in his bag; but it's quite possible his long train of luck may have run out.

III. Does England Expect Us to Fight?

(Continued from page 20)

tion in Germany and Hitler is turned out, then what?"

"If the new government wants to make peace with us we shall be only too glad to discuss terms."

"But suppose one of Hitler's followers takes command. Since England has announced it is fighting to destroy Hitlerism, will it be content to make peace with any of the other higher-ups in the Nazi party?"

"That would all depend," he said, "on which Nazi or Nazis took command."

That gave me the opportunity to inquire whether Herman Goering, Number Two Nazi, would be acceptable.

"Well, he is perhaps the most moderate of them all," said Duff Cooper.

"Yes, Goering would be acceptable, but Himmler and Hess and the rest of that extremist crowd would have to go."

"Suppose," I said, "there is another attempt on Hitler's life in the near future—this time successful—and his successor or successors are acceptable to British leaders and are willing to negotiate for peace. What would be Britain's terms?"

"Wherever I go they ask me the same question," he said. "As to our war aims, I should say we are fighting to keep alive a little spark of sanity in the world; we are clinging to the non-totalitarian type of life that you and I have come to know and like. We are fighting to bring some measure of security into a world shaken by the lack of it. Accordingly, we should want to orient any terms for peace around those ideas—or even ideals, if you will.

"I don't think we can expect any lasting peace in Europe unless we work out some plan for a European union—perhaps even a United States of Europe. As a matter of fact, I think a European federation is one of the few certainties which we can say will come out of this war. If the Allies win, France and Britain will take the leadership in organizing the continent along federation lines, but with a large measure of autonomy preserved for individual states. But if Germany wins—well, we will have a United States of Germany, and in-

dividual nations will have to come in whether they like it or not."

What, I asked him, was his reaction to the widespread belief that the British Empire is cracking up.

"I guess everything has to die sometime," he said, "even empires. But I don't think that our number is up this time. For as long as I can remember, people have been saying that the empire is cracking but even where it seems to be straining the most, there are compensating factors. India realizes that the worst possible thing that could happen to her would be a German victory in the war. Britain is prepared to handle the Indian question satisfactorily to all concerned. As for Canada, her response to the King's visit and her attitude during the war has given us all the reassurance we might need.

"No, the threat is not from within. On the other hand, as I told you before, Britain is fighting for her Imperial life. But we have this much in our favor: the enemy shall have to strike at the heart of the empire first before they can hope to tear off any of the limbs, and that heart is well protected. Modern history knows of no successful invasion of the British Isles."

According to reports, Britain was spending from thirty to forty million dollars a day for the conduct of the war. How long could she continue at that rate?

"No war has ever been lost for want of money," Duff Cooper said. "During the last war it was proved on paper—and no one in the Treasury could find a flaw in the reasoning—that Great Britain could not continue the war beyond June 1, 1916. We all awaited the day as we might the doom of the world. Came June 1, 1916, and strangely enough, the war went on just the same as it had since it started.

"You have got to beware of theories. We were told by military experts that the French Army would crack at a specified time, but it did not.

"There's one prediction, however, that did ring true; and that was the prediction voiced by Marshal Foch. In September, 1919, he said that unless France established her border all along the Rhine she would have to go to war against Germany again in twenty years. And, by God, he was right almost to the day!"

I asked him what he thought of the French command in this war, recalling that in his biography of Marshal Haig he wrote of serio differences existing between th French and the English staffs.

"It ought to go a lot more smoothl this time," he said, "there is a unit of command now with Gamelin as th head."

"Mr. Duff Cooper," I said, "yo have been in this country approxi mately three weeks. By this time you have undoubtedly been able t make some observations concernin American public opinion. What im presses you most?"

"I am impressed—I might sa horrified—by the astounding succes of German propaganda in this coun try. In 1914 the Germans tried to sell Americans the Kaiser. Obviously they would have a very difficult time today if they tried to sell Hitler; so they have taken a different line and I see results of its success everywhere I go. This new line is that, even if Germany has made mistakes, she is no worse than England; that in our dealings with the colonies we had been undemocratic. The Germans want to develop the 'let-them-stew-in-their-own-juice' type of thinking in this country.

"Another puzzle to me is the attitude of Americans toward the last war. The feeling of many people here seems to be that it was a mistake for America to fight in 1917. Why a mistake? You did a good job and you ought to be proud of it. In England you don't hear people regret their entry. They faced a fight, went in, and gave their best. And so did Americans. If we had been a little more sensible, had a little more vision, we could have reconstructed an enduring peace after the last war. Our mistake came after the war; it was not in fighting. This present war has grown not out of the last one but out of a short-sighted peace."

"There has been some talk," I said, "that you were kept out of the Cabinet because of a bigger job ahead, that some day not too far away, Britain will have to form a new Cabinet based on peace, and that the Cabinet will be pivoted around Duff Cooper."

"Prime Minister? Me? No. Churchhill will be the next Prime Minister."

"I didn't say 'next'," I replied. "What I said implied 'future'."

"Do you think I have the support?"

It was one of those questions that everybody smiles at, one of those questions that needs no answer.

—continued from other side

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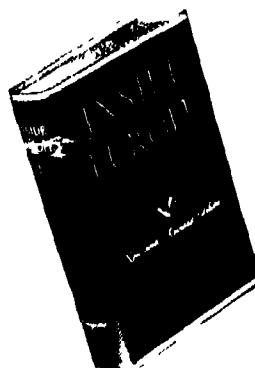
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